

THE INDIAN WORLD

Contents for February—1908

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[No. 35

THE INDIAN PATRIOTIC CREED

1. I believe in India, in the Indian Nation and in Indian Unity, and do not believe in class, communal, clannish or provincial exclusiveness.
2. I believe in ordered and steady development and progress and not in revolutionary ideas or movements.
3. I believe in the educative influence of England's connection with India and believe that the *pax Britannica* offers a golden opportunity for the greater consolidation of the Indian peoples and for the rounding off of all class and provincial angularities.
4. I believe in lawful agitation against administrative evils, executive high-handedness and all legislations intended to curtail the rights and privileges of any section, or of the whole, of the Indian people.
5. I believe in pushing our claim for greater liberty and privileges and lesser restraint in both private and public affairs and for a greater participation in the actual administration of India.
6. I believe in the aspiration and efforts of our attaining a form of government similar to that which obtains in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire.
7. I believe that the economic salvation of India lies in the development of Indian arts and industries, in the improvement of Indian agriculture and in the exploitation of all Indian resources by her own sons, and that all these matters I can successfully push by using, so far as possible, articles and stuffs made in India only, even though it may require to be done at some sacrifice.
8. I believe that in matters of public health, sanitation, education and settlement of private disputes and domestic differences we can do much by ourselves, and that I owe it to my country and people to take part in, and encourage, all healthy organizations intended to promote each and all of these objects.
9. I believe in social and moral purity and in the elevation of the condition of our women and depressed classes.
10. I believe in a higher destiny of my motherland in the future.

THE INDIAN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Even more interesting and important than the political situation is the economic outlook in India. Indeed, to the bulk of our patriotic thinkers, the Indian problem has for a long time been the problem of India's poverty, of India's prosperity. But unfortunately Indian economics does not afford half as many tempting subjects for discussion and controversy as Indian politics does. Nor are economic questions very easy to comprehend or discuss. Nevertheless, it is essential that a knowledge of the broad facts of Indian economic life should form a part of the equipment of every patriotic worker in India.

Of all the uncertain elements in the dismal science of economics, the most unreliable is statistics. Statistics can be made to tell any story, and the figures which the Indian economist generally uses have been amply laid under contribution equally by the critics, and the apologists, of the present Government to prove their respective views of the case.

The official version is that India, under British rule, has immensely prospered as the result of the reclamation of an enormous area of waste land, the extension of irrigation, the construction of metalled roads and railways, the introduction of new and more valuable products and the development of new industries. The version of the critics of the Government is that the Indian peasant and the labourer of to-day has on the average less than one half to eat than his grandfather and great-grandfather had. This condition of increasing poverty in India is alleged to be owing to a drain of India's wealth to foreign countries, to the magnitude of the salaries paid to Europeans, to the burden of taxation and to the excess of our exports over imports.

It is not necessary to assume that one or other of these versions must be true and the other false. The truth in this case, as in many others, seems to us to lie half-way between the two ; for the prosperity which is pointed out to us by official apologists is not generally shared by Indians, and the poverty into which India is now believed to be steeped by the critics of the Government does not affect all classes and communities in this country. The terms " Indian poverty " and " Indian prosperity " are very misleading, for they are beautifully vague and do not apply with any force to all, or even to the majority of, the people in this country. Since the dawn of history there have always been two classes of people in India,—one of which has been enormously rich and the other has lived from generation to generation on the borderland

of starvation. This disparity is due ultimately to the heat of the climate which has effectively operated in making the ordinary food of the people partake of an oxygenous rather than of a carbonaceous character. The physical laws which contribute to such a result may be briefly put thus : the food essential to life is more abundant in hot countries than in cold ones ; not only is it abundant, but less of it is required for healthful existence. The consequence is that there is both cheapness and abundance of the national food which, in their turn, tend to the increase of population, to the neglect of arduous industrial pursuits and to the necessary over-stocking of the agricultural labour-market. In his very careful and exhaustive survey of the *Civilisation in England*, Thomas Buckle puts the case in a nutshell. "In consequence of the peculiarities of climate and of food," observes Buckle, "there has arisen in India that unequal distribution of wealth which we must expect to find in countries where the labour-market is always redundant. If we examine the earliest Indian records which have been preserved—records between two and three thousand years old—we find evidence of a state of things similar to that which now exists, and which, we may rely upon it, always has existed ever since the accumulation of capital once fairly began. We find the upper classes enormously rich and the lower classes miserably poor. We find those by whose labour the wealth is created receiving the smallest possible share of it ; the remainder being absorbed by the higher ranks in the form either of rent or of profit. And as wealth is, after intellect, the most permanent source of power, it has naturally happened that a great inequality of wealth has been accompanied by a corresponding inequality of social and political power." The gulf of difference between the conditions of the rich and the poor classes in India is much more wide than in any other civilised country in the world and has continued through all stages of her long history. "When inequality of wealth once commences," observes John Stuart Mill, "in a community not constantly engaged in repairing by industry the injuries of fortune, its advances are gigantic ; the greater masses of wealth swallow the smaller." Bernier and other European chroniclers of the Moghul Court have told us how people died like worms during periods of scarcity within the vicinity of the Pearl Mosque and the Tajmahal and how absolute squalor lived side by side with the greatest prosperity that the world has ever seen. Under the circumstances, the terms 'Indian prosperity' and 'Indian poverty' must be avoided in a careful examination of the

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economic condition of the Indian people. It is the condition of the agricultural proletariat and of the landless classes that constitutes the poverty problem in India and is the patriot's duty to solve.

We shall not enter in this article into the merits of the question as to whether India is getting poorer or richer or discuss such other controversial points of Indian economics as whether the land revenue of India is a rent or a tax, whether the abandonment by the State of the benefits of what is, in economic language, called 'the unearned increment' is wise or not, whether the demonetisation of silver is of the nature of an indirect agricultural tax or an incentive to trade, and similar other complicated questions ; but it is necessary to draw the attention of the Indian public to some of the main features of our present-day economic life. They are (1) that the principal source of wealth in India is agriculture, (2) that the old industries are decaying and the new ones are ill-equipped and that both depend to a great measure upon exhausting manual labour, (3) that there is not a fair distribution of wealth in the country, and (4) that division of labour is not carried beyond the primary stage of social development. The other noticeable features are that India has not yet entered into an era of capitalism or of industrial organisation, and that the people live mostly in the villages and do not need any thing which they themselves do not produce.

If we closely study the above features of Indian economic life it shall appear very clear that the key of India's prosperity, of India's poverty is not very difficult to get at. Railways and irrigation, by themselves, can no more make a people rich than can a limited drain or taxation or excessive exports can make a people poor. If a people have got no enterprise and are not marked for commercial activity, if they have not got many industries or have not much control over their commerce or their own inland trade, not the best system of railways or irrigation will make their condition prosperous. If, on the other hand, there is a manufacturing activity in a people, there is development and expansion of industries and organisation of capital and labour, and the land is made to yield a maximum crop without exhausting the soil, no conceivable drain, tax or exports will make that country poor. These facts must be borne in mind in an examination of our economic condition. If there had been more industries in India, a greater organisation of capital and labour, and the Indian soil had yielded double as much crop as it yields at present, no amount of drain, taxation or exports could keep our people down to the verge of starvation for, after all, our total drain does not exceed the total amount of the land-revenue we pay,

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which is nearly 1s. 8d. per head ; and our taxation, including land-revenue, does not exceed more than 3s. 6d. per head and the excess of exports over imports does not exceed £22,000,000 on the whole, which work out into about 1s. 5d. per head. If an Indian had earned as much as an average Englishman does, *i. e.* about £40 a year, he would not much mind in paying about 7s. for taxation, trade and other contingencies. As a matter of fact, taxation in England is much heavier than in India ; and as for excess of exports over imports, India stands in the same boat with such prosperous countries as the United States, Canada and Australia. On the other hand, countries in which we find an excess of imports over exports, such as Persia, China and Turkey, are far from being in prosperous condition. Nor is it by paying heavy taxes or by paying interest on capital raised for reproductive works that a people is impoverished. We have it on record that in 1820, a tenth of the total net income of the people of England was absorbed in paying the mere interest of the national debt, and yet the capital of England was more than doubled, according to Sir R. Giffen's calculation, in the generation between 1800 and 1833. If indeed taxation had been a potent agency of poverty, England, United States and Canada would have been in a very bad way a very long time ago. So also with the increased price of food-grains all over the country—it only indicates the greater demand for our agricultural produce and more handsome profits to our agricultural labourers ; and in no country in the world is the increase of prices and wages considered in any other light than as an index of growing prosperity.

It is apparent, therefore, that a nation's prosperity or poverty can not be rightly gauged from its burden of taxation or balance of trade. It depends almost entirely upon what a nation earns and how it earns it. In India we earn much less, incomparably less, than the people of any other civilised country in the world—and that also by processes of exhausting manual labour—that is the crux of the economic situation in India.

While an average Englishman earns nearly Rs. 600 a year, we in India earn only Rs. 20 a year. This leads us to enquire why we earn so small an amount while an average Englishman earns thirty times as much as we do, or why, in other words, does the industry of India result in the production of so much smaller a volume of wealth than the industry of European countries.

A close study of the economic conditions of the Eastern and the Western countries leads one to the conclusion that no agricultural people can be very rich, for land has a tendency to be sub-divided

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into small holdings ; and the smaller the holding, the lesser is the chance for the agricultural labourer to keep himself above struggle. Most of our agricultural labourers, who constitute nearly 70 per cent. of the total population of India, can not therefore afford to keep their body and soul together and at the same time invest freely for the improvement of their land. And as want and absence of all incentives to money-saving begets many evil habits, the peasant population of India have got into the habit of spending all their small profits on religious ceremonies and marriage festivities or on some other unproductive objects.

Next to the agricultural classes stand the industrial ones—the potters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the weavers and similar other classes. As we have observed before, India has not yet entered into an era of capitalism and, as in all uneconomic stages of society, to quote Bagehot's description of a society like ours of to-day, our industrial labourer is very often the financier, the organiser and the operative of his own little domestic factory. No industrial classes can grow rich under such circumstances, for no industries can grow without the help of expert knowledge and the organisation of capital. Every student of economics know that England's era of prosperity commenced as soon as the direction of her industries was transferred from the hands of the labourers to those of the business experts. Our industrial labourers live on mere traditional skill and on very slender means. They lack resources as well as knowledge. In these days, individual resources and inadequate knowledge are powerless to cope and struggle with scientific training and joint-stock funds. The industries that cannot put forward much skill or resources are bound to go to the wall, and no wonder that the Indian artisan does not eke out more than his barest livelihood.

The other classes—the landowning and the professional ones—do not produce wealth themselves, but live on the earnings of the peasant and the artisan. They concentrate into their hands much of the wealth that is produced in the country, the result being a most unequal distribution of wealth. This unequal distribution of wealth is most unhappy, particularly in view of the fact that the wealth accumulating in the hands of the landlord, and the professional, classes are not generally spent on reproductive works or for objects which lead to the development of industries or the improvement of the soil.

The agricultural labourer in India has not the wherewithal to enrich his land or to make use of scientific implements. The industrial labourer finds himself cramped by want of knowledge and re-

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sources. And the upper classes will not use their money for reproductive purposes. That has been the economic condition of India since perhaps the dawn of history and that continues to be the economic condition of India even today.

This condition has to be changed if India ever aspires to grow rich or prosperous. How can this be done? Certainly not by the boycott of foreign goods alone, for in all India we do not use imported goods of more than Rs. 3. 8 as. per head in the course of a whole year. Even if the boycott movement had completely succeeded, we could achieve no greater result than reduce our expenditure by Rs. 3. 8 as. per head. As a negative work, boycott is good enough. But as a positive influence, it is powerless to change economic conditions, particularly those which have lasted for centuries. It is not that way how the economic salvation of India lies.

What we have got to do to ensure the annual production of a greater volume of wealth in India is (1) to induce the zemindars or the land-holders in the country to contribute freely towards the improvement of the soil of India, (2) to work for the success of co-operative credit societies, (3) to make the industrial classes wage-earners instead of proprietors of small factories, (4) to replace manual labour, so far as possible, by mechanical one, (5) to introduce an era of capitalism, and (6) to get together all wealth in the country to be invested in reproductive works.

It is a matter of great pity that the landlords of India do not consider that they have got any responsibilities towards the improvement and replenishment of the soil which yields them generally such handsome profits. In many places of India the tenantry are rack-rented and allow their lands to be exhausted by continued crops in consequence. If the zemindar, whether the private land-lord or the State, would recoup the fertility of the land with sufficient manure and help the ryots to adopt scientific processes of agriculture, every acre of land in India could be made to yield at least four times as much as it does at present. That would increase four-fold the present agricultural wealth of India. The State has partially fulfilled its duty by irrigating the soil in several provinces and interspersing the country with a net-work of railways; but the private landlord, be he an European or an Indian, has absolutely done nothing in most parts of the Empire.

In those parts of India where the peasant himself is the land-lord, the soil is starved and no improvement is possible in his condition unless he can be extricated from the hands

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of the village money-lender and be provided with some capital to invest in his land. There is no other possible solution to this problem excepting the establishment of a large number of co-operative credit societies in all those places. The Raiffeisen banks have proved the salvation of the agricultural population of Germany, and peasant-banks on similar lines are now being established in all parts of Europe where similar agricultural conditions prevail. It is not only enough that the Indian peasant should be precluded from alienating his land, as has been the principle which has guided some of our recent agrarian legislations, but it should also be seen that the ryot gets some money from somewhere on easy terms when he is hard put to it or when he has got to improve his land.

In this connection, it is necessary to observe that the agitation recently started in some parts of India to establish a number of grain-banks, or what they call *Dharma-Golas*, is most reactionary and uneconomical. In the first instance, grain-banks can only be of service to the people when there is scarcity in the land, but they do not provide the peasant with money to invest for the improvement of his holding. Secondly, it is admitted by most people, including government officials, that food-grains are not very much unavailable in India even during years which follow drought. It is not the want of food-grains that makes famines in India but it is the want of money. Thirdly, by storing grains for famine years, we lock up a large source of wealth with the risk of the whole of it being destroyed or remaining unused till it goes to rot. In these days when money can buy everything, including food grains, whether they are grown in India or outside, there can be no justification, either on the ground of economy or expediency, for the storing of grains. It is money that is wanted not only to keep the wolf from the door, but also to enrich the soil and increase our resources so as to make even the approach of the wolf near our door impossible.

Now as to the industrial classes, we have already observed that so long as the unresourceful artisan or the handicraftsman has to struggle for the barest existence and takes the risks of production upon himself, there can not be much hope of any industrial renaissance in India. The hope lies in converting small labourers into wage-earners under expert hands and capitalist enterprises, and introducing an era of capitalism in the industrial organisation of India. In organising capital and labour, there are, no doubt, many difficulties to fight against : for every student of the industrial

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life of the world knows the miseries, the hardships and the defects of the factory system on the one hand, and the impossibility of replacing domestic industries in the economy of Indian or Asiatic village-life on the other. It is, in other words, a struggle between Eastern and Western ideals of industrialism. In Japan and China, small domestic industries still thrive and flourish. In Europe, the smaller industries find very poor place in the economy of life. We Indians, by temperament, can not go wholesale for factory life nor can we totally ignore the traditions and observed facts of Indian social organisation. So, for a long time yet, domestic industries must be maintained in India side by side with large industrial organisations. Nor is it likely to prove unprofitable if we will only try to supply the markets of Asia with their requirements as much as it is our endeavour at present to keep Europe stocked with our productions. Our trade in our own continent admits of infinite expansion, for while about 65 per cent. of India's total trade is now with Europe, not more than 23 per cent. is with Asia. Asia appreciates the manufactures of the hand : Europe those of machinery. If our domestic factories will study Asiatic needs and our capitalistic organisations those of the European markets, both systems of industrial organisation can be maintained to the ultimate profit and gain of India.

We now come to the money that is hoarded in the country and which returns to the people absolutely no interest. In every country in the west not only all available gold and silver are utilised for the service of man, but a system of credit also forms a great source of national wealth. Here in India we are not only innocent of credit but we either hide our gold and silver into the bosom of the earth or convert them into ornaments. One of the many reasons why some portion of our wealth is being drained to Europe is the fact of our failure to supply the capital which has provided us with our railway and irrigation systems. In an interesting letter to the *Times*, the late Mr. Samuel Smith, one of the greatest friends of India, made the following observations : "There is no way of substantially increasing the material well-being of India except by great development of its industries. That development can not be got by Indian capital to any large extent, no more than it could be got in the early stages of our Colonies or of South American States. Industries now-a-days require very expensive plant and great technical training, and they all involve risk in their earlier stages. European capitalists will take those risks but Indian capitalists, with very rare exceptions, will not take them." European money has provided us with the necessary capital for building up our railways and irrigations.

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These railways and irrigations have increased the value of lands every where in India and also increased the wages and prices all over the country. Why should not all this have been done by Indian capital,—not only to prevent the drain but to increase the industrial and agricultural output of Indian labour? It is no good crying against the 'drain' of Indian wealth out of the country when we ourselves do not take the necessary steps to prevent or recoup it.

The future economic salvation of India must depend upon the improvement of the entire cultivable area of land, upon longer systems of irrigation and railways, upon the use of more scientific implements and processes of agriculture, upon the organisation of co-operative credit societies for the benefit of the agrarian classes, upon the greater division of labour in industrial pursuits, upon converting small labourers and artisans into wage-earners under capitalist employers, upon the unrestricted investment of money for reproductive purposes and the establishment of credit for capitalistic productions. To these must the attention of patriotic India be turned if India is to be made one of the most prosperous nations of the world. In this attempt it shall not do to consider India a self-sufficient unit or entirely independent from the rest of the world. We must buy the best implements and appliances wherever they may be got. We must take lessons from the most successful experiments in industrialism and agriculture wherever made, and take our capital from the most favourable markets in the world. If we had to wait for Indian capital for the building of our cotton-mills and jute-mills, of our railway and irrigations, the tea and coffee plantations in the north and the south, these industries would never have come into being in India for a long time. For capital is shy in India and demands unreasonable interest. Nor must we cease to take the help of foreign experts who have been trained under captains of industry in other parts of the world. Every body knows that the introduction of a capitalist era can only be possible when you have a large body of men to teach new methods of production and new mechanical appliances and acquaint you with the condition of the markets all over the world. When the men and the money are found, when the skill and plants are obtained, when manual labour to a large measure can be replaced by mechanical one,—then the era of prosperity will not take a long time in dawning upon India.

THE BIRTH OF TILOTTAMA

(Continued from page 16)

One by one, the gods slunk away
And to the wicked foes gave way.
The bad, bold *Daiits*(a), by Fate(b) ordain'd,
Repuls'd the *Dews* and battle gain'd.
Thus to their arms *Tridiva* fell,
Now turn'd nigh into a new hell !
Flush'd with pride and infernal yell
The victors did all Heav'n dispoil,
And sat, presumptuous, on the throne
The glorious *Indra* did adorn.
Ah me ! the well-proportion'd *Cam*(c).
The beauteous *Rati*'s(c) rounded arm
(Like to a wreath of love) did twine
Now made her smart with pain and pine,
Consum'd by the dread *Shiva*'s ire
From whose eyes flash'd the living fire
What time, in an ill-fated hour,
He bent his bow to prove Love's pow'r !
The demons dread led by *Sundhu*(d)
And his twin-self, *Upa Sundhu*(d)
Confusion wrought in ev'ry world
Like ocean-waves by tempests whirl'd
Or as *Ourba-Rishi* of old—
(The sage made by devotion bold)—
Burnt in wrath all the oceans dry.
The monsters of the deep did try
In vain the fiery beds to fly
Nor could their lord, *Voruna* sly,
Avert their fate, ah ! cruel Fate !
What god or man thy ways can state ?
Lone to the *Himalayas* high
The Sire(e) of the gods fast did hie.
The eagle nestling 'mong the hills,

(a) The *Danovas*—demons.

(b) By the boon of *Brahma*. The Gods are as much subject to Fate as men.

(c) The *Cupid* of the Hindus. He is called *Camdev* and his wife is called *Rati*. He is represented with a bow stringed with bees and flowery arrows. He aimed a love-shaft at *Shiva* i. e. *Mahadev* and was at once consumed by the fire of his wrath whence he is called *Anung* or 'disembodied.'

(d) The demon-chiefs. They were a twin.

(e) *Indra*.

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Robb'd of its nest by fowlers, wheels
Round and round them on flapping wings,
And, plaintive, cries and rends heart's strings,
Then, on the highest peak would perch,
Or on the mountain-pine or birch,
Disconsolate ! The Thunderer
E'en so made for the *Dhov'la* spur.
The high-soul'd e'er bear and forbear
Nor, from their foes, withhold their care,
When they, pursu'd by evil fate,
Their shelter seek and supplicate.
This very Chief(*a*) the wings had cleft
Of flying hills to make them rest,
Fix'd to the earth by ad'mant chain ;
The gold-wing'd *Mainac*(*b*) since hath lain
In ocean-depths for shame to hide,
From mortal ken, her wounded pride—
Mainac sprung from *Hinalay*'s line,
Twin-sister to *Dhov'la* divine !

As storms upspring with streaming rain,
And, gath'ring force, sweep o'er the main,
And the waves, swoln mountain high,
Leap o'er the beach to reach the sky,
The Whale, of finny tribes the chief,
Whirl'd on the shore, writhes in sore grief,
Torn from his sea-home, and sea-mates,
By the remorseless, adverse Fates.
Out of his el'ment thus he rolls,
Impotent, o'er the sandy shoals.
Upon *Dhovo'la*, sad and lone,
E'en so the Thunderer doth bemoan,
And, helpless, rends his heart with sighs !
(The *Jistnu*,(*c*) now *Ajistnu*,(*c*) cries—
No longer ruler of the skies !)
The Thunder spent beside him lies—
A fort-stool for his lustrous feet,

(*a*) Tradition has it that hills were originally equipped with wings and *Indra* cleft them with his thunder.

(*b*) The tradition is explained here. *Mainac* is an imaginary hill. Owing to volcanic action, hills may slide down into the sea. Some such occurrence is possibly echoed in these lines.

(*c*) *Jistnu* means 'ever victorious' which is an epithet of *Indra*. *Ajistnu* means 'defeated' 'non-victorious,' 'a' being the negative prefix. *Ajistnu* is an adjective.

THE BIRTH OF TILOTTAMA

Unfit alas ! for glorious feat !
 (A lion wounded by a hill
 No longer fit to maul or kill !)
 The multi-tinted Bow divine(*a*)
 (The cloud-maids in their locks entwine
 Now on *Dhov'la* doth wane and swoon
 As on *Shiv's*(*b*) brow the crescent-moon.
 The quivers bare of feather'd fates !
 As, (so tradition yet relates),
 The oceans suck'd dry by the sage
Augusta(*c*) in a mighty rage !
 The war-conch, blowing shrill and drear
 In the *Danovas'* fighten'd ear,
 (As in the ears of el'phant-herd
 The roars of lions fierce, are heard)
 Discarded on the hill lies mute,
 (Now useless like a rifted flute !)
 Ah me ! The Fount of Glory seems
 Shorn of all glory, like pale beams !
 No more, as in the phantom years,
Vasov(*d*) his 'custom'd lustre wears !
 As if robb'd of rays by *Rahu*(*e*)
 The Sun has lost all crimson hue—
 The Sun, the source of all the light
 The Moon and Stars share with delight !
 Meanwhile *Aruna's*(*f*) golden wheel
 Slow slopes behind the hermit-hill
 —(*Dhovola*—veild in sable shade)
 And rolls a-down the ocean-bed ;
 E'en as kings of men court their rest
 Mad after the day's cares of State.
 The gorgeous *Kam'la*(*g*), sunbride gay,
 Blind with tears, now pines for his ray,

(a) Rainbow called 'Indra-Dhanu' or 'Indra's Bow' see note on *Indra*, *ante*.

(b) *Shiv* i. e. *Shiva* or *Mahadev*. See note, *ante*.

(c) A famous Indian sage said to have been endowed with great psychic powers.

(d) One of the names of *Indra*.

(e) *Rahu* is a demon. The reference is to the superstition as to the origin of eclipses said to be caused by his swallowing up the Sun by way of wreaking his vengeance on the perfidious gods for not sharing with him the *Amrit* (nectar) churned out of the Ocean soams with the joint labours of both gods and demons.

(f) The charioteer of the Sun.

(g) The Lotus (a helio plant) which unfolds its petals at sun rise.

THE INDIAN WORLD

And *Chukrabuck*(a), far from her mate,
Seeks her lone roost—disconsolate !
Like child-brides ah ! condemn'd by doom
To mourn their loves in cheerless gloom,
In penance harsh and self reproof
Beneath the *sole* paternal roof !

Light as air, on broad ebon wing,
Lo ! on *Dhovla* light in a ring
The sister-goddesses of Night
And Sleep and Dream now to delight
The drooping sp'rits of *Purandar's*(b)
Deckt in a tiara of bright stars,
And over sea and dale and hill
And wood and grove and fount and rill
Diffusing, round, a genial smile
Of moon-shine fitted to beguile.
Blooms *Kumoda*(c) in crystal lake
Woo'd by the Moon ;—as in bush or brake
Pale shows *Dhuntra*(d)—the bee-shunn'd maid
To vestal vows ah ! sternly wed !
The hush of silence falls o'er all
Lapt in lethean dreams—Night's sweet call.
Thus lights upon *Dhovla's* height
The sombre-shrouded Goddess Night
As if, beside the giant *Vim*(e),
The warrior *Vima*(f) stands all grim.
A beamy moon adorns her head
And lights her path in the shade.
Repairing to a spot retir'd
Where sullen sits *Surendra*(g) tir'd,
She touches with her healing hands
His lustrous feet and, weeping, stands.
The sparkling tear-drops, dropping hot,
Bedeck them, as dews from heav'n dropt

(a) These birds part company at night, the males going one way and the females another and meeting again in the morning. A favourite object of comparison with Indian poets with love sick maidens pining away for their beloved.

(b) A name of *Indra*. The tradition is not fit to relate. See note on *Indra ante*.

(c) A species of white Indian flower which blooms at night.

(d) *Dhuntra* is a poisonous plant which grows wild.

(e) One of the five *Pandovas* reckoned the most powerful and most dreaded of them all.

(f) Warrior goddess invoked by soldiers—*Chandi* or *Kali*.

(g) One of the many names of *Indra* lit "The Sire of the Gods."

THE BIRTH OF TILOITAMA

On lotus blown—what time the morn
 With rosy blushes wakes *Arun*
 And with pink fingers doth unfold
 Heav'n's bright gates for his car of gold.
 Now on the hill-top *Nisa*(a) join
Sapna(a) and *Nidri*(a), sisters twain,
 As constant mates, as flow'r-vase
 Oft redolent of fragrant *Vash*(b).
 Down from on high they light and stand
 Before Heav'n's Lord, mute—(as aband
 Of blooming hand-maids, like wax-dolls,
 Wait on a king in *Darbar*(c) halls.)
 Thus her sad mates *Nisa* address
 As they stood round the God deprest
 (As if the universal flood
 O'er the fair earth in fury flow'd—
 Such grief the heart of *Indra* sway'd)
 Thus she said as him she survey'd)
 " Ah ! *Shais* !(d) what is this freak of Fate ?
 " This—the Lord of *Tridiva*'s state ?
 On rugged rock, all bare of green,
 (A wild, inhospitable scene !)
 Far from heav'n's and heav'n's Queen he lies
 And from his heart heaves heavy sighs !
 Ah ! The *Kanac-Kalpa-Toru*(e)
 The holy *Mondakini* grew
 With golden wavelets on its banks
 In *Nandan*—haunt of godly ranks,
 Uprooted now, the desert air
 With singing blasts doth scorch and sear !
 It is for him, *Shais* ! my tears flow—
 Lo ! glorious Sun in gloom sunk low !"
Nisa stopt, choak'd with sob and tear,
 (And stars that sparkl'd in her hair
 Shed diamond drops of healing dew
 Full flashing with an orient hue)
 She stopt, as the melodious flute

(a) Goddesses of Night, Dream, and Sleep respectively.

(b) A sanskrit word for 'smell.'

(c) Audience chamber.

(d) The usual form of address for 'bosom friends, especially among young women.'

(e) 'Kanac' is a Sanskrit word for 'golden.' See note, *ants*.

THE INDIAN WORLD

Reveals a rift and grows all mute.
Nidra then to her sister turn'd
(While her heart with great sorrow burn'd)
"Ah!" she said in sweet melody
(Like to the hum of busy bee,
In vernal grove.) "Ah! dearest friend!
Who from the Fates him can defend?
So let us, sister! our wits combine
And make him our care, thine and mine
And *Sapna's*, and for him beguile
The tedious hours just for a while.
Bid, *Swajani*! (a) *Malaya*(b) gale
Waft odours sweet o'er hill and dale
And the bright Moon full lustre shed
While I weave my spells round his head
And close his thousand eyes of love(c)
Fix'd on the em'rald fields above.
Bid *Sapna* raise a *Pouloma*
With pink lips that mock the *Bimba*(d)
And gazelle eyes and *Kadamba*(e) breasts
And lily arms and thin wasp waists
And golden locks in *Mondar*(f) deckt
Befitting Heavn's Queen, now unblest!
Set her too in a *Nandan* fram'd
By magic spell, round *Indra* sam'd.
Bid an *Urbosi* of charms vain,
On golden *Vin* raise sweet strain
And lays of love and *Amrit* sing
As she awakes the mystic string,
In the notes of the cooing dove—
Ay, the *Ponchama Sur*(g) of love!
Bid her make a *Maya Ramva*(h)
Of rounded thighs as the *ramva*

(a) A Sanskrit word for 'Kins woman.'

(b) South-breeze which blows in spring from an imaginary hill named *Malaya*.

(c) *Indra* is called 'thousond eyed' owing to a well-known tradition about him too gross for polite ears.

(d) The red fruit of the plant known as 'Momordica, monodelpha' which is a favourite comparison with classical poets.

(e) The round flower of the tree known as *Nanclea Cadumba*.

(f) Heavenly flowers.

(g) In music a fifth above the keynote, the note of the Indian Cuckoo.

(h) A pun. *Ramva* was a lady noted for her beauty and well-rounded thighs. *Ramva* also means 'the plantain tree with which it is the fashion with Indian poets to compare the thighs of beautiful women. *Maya* means raised by magic.'

THE BIRTH OF TILOTTAMA

In jolly dance engage awhile,
The fleeting hours for him to guile
On, on with dance and song and love
Till hill and rill and verdant grove
Are ting'd with gold by bright *Arun*
Resplendent in the rosy morn,
Till, ay, *Nolini*(a) opes her eye
To greet her lover in the sky.

The sisters trine now in a ring
Stand round *Vasov*, and their arms swing,
Like wondrous wands, and all rehearse
Tantras(b) *Montras*(c) and magic verse,
But spell and charm and kindred art
Fail to rouse yet ? his drooping heart.
Lo ! round *Vasov* the sisters three
A circle make as if *Rati*
A necklace of *Kadomba* hung
Round the neck of her love, *Anung*(d)

Thus, foil'd, to her friends *Nisa* said
(Her face was flush'd with blushes red)
In whisper'd accents, as the dove
Coos to his mate in vernal grove.
" *Sakkis* ! (e) the bright immortals own
Our potent pow'r (let men alone).
Who, in heav'n, earth or hell, can say
Nay, to our wide imperial sway ?
In wood and sea, o'er hill and dale,
In bridal bow'r, in convict-cell,
In squalid hut, in palace-hall,
All, all obey our sov'reign call.
But ah ! the God of Thunder dread
Vain holds our charms and *Montras* read."

Swapna to her mate made reply
(With the smile the Moon did supply)—
" Ah ! little blame to thee or me—
None but the blooming *Poulomi*
His spouse and Heav'n's Imperial Queen

(a) The Lotus which blooms at dawn. Hence it is said to be fond of the Sun.

(b) Mystic rites such as are enjoined in the Tantric (mystic) cult.

(c) *Montras* are incantations.

(d) *Camdev* (Cupid), after his body was consumed by the fiery wrath of Mohadeo, became *Anung* (formless).

(e) Bosom friends (female).

THE INDIAN WORLD

Can quench the fire that burns within
The breast of *Indra* and consumes
His joys of love and nectrous fumes.
A nod from thee, *Shai* ! and I'll fly
To fetch his sweetheart through the sky.
Wand'ring in the etherial main,
Lone she seeks her Lord, half insane,
Like the dove calling to her mate
O'er hill and vale—disconsolate !
At thy nod, *Swajani* ! I'll fly
Quick as the twinkle of an eye."
Night (with fawn-spotted *Sasin*(a) deckt)
Made the nod, and quick as she beckt,
She shot through the etherial air
(A trail of glory follow'd her),
A meteor, dropt from yonder heav'n,
Back into bright space leapt amain !
Swapna, the weaver of sweet dreams,
Sped like a dart on moony beams,
While sat *Nidra* on *Dhoh'l*as height
Beside *Nisa*, the goddess Night,
As in the fabl'd milky sea
Grew lily-buds on one stem free !
They waited for the blooming Maid
With eyes distended on heav'n gemin'd
As *Chataks*(b) thirsting for the dew
Look wistful to the azure blue.

(*To be continued*)

Nagendranath Mukerjee

THE REIGN OF TERROR AT CAWNPORE.*

There was no obstacle in the way of the Nana to assume the supreme power after the English had been murdered in the cold-blooded way described in a previous article. The Nana now took his seat on the throne of the once renowned house of the Peshwa ;

(a) The dark spot in the Moon resembles a hare. *Sasin* i.e. hare.

(b) A species of bird—something like the lark.

* In my article headed *The Treachery at Cawnpore* published in the last September number of the *Indian World* there appeared two ugly mistakes for which corrections are necessary. In line 31 of page 190 the word 'saving' should be 'slaying' and in line 25 of the following page the word 'fetid' should be read as 'feted.'—G. L. D.

THE REIGN OF TERROR AT CAWNPORE

the sacred mark of royalty was affixed on his forehead ; a full royal salute of 21 guns was fired in his honour as well as other salutes in honour of the brothers and nephew of the Nana. The city of Cawnpore was illuminated in gaudy splendour in honour of its new ruler. Baba Bhut was appointed the Chief Commissioner of Cawnpore ; orders were passed to the tahsildars and the subjects of Cawnpore to send in all revenue to his office.* Many of the zemindars, however refused to recognise the claim of the Nana for which they severely offended his Majesty. Some of them belonging to the high castes were actually thrown into prison for this audacious crime.† The villagers having no sympathy with the barbaric regime were robbed of by those disturbers and free-booters who generally appear after the fall of a regular government to take advantage of the anarchical state of the country. "All the shops in the city had been closed for several days, but in whatever shops the sepoys entered to ask for sugar or *goor*, they plundered everything belonging to the citizen that they could find ; so much so, that plunder and oppression was the order of the day."‡ Europeans who were brought prisoners from the surrounding districts were butchered in cold blood. The Mussalman mutineers were foremost in such dastardly affair. Such was the blind fury of these fanatic monsters that whenever they succeeded in passing their swords through the bodies of European victims, whom they favoured with the barbarous epithet of *kaffers*, they regarded themselves to have approached one step nearer to Heavon. There was no limit to the excess of these savage Mussalmans' outrages. Infancy and infirmities were not regarded and spared by these fiends in human shape. They did not feel the least compunction in expressing their horrible views on this subject in this way—*Aftush kooshatun wa ukhgur goozashtun ussaiic kooshatun wa buch aishra nugah dashtum kar-i-khurnd maudam naist* which means "to extinguish the fire and leave the spark, to kill a snake and preserve its young, is not the wisdom of men of sense." Under the unfurled banner of their religion which inspired them with a spirit of positive hostility against all non-Moslems, they perpetrated these atrocities of a shocking and barbarous nature. "Besides this," writes Mr. Shepherd, "whenever a Mahomedan found the lifeless body of a European or Christian lying anywhere, he immediately drew out his sword, with a *bismillah*, and made a gash upon the corpse,

* Col. Williams' *Report* Cf. also Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 274-6.

† Shepherd's *Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 109.

‡ Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, vol. p. 327.

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repeating the words or some such words, as *soonut-ool-hug-i-kafarun*. On such occasions these men were in the habit of bringing their own children—young lads—and instructing them how to make a cut; at the same time giving them to understand that a cut upon even the dead body of a christian *kuffir* was of infinite value, entitling a true believer (Moslem) to a place in Paradise.* These filthy acts were looked upon by the Hindu portion of mutineers with utter disdain and abhorrence. When the Nana on one occasion ordered a Rajpoot sepoy of high caste to take the life of a captive European, the proud soldier said to his master—"Am I a Thakoor or a butcher, that you order me to commit so foul a slaughter."† On another occasion when the brother of the Nana, Baba Bhut, ordered some of the soldiers of the same caste to dispose of an European brought before him as prisoner, they indignantly replied: "Put weapons into his hand, and let him strike us, and then we will strike in return: but we will not slay him thus."‡ The indolent Nana gave himself up entirely to the influence of sloth and idleness. In his name the government was carried on by his brothers and nephew and all the cold-blooded massacres were perpetrated by these ruffians without caring at all for the previous orders of the nominal Peshwa. When European fugitives from Fattegarh were brought before the Nana, he ordered them to be kept as prisoners. This failed to appease the demoniac wrath of the Mussalmans of the 2nd Cavalry who were instigated by Bala Rao not to spare a single European. "The latter made known in plain terms to the Nana that if he did not direct their slaughter, he would take it upon himself to give the order."§ And the monster stopped not a moment to carry out his inhuman resolution. The male prisoners were murdered in cold blood and the females and children were sent to swell the number of fugitives of Berbergarrh. To such an excess the ferocious Mussalmans indulged in their unbridled passion, that the Nana even trembled for his safety. These perpetrators of dark enormities openly declared that they did not care for the Nana. They even went to greater lengths in this usurpation of authority by causing every proclamation issued by beat of tom-tom to be accompanied by the words *hookoom sephree bahadoor ka* (i.e. by the order of the brave soldiery). On one occasion the Nana by order-

* *Massacre of Cawnpore*, pp. 117, 142.

† *Ibid* p. 184.

‡ *Trevelyan's Cawnpore*, p. 277.

§ *Shepherd's Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 47.

THE REIGN OF TERROR AT CAWNPURB

ing the hands of two butchers to be cut off for slaughtering cows incurred the bitter hatred of the Mussalman troopers who did not hesitate to denounce the Nana openly in the market-places. Who has made this Nana a ruler over us? Is he not a creature of our hands and can we not appoint any one else in his place? If he has already commenced interfering with our creed, and preventing cows being killed, which is not only lawful, but is necessary to our very existence, how much now will he not muddle with our religious callings when he is firmly established in authority and when our common enemy, the English, shall have been completely exterminated?" Thus arguing among themselves, the fallen crew proceeded in a body before the new ruler to call him to account for his orders. The Nana in the meantime being informed of the commotion "ran out with bare hand and bare feet in the sun to meet the troopers and with clasped hands begged their pardon for what he had done, promising never again to interfere in this respect, and that the Mahomedans were perfectly at liberty to kill as many cows as they liked, only that they are to do it in a retired spot." The troopers even " threatened to displace him if he did not do as they desired."*

Such was the discordant element with which the new Peshwa had to deal. Totally incapable of controlling these unruly and barbarous scums of humanity, he had to yield to their importunities. On the other hand these barbarians rendered themselves conspicuous by their audacious rapacities. With impunity they committed excesses, the horror of which sickened even the feelings of those whose hearts were not amenable to gentler feelings. The Nana was simply a tool in their hands, and allowed them to rob the citizens, bankers, and rich men of all their accumulated wealth. The Nana had to bear coolly and without compunction every affront from that quarter. His dream of ruling like the powerful Peshwas banished gradually like mirage from his agitated feelings, the savage Mahomedan mutineers perpetrating before his very eyes all sorts of villainy and atrocious wickedness, in defiance of his authority. His control did not extend over them, for he was mortally afraid of them. The markets remained closed with the exception of a few poor shops. "The shopkeepers and the citizens were extremely sorry," remarks a Mahomedan eye-witness of the place, "for losing their safety and cursed the

*Shepherd's Cawnpore Massacre p. p. 110, 110 Cf. also Nanak Chand p. vii and Depositions taken at Cawnpore under the direction of the Lieut. Col. G. W. Williams, p. 75.

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mutineers from morning to evening. The people and the workmen starved and widows cried in their huts." Such was the state of Cawnpore during the mutineers' reign of terror. What the unfortunate English females suffered at his hand is too dark a tale to be narrated before civilised men. Let the curtain of forgetfulness be dropped over that dismal scene.

Let it be known to all searchers after truth that these atrocities perpetrated at Cawnpore and other large cities on helpless English women were not the work of the Hindu inhabitants of the city. "It is however well known," writes Martin Gubbins, the financial Commissioner of Oude in 1858, "that these atrocities were not shared by the masses of the citizens, but were the work of *budmashes* or loose characters who abound in all large native towns. They are more generally Mahomedans."^{*}

The evils described above are inseparable from the horrors and consequences of wars. In European wars, similar scenes are very often enacted in the sacking of cities. Even in the recent war of 1870 between France and Germany, though the German troops were perhaps the finest in the world, such scenes now and then happened in the capture of French towns. These and other instances of former wars have afforded sufficient evidences of lust and rapine to prove or explain beyond doubt that these are not solitary incidents of Asiatic warfare only. The Cawnpore atrocities ought to be considered as the outcome of a spirit of vengeance inherent in man.

At first the suffering of the captive ladies was somewhat hard, but "after a few days their condition was somewhat changed by the Nana's order—cleansed or washed gowns etc. were provided and meat supplied to them daily; a few servants, Khitmatgur etc. were also employed to attend to them".[†] This unwholesome act was probably an outcome of the good advices of the Emperor of Delhi whose instructions had been earnestly solicited by the Nana regarding the female captives, immediately after their capture. In reply the good Emperor advised Nana to treat them well and in a generous manner.[‡]

Leaving the new Peshwa in the plenitude of his power, let us turn for a moment to the measures taken by the authorities at Calcutta to stem the onward progress of the revolt. The authorities at Calcutta exerted their utmost to expedite the march of the avenging army. The relief of Cawnpore was the first important

* *Mutinies in Oude*, p. 55.

† Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I p. 342.

‡ Cf. Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 344.

THE REIGN OF TERROR AT CAWNPORE

object of the expedition. Accordingly, forces composed of the British and the Sikhs were hurried forward by forced marches under no less an able general than Sir H. Havelock. On the 30th of June 1857, the advance column of the British army marched from Allahabad for Cawnpore, under Major Renaud, accompanied by Lieut.-Col. Neill ; it consisted of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 100 troopers of the irregular cavalry and 9 guns. For the aid of this advance host, a force was sent by water in the steamer under Spurgin on the 3rd July. The advance host's rapid career was marked by fearful retribution. The countries through which they passed were tranquilized 'by the very simple expedient of hanging everybody who showed signs of insubordination.* As they were thus proceeding, spreading terror all around, they laid down a telegraph, the previous communication having been destroyed. And to ensure the safety of the present telegraphic communication, they took recourse to the easy and summary means of "hanging the inhabitants of the villages within which were found pieces of the old wire."† On they marched for three days, leaving everywhere behind them, as they went, traces of the retributory power of the English "in desolated villages and corpses dangling from the branches of trees." Kaye observes : "I should be untrue to history if I did not record my belief that these retributory measures were distinguished by undue severity."‡ Innocent peasants of the villages were executed by the avenging army simply on frivolous charges such as their not hindering the destruction of the wires or having in their possession "some article of English apparel, or a coin or two of more value than it was supposed they could have honestly obtained."§ It was too much to expect from these hapless peasants that they should have stood against the measures of the rebels. Nothing but a cruel death could have been the result had they even dared to lift their little finger against such a step. An officer attached to this advance column afterwards said to Mr. Russell : "that the executions of the natives in the line of march were indiscriminate to the last degree. The officer in command was emulous of Neill, and thought he could show equal vigour. In two days 42 men were hanged on the road side, and a batch of 12 men were executed because their faces were 'turned in the wrong way' when they were met on the march. All the villages in his front

*Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 322.

† *Ibid* p. 313.

‡ *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol II p. 284.

§ *Martin's Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 374.

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were burned when he halted. These severities could not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre, because they took place before that diabolical act. The officer in question remonstrated with Ranaud, on the ground that if he persisted in this course he would empty the villages and render it impossible to supply the army with provisions".*

Lieutenant Spurgin was not a whit behind his coadjutor in land to show an indefatigable vigour in the pleasant task of retribution. While he was steaming off the shore of Oude, regarding it a hostile land, he ordered an indiscriminate firing. The hostile as well as the friendly villages suffered most from such a step. In this way "he opened fire on the village of a loyal zemindar who had protected and entertained fugitive Europeans."† The sad mistake was soon found out and apologies were afterwards sent to the injured Zemindar from Allahabad. Mr. Holmes corroborates the above facts and fully believes that the "soldiers butchered innocent citizens and were in no mood to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty."‡

In the course of this destructive career the advanced army learnt with dismay that their object of relieving Cawnpore had been frustrated. Cawnpore had fallen, General Wheeler and his brave army had capitulated and been most treacherously murdered. Losing not a moment, Havelock marched on the 7th of July with the main force, overtook the advanced column on the 11th and arrived at Futtegurh on the 12th. During this march the havoc committed by the advanced column was noticed by Havelock. "There were no indications that the column was traversing an inhabited country, except the bodies which hung by twos and threes from branches (of trees) and sign-posts, and the gaunt swine who by the roadside were holding their loathsome carnival."§ "Havelock's soldiers smiled grimly as they pointed to the dark corpses which hung from the sign-posts and the trees along the road."§ When the soldiers had been thus engaged in their uncouth merriment, their great General sickened by the hideous sight thought of something more important. He at once perceived the immense danger to which Ranaud unconsciously put himself into.

* Russell's *Diary of India*, Vol II, p. 402. Cf. also *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XLIV (1857-58) part 2 p. 23.

† *Journal of Major North*, p. 30.

‡ *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 302. note

§ Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 324 Cf. also *Parliamentary Papers (1857)* part 1, page 32.

§ Holmes' *History of Indian Mutiny*, p. 295.

THE REIGN OF TERROR AT CAWNPORE

In Fattehpore, Jewala Prasad was encamped with all his pompous chivalry. His army far outnumbered that of Renaud and had he daringly pushed forward and given battle to Renaud before the coming up of the main army, Renaud's small army would have at once been totally destroyed. But fortunately from this imminent danger Renaud was saved through the cowardice and sluggishness of the enemy and by the promptness with which Havelock overtook him. The Mahomedans, foremost in braggart and in all sorts of villainy, were the last to show courage in time of danger. After a short encounter, Havelock succeeded completely in routing this heterogenous body of craven hearts.

The routed mass flying in irretrievable disorder never stopped till they reached the place of their shelter.* The Nana learnt with bitter dismay the rout of his army. After rebuking and remonstrating with them for their infamous conduct he sent his brother Bala Rao with a large army. At Ameng, 22 miles off Cawnpore, the belligerents met on the 15th. Both armies fought gallantly. Bala Rao, though a cruel man of the first water, yet was not a coward.† He fought with all his might and ability; but nothing could withstand the superior tactics and valour of the British army. The rebel army gave way; they lost their guns and precipitately fled towards Cawnpore, taking with them their General who was wounded on the right shoulder by a musket-ball. The wounded General forthwith proceeded to his brother's headquarters, as a harbinger of the route of his army.

The British army, elated with success, lost not a moment to push towards the bridge over the Pandu Nadee. The bridge was well guarded by the mutineers, but nothing could prevent the onward rush of the victorious English army. After a severe fight with the mutineers, Havelock with his army forced the Pandu Nadee bridge and marched straight to Cawnpore, much fatigued and exhausted. The casualties of the victors were not great compared with those of the vanquished, but the loss of their able officer, Major Renaud, was bitterly cherished for many a long day.‡

G. L. D.

* Parliamentary Papers, Vol. xxx (1857) p. p. 631—33.

† Trevelyan's *Cawnpore* 329.

‡ Vide Marshman's *Memorials of Sir H. Havelock*, p. 299 c.f. also the Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XLIV, 1857-58, Part I, p. 120.

OCCASIONAL STORIES

TOO LATE*

A STORY OF RUNG MEHAL

XII

Jehanara had calmed herself and now felt some self-complacence in having been able to kill her inclinations for the sake of her father. Thus though her face bore outward signs of an imperturbable calmness the shrewd observer could discern traces of recent trouble curiously mingled with a strange feeling of almost unlovely self-satisfaction.

It was in this mood that she came to see her father. The great monarch was evidently on the verge of the grave and when Jehanara came to him he was reclining in the corridor on a couch brought for him with his eyes fixed on the Taj Mehal with most wistful looks about them. It seemed that the monarch was greedily looking forward to a cool bed under its shade beside his lovely spouse.

Jehanara wiped away a tear from her eyes unnoticed by the Emperor. She then tried to soothe the Emperor's thoughts by reading ; she could not trust to her powers of conversation, for her heart was burdened with grief. She read passages from one of her father's best loved books and the old man tried to follow her, for his introspection had grown troublesome to him too. But soon the attempt was given up. Jehanara found it weary work with a bleeding heart and Shah Jehan felt it no better. So they fell to talking on divers topics.

Long hours they had passed in talking to each other before they came to a long pause, such as occasionally does come to you when you are engaged in talking of indifferent topics with a heavy heart. They were talking of their past and in the pause that occurred the Emperor's thoughts turned to the acts of his own life. The thoughts of some stung him most bitterly.

After a long pause the Emperor said, "Jehanara, I am dying,

* Mr. Printer whom irate authors have often given very uncomplimentary names has taken great liberties with my proofs, the result of which is that the part of the story in the last number which ought to have ended with the words "went to see her father" in line 13 in p. 31 was permitted to run on much longer. My readers will please regard this part of the story as an 'improvement' of the printer and cancel it.—N.C.S.G.

I trust I am speeding to Peace. But one thought troubles me most. I have grievously wronged you."

"No father," said Jehanara, bursting to tears, "you have been awfully kind to me. You have loved me more than ever a father loved his child."

• "That I have, and it was this love that made me so blind, so stupidly jealous and selfish. I wanted to keep your love all to myself, I wanted to keep you the mistress of the greatest Emperor's harem. It was for this I could not bear the thought of your marriage. The thought of losing you was too much for me. The idea that you should exchange a royal place for a petty household was disgusting to me. The result of that folly is that I have to leave you a recluse, lost to the joys of the world and, what is worse, I have to leave you a humble dependant on the scape-grace Aurungzeb and the brute of a Roushanara." The Emperor's eyes glistened and he dropped his head resignedly on his pillow. •

Jehanara's heart was too full for a reply.

After a while the Emperor raised his head again and said, "And think of it, that to bring you to this fate I killed a promising young man whose only fault was that he loved you. Kasim, if he lived, continued the Emperor in a half-soliloquy "would have been an ornament of mankind." "I might have made you happy Jehanara, and left you prosperously settled in life. I might have given Kasim the fairest of my Subahs to lord it at his will and you would have been a lady not worse off than any Empress. But I insisted on your lording it over the Rung Mehal, the fool that I was."

• XII

Jehanara's heart was stung to the quick by her father's speech. She was staggered and did not know what to think or feel. Only a few hours ago she had written a cutting letter to Kasim for fear of giving pain to her father. What would she not now give to have that letter called back and to go herself to Fatehpur Sikri and see Kasim!

Excitedly she rose, and bade her father a hurried adieu. The Emperor noticed her flutter. He sighed and resigned himself back to his pillow.

Jehanara hurried to her rooms, gave urgent orders for preparation to start for Fatehpur Sikri and stood on the tip-toe of expectation for the moment when the arrangements would be completed and she might leave. There was time yet for her to go and meet Kasim at Fatehpur Sikri before her fatal missive reached him.

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How she wished that she were a humble woman who wanted no preparations to start on an errand !

In one hour's time the preparations were completed. At her command an express camel cart had been got ready and it started at top-speed for her destination. When she reached Fatehpur Sikri, it was long past midday. The ascent of the cart up-hill to the shrine of Selim Chisti took some time. At the lofty gateway of the splendid mausoleum a body of matrons anxiously awaited her. She was not a stranger to them. The shrine frequently had the honour of her visit and the benefit of her charities. Her appearance there at the time caused no surprise.

She jumped out of her cart and anxiously asked the matrons in an unusually loud voice, " Is there anybody of the name of Kasim here ? "

The matrons looked at each other in surprise at the question and its tone, but one said that there was a Kasim there who had recently come from Kashmir.

" Then it must be he," exclaimed Jehanara, " thank God ! May I see him."

The matrons were doubly surprised. The princess to talk to a man ! But a girl rushed to bring Kasim to her presence. Meanwhile the princess stepped into the magnificent paved quadrangle of the shrine, walked up to the mausoleum of the saint and offered her oblations in thankfulness.

She had not stayed there long before the girl who had gone for Kasim came back and informed her that Kasim had gone out but was expected every moment and that he would be sent to her presence so soon as he came. Jehanara was impatient and fidgetted about, yet she preserved her outward composure to a very large extent.

Shortly afterwards Kasim did come and was ushered to her presence. When the princess saw him she staggered back. It was not the man she was dying to see but a humble workman of the locality. Faintly she asked, " Is this the only Kasim here ? "

" Yes " was the reply.

Jehanara's head reeled. But then the thought flashed across her mind, he might be living under a false name. But how was she to know ?

When she was thus arguing within herself the faqir who was in charge of the mausoleum sent a messenger asking permission to see her. On the news of the approach of the Princess having been received the males of the shrine had left it and along

with them the faqir. But when Jehanara sent for Kasim the faqir recollected that a man had only a short while ago charged him with a message as coming from one Kasim. He did not at that time care much what the tramp said but the anxious enquiry for Kasim made him think that after all the Princess might be anxious to hear about him. So he sent word to see her and was soon called to her presence.

Jehanara made a bow and the faqir blessed her. "You are anxious," "said the faqir "to see a Kasim?"

"Yes" anxiously exclaimed Jehanara. "Yes" she repeated with greater vehemence, "could you tell me anything about him?"

"Not much," said the faqir, "but a humble tramp came to me a few hours before you came and asked me to inform you when you next came that he had received your letter and would never cross your path again. He also said that a Princess might refuse to explain things on earth but in Heaven every little bit of work will have to be accounted for."

"So it will," said Jehanara. A very visible change had over her features. A superhuman calmness and a ghastly pallor had overspread her face and she looked every inch a dead woman. She spoke no more but slowly rose to go. To the faqir and the matrons she made a silent salute and walked up to the gate where the cart was waiting ready for the return journey. At one step from the vehicle she turned round and asked the faqir, "When did he leave the place?"

"About two hours ago" was the reply.

"Which way did he go?"

"I do not know."

"Could anybody tell you?"

"Not likely," replied the fakir, "when I heard that you were looking about for Kasim I asked most people if they had seen a man like the one that talked to me but no one could say anything."

Jehanara stepped into the car. The curtains were drawn. Just then she heard a splash of water—she knew it was the boys jumping into the *Baoli* or well close by. The boys of the locality did love to jump into its deep waters from incredible heights for sport. Jehanara had often seen them perform those feats. But now the sound startled her—a thought occurred to her and she developed it through excruciating details as the cart sped on its way back to a joyless home. Could it be that Kasim had drowned himself in the *Baoli*? For if he had gone out of the shrine somebody must have noticed him. Her idea was that he had got up on

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the high wall of the mansoleum and thrown himself into the Baoli.

So, thought Jehanara, Kasim must have died. In this case as in his first misfortune she was the cause of his fate. If she had not been too hasty in writing a reply to his letter, if she had cared to know her father's mind before sending the letter Kasim, would have been alive, and though Aurungzeb would never permit her to be married to him yet they might hope to live in the confidence of each other's love. But she was too hasty in sending the letter, and in coming to the reparation of her mischief she was too late.

When Jehanara came back to the Agra Palace the maid had arrived and was awaiting her. She felt a sort of insane hatred for the woman who had been the innocent cause of her discomfiture and sorrow and did not speak to her.

The maid however came forward and told her that she had delivered the letter and that Kasim had charged her with the reply.

"What did he say?" anxiously asked Jehanara.

"I must not write a reply" he said" replied the maid, "nor must I ever cross her path again but tell your mistress that she may avoid a reckoning here, but a day will come when she will have to explain everything before the great God."

"That I will have to," exclaimed Jehanara in anguish. "Did he tell you" continued she, "anything about his past life?"

"He did" said the maid, "and it was a most sorrowful tale. He was saved by the kindness of the Shahzada who had given him a betel to take instead of the one the Emperor gave him. This he did take and as a result of some drug which the Prince had packed up in the betel he soon felt dizzy and became insensible. In this condition he was removed by the Prince's men and so soon as he was well he was packed off as a trooper under an assumed name and was all along with the Prince in his fights against Morad and Aurungzeb. When the Prince fled to Lahore Kasim accompanied him there. All along Kasim was under the impression and Shahzada encomaged the idea, that he was about to die by your machinations. While he was one day strolling by the ramparts of the Lahore Fort he found a letter thrown out of the window by the Prince and he picked it up out of curiosity. In this letter which was meant for you the prince told the circumstances under which Kasim was saved, he confessed that he had felt some hesitation in allowing him to meet you or be married to you, for he regarded it as a great humiliation; and said that he was sending

Kasim to you before he died thus fulfilling, so far as it lay in him, the promise which he had made.

"Evidently after writing the letter the Prince had changed his mind and had thrown away the letter. But it was from this letter that Kasim first came to know how matters stood. He could not however leave the Prince to whom he owed his life in his distress and he loyally stood by his side till the Prince was cruelly killed by the Emperor.

"After that he came to see you. He was recognised as an adherent of Dara and thrown into gaol. In jail he remained for over one year till he was lucky enough to make good his escape. After this he had to go into hiding for some time and the first thing that he did when he thought he was reasonably safe was to come back to Agra, reduced to the utmost poverty, to seek an interview with you. This he long tried but in vain. One day he met me in the Musjid and recognising me as your maid he gave me the letter which I delivered to you."

Jehanara patiently heard through the story but made no answer. She was deeply mortified. To marry Kasim was in any case out of the question, but to have failed to meet him and explain herself to the man whom she loved more than life and to whom she had appeared as a relentless amazon was a circumstance that might well cause her the deepest anguish. But she did not speak nor weep. She treasured up her sorrow in her breast as a most cherished thing to be indulged in all alone.

XIV

A year more passed. And Emperor died with his eyes on the immortal Taj Mahal and his dear daughter beside him. With his dying breath he had uttered the name Kasim and with almost the last breath of his life had been whispered into his ears the truth that Kasim was perhaps alive. The knowledge lit up his features with joy but he had then no more power to speak.

Her father's death had been the severest trial to Jehanara and the amount of worry and trouble that she had had to suffer at the time had totally undermined her health and destroyed the peace of her mind. With her father's death it was quite evident that Jehanara too was sinking to the grave. Her progress however was slow and she lived for some time yet, a silent and demure spinster going through the joyless round of prayers and spiritual functions according to her faith.

Her time came at last, when she was at Delhi where Aurungzeb had transferred his capital. The hekim saw her for the last time

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and nodded his head. A Hindu physician was brought in but he too had very little encouragement to offer. She was sinking and sinking without any hope. For a long time past her life was slowly wearing out and now the stage had come when it was to be blown out altogether.

Aurungzeb came to see his sister once. He was a pious Mussulman and though there was little love lost between the two in other respects, Aurungzeb had a secret regard for his sister's piety. He asked to be told of her last wish. Jehanara smiled. She was in full possession of her senses and replied "My sole desire is that nothing but grass should grow on my grave. Brother, everything of this earth is vain, but that vanity is the most foolish that seeks to cover these dirty bones with a gorgeous mausoleum." And she repeated a verse of her own composition in which she had expressed the sentiment and which is to this day to be found inscribed on her grave at Delhi.

Aurungzeb was deeply impressed by her last wish and left with a grave face. He had already begun to realise that the crown was only a great vanity and brought little else but trouble to the wearer.

When Aurungzeb had left, the maid approached her bed with her eyes swollen with weeping and softly said, " Begum Saheba, Kasim Khan desires to see you for the last time in life."

Jehanara slowly opened her eyes and faintly and dubiously said, " Kasim ! "

" Yes " said the maid. " He heard of your illness and has come to have a look at your face for the last time."

" Bring him in if possible," said Jehanara. " But I am afraid," she added with a smile, " he will scarcely recognise the sweet Jehanara of his dreams in the old hag now in the grips of death." The maid rushed out of the door. Aurungzeb was on the way to the Dewan-i-khas to meet his ministers. The maid fell at his feet and implored, " For Heaven's sake, Your Majesty, be pleased to permit me to bring in a faqir to Begum Saheba. She is anxious to see him."

Aurungzeb was agreeable and ordered a permit to be given. With the permit the maid went to bring Kasim to Jehanara's chamber.

Kasim was anxiously waiting at the the gate. His whole life had been made miserable by the thought that Jehanara had spurned him. Yet he had just learned from the maid how sorely he was mistaken. He was therefore on the tip-toe of expectation and in the greatest anxiety to meet Jehanara and ask her forgiveness for having wronged her in his mind.

He was in the midst of the most agonising cogitations when his expectation was gratified by the sight of the maid. Anxiously he accompanied her through the winding ways that a male visitor to the Rung Mehal had to follow.

On entering the room he stopped at the door. His eyes were fixed on the form of Jehanara lying at full length on her silver cot with a charming ethereal beauty about her face. Her eyes were closed, her face was pale and a smile was playing on her lips.

Kasim had come but Jehanara did not open her eyes. The maid eagerly called her, but she did not answer. This want of response stung Kasim's heart like a poisoned dart suddenly flung from an unexpected quarter. The thought struck him like a sudden blow, "Could she be dead?"

She was dead. But there was nothing on her features to tell them that she was dead. She seemed to be asleep and dreaming a sweet dream. But they discovered it soon. The maid threw herself on her body with the most piteous wail. But Kasim did not weep. For one moment he gazed on the form of one he had worshipped from early youth and whose young face had remained a fading but dearly cherished picture in his breast. He gazed now on quite another picture of her under the calm and majestic shadow of death and chastened by age and humility. And then he slowly turned back and retraced his steps.

No one saw him or heard of him after this his final departure from the Rung Mehal.

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

An Announcement

In the next number of *The Indian World* will appear the first instalment of a new version of the story of the drama entitled *Mrichchakatika* or "The Toy Cart in Clay" which is believed to have been written under Buddhistic influence about two centuries before the birth of Christ. The drama is absorbing in interest and is a perfect mirror of the time in which it was written.—Ed., *I.W.*

REVIEWS & NOTICES

THE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF HINDUISM

[सनातन धर्म संग्रहः संख्या भागः (Sanātana-Dharma-Sangraha, Part I) by the Hon'ble Pundit MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA, M.A., L.L.B., of Allahabad.]

This big volume which has been lying on our table for over a year seems to have been compiled with a view to forming a sort of epitome of the basic principles of Hindu Religion and Morality. It is called the Sanatana-Dharma-Sangraha, *i.e.*, a Manual of the Eternal Religion. What is at present called the Hindu Religion had no specific name in ancient Sanskrit literature. The old sages knew of one religion only, and hence a specific name for this religion was not necessary, nay it was not possible. To them it was simply *Religion*. It is only in the later literature that the word Hindu is met with. The Merutantra, for example, speaks of *Hindu-dharma* very much as we do at present. But this book mentions the फरिंगी भाषा (the language of the Feringhees) and the अंग्रेज (the English) as well! Moreover, the Hindu religion does not owe its foundation and spread to the genius of any single man like Buddhism, Christianity and Mahomedanism. We owe it to the religious consciousness of the whole of the Indo-Aryan Race. We cannot say in what century, nay in what millenium, the Hindu Religion was first conceived. Its beginning is truly unknown. Hence it may, with some propriety, be called the Eternal Religion.

There is yet another implication in the employment of the term 'Eternal Religion' for the *Hindu-dharma*. It implies that beneath the changing phases of the Hindu Religion, there is something that is unchanging, something that is permanent, something that is eternal. In the Mahabharata, we often read of an eternal religion to which all sincere thinkers have invited the devotion of their fellow-men since the dawn of history. The deservedly popular text-books of Hindu Religion and Morality, published by the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College, Benares, have familiarized all with the term सनातन धर्म (Sanatana-dharma) in this sense.

Having thus briefly indicated what is intended by the term 'Eternal Religion,' let us try to unfold its contents. What constitutes this Eternal Religion? What are the eternal elements that were

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always present in the Vaidic, Smarta, Pauranic and Tantric Religions? The present treatise is a partial answer to this question, and it may be said at once that it is a good and promising answer.

The book opens with prayers culled from the Vedas, the Mahabharata and the Srimadbhagavata. These prayers breathe a spirit of lofty devotion, and one only regrets there are not many more of them. But let us wait for the second volume, which the compiler has virtually promised by calling the volume under review 'part I.'

The next section deals with 'Duties' in general. We should humbly suggest that at least two different sorts of types should be used in printing the second edition, the more important passages being printed in bolder type. For example, the passage on page 8, beginning with

प्रभवाधीय भूतानि धर्मप्रवर्तनं लक्ष्यम्

which has been taken from the Santiparva of the Mahabharata, contains a very clear statement of the utilitarian doctrine, and as such it deserves very prominent insertion. Important passages like these are scattered throughout the book but very often they have been assigned an unimportant corner. It should not be so. They must be printed in bolder types, and be placed at the beginning or end of sections to draw prominent attention to them.

Take again the important verses (pp. 13-14) which give precedence to यम् (yama) over नि-यम् (ni-yama) and mean, in modern terminology, the obligatory nature of morality and the comparative unimportance of mere religious rites. This is a most important distinction for modern Hindu Society and it is a pity that a more prominent place could not be found for the passage which emphasises this distinction.

Under Truthfulness (सत्य), we are sorry to miss important verses such as

यद्भूतसितमत्यन्तं तद्वै सत्यं परं लक्ष्यम्

which occurs in various parts of the Mahabharata. These contain a clear indication, if indeed such were needed, that the prevailing character of the Hindu Shastras is altruistic. Many of the verses that have been quoted under this head are perfectly superfluous and their place might very well have been taken by other verses, e. g. from the Mahabharata, Anusasanaparva, chapter 144. Indeed the whole book contains many examples of rather careless selection, and by the exercise of greater judgment it would be quite possible to reduce the size of the book by half without sacrificing an iota from its value. In fact one of the principal merits of such a book

should be its handy size, though the learned compiler of the present work has overlooked that fact. As regards faults of omission, there must be many in the first edition of such a work, and when we point them out, it must be understood that we do it with the best of intentions. Under 'Forgiveness' (प्रमा), for example, the compiler quotes from the Mahabharata, Vanaparva, chapter 29. It is very unfortunate that chapter 28 which is full of excellent ethical principles has not been quoted instead. It is not of any very great use to quote the blessings of Forgiveness, Truthfulness or of any other virtue, which the compiler frequently does. At best they are merely persuasive. What we want is useful suggestions for the guidance of humanity, and from this point of view such omissions seem to be rather curious. There are omissions of verses in a narrative here and there, marring the sense altogether, e.g., under *dama* (दम) p. 174, one does not know why verses 13 and 14 have been omitted unless it be attributed to the printer's devil. Similarly under *brahmacharyya* (ब्रह्मचर्य), p. 182, verses 80-86 should never have been omitted.

Wrong head-lines are sometimes met with, e.g. p. 201, त्रिविधि तपः is a mistake for स्वर्गास्मिनः.

Under 'Charity' (दानम्), we very much miss slokas like the following :—

विशेषस्तु विशेषो न्याये नौपाजिंसं धनम् ।
पावे काले च देशे च साधुभ्यं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥
अन्यायान् समुपात्तेन दानधर्मी खलेन चः ।
क्रियते न च कर्त्तारं वायते महतो भयात् ॥
(महाभारतम् अ २५ का ११-१२)

In the Hindu Society of the present day it is quite common to praise a man who robs Peter to pay Paul. A Zemindar may oppress his tenants, a clerk may accept bribes, but if they give away large sums of money in charity, our Society is ready to praise them. The moral sense of the Hindu Community has become vitiated. The Shastras are clearly against such indiscriminate praise, and if compilations like the present one do not serve the useful purpose of showing to our people the real meaning of the Shastras in matters like these, their very *raison de être* is gone. The above verses also condemn those people who help by their charity such able-bodied villains as masquerade under the name of hermits.

One very important feature which adds materially to the value of the book is that it relates the story of the lives of some of India's greatest sons and daughters, e. g., Rama, Harischandra, Rantideva, Sita, and Savitri. These stories will be of very great use to the new

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generation, who scarcely find time to read the voluminous Ramayana and Mahabharata, and who consequently get all their inspiration from their English text-books. They will see here that inspiring lives were once plentiful in their own country and that they need not go a-borrowing for ideals from foreign histories.

Recently the people of India have turned their attention inward—homeward. It is imperative that the opportunity thus provided by a national awakening should not be thrown away by the worker in the cause of the religious regeneration of India. India is essentially a spiritual country, and without the restoration of her spiritual greatness, no permanent good could be done to her. For this reason, we heartily welcome books like this, for they will substantially help us in the work of Nation-Building. We understand that a Code very much on the lines of the treatise under review is in contemplation by the Geeta Society of Calcutta, and we learn with pleasure that the services of some distinguished scholars have already been secured. We earnestly commend this valuable compilation to their notice and hope it will stand them in good stead in their arduous work. The Hon'ble Pandit Madanmohan deserves the gratitude of the Indian reading public for having spared the time and trouble for such a useful publication and we hope the promised Part II will not take a long time in appearing.

Samskritist

SELECTIONS

THE BRITISH AND NATIVE ARMY IN INDIA

Before we enquire how far the army in India is an efficient instrument to defend the country and to maintain peace, we must form some idea of its strength. And when we speak of the army we must include the whole of the armed forces, and not merely the regular troops. It is convenient to divide these into two lines. The first line is composed of the British troops, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, about 74,000 strong, and of the native army, cavalry, artillery, sappers and miners, and infantry, 138,000 in all, giving a total of 212,000 men. If we add the reserve of the regular native army, 28,000—eventually to be increased to 50,000—and the Imperial Service troops, 18,000, we have a total of 258,000. Then in the second line we have British volunteers, 35,000; the military police battalions, 18,000; and the frontier militia and levies, 14,500—giving a total for this line of 67,500.

The Imperial Service troops may be classed with the regular forces, although they belong to certain of the Chiefs of native States, because they are intended for service with the regular army in case of war. In the second line the British Volunteers are to help to maintain the peace of the country, the military police, chiefly in Assam and Burma, are for local work, and the militia on the North-West Frontier are to preserve the peace of the border. So that we have 258,000 soldiers, British and native, permanently embodied and in reserve, with a second line of 67,500 men for garrison and local work. This gives a grand total of 325,000 men.

THE POWER OF THE ARMY

We cannot say that all these belong to the regular army, because the military police and militia are under the civil authorities, but practically they are all soldiers. Behind this military force we have a civil police of 145,000 men, with an "armed reserve" at the headquarters of each district, whose equipment consists of S. B. muskets or carbines, a few only carrying rifles. This is a very small police force for this enormous country, but besides this organised body every village has its "watchman," or local policeman. Of these there are 700,000.

No one can doubt that the Indian Army is sufficient to effectually undertake what we may call local external defence.

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The real point is, can India itself supply an army of sufficient power to defend the country from an advance of a military power?

The reply to that question is not entirely in the negative. It is that we cannot supply sufficient British troops from the army in India, and must depend on large reinforcements from home and the colonies, but we can supply an adequate force of native soldiers. A very large army, or series of armies, would be required, although not at the outbreak of war, for two things must be remembered—first, that if we had to help to defend Afghanistan we should do so with the Afghan Army fighting in line with us, backed by many thousand guerillas; and, secondly, that until railways have been carried into the Amir's dominions there is no possibility of feeding enormous masses of men and animals.

We come then to the conclusion that the ultimate defence of India from external enemies lies in the power of this country to send large reinforcements, and in the strength to which India can, on emergency, raise the native army. The one is in the hands of this country, the other in India, but even in this last, while India can and should make her arrangements for expansion, England must be in a position to furnish a large number of officers, and it is in this respect that our system is still specially deficient at the present time.

THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF INDIA

If we turn now to the question of the army and the second line in their relation to the internal security of India, we must first inquire into the conditions which we have to meet. And here we are confronted by a problem of great dimensions. The population of India is some 300 millions. It is spread over an immense area, and what that area is must be fixed solidly into the minds of the people at home by the realisation of the statement that it is larger than the whole of Europe without Russia, and that it is considerably more than fourteen times the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The physical characteristics are wonderfully diversified. Mountainous or hilly in some parts, in others monotonously flat, with great rivers flowing through the land, fed by innumerable smaller streams, widespread and highly cultivated plains in one province, far stretching forests in another; there is no country in the world which presents such differences in physical and climatic conditions.

The vast population, the main portion living by their tillage of the soil, reflects all these differences, and in language, colour,

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religion, physical and intellectual qualities presents extraordinary contrasts. There is no "Indian nation," and strictly speaking, there are no nationalities. The population springs from many different stocks, the products of successive invasions of India, and those who are supposed to be indigenous inhabitants still exist in the wilder districts. The great distinctions are religious, racial, territorial, and tribal.

It will be easily understood, therefore, that our Government of all these races must rest upon something more than mere force. Military strength there must be in full evidence, but there must also be confidence among the masses in the justice of our rule. And taking the whole population of India, it is believed that the majority have no desire for change. Still, there are numberless forces working against us and the agitators have organised a mission of sedition which requires constant watchfulness and continuous repression.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH TROOPS

The British Army in India consists of 9 regiments of cavalry, 70 batteries of horse, field, mountain, and heavy artillery, with 408 mobile guns, and 22 garrison companies; and 52 infantry battalions. Many of these men are quite young soldiers, the climate of India is trying to the constitution of the European, and there is a heavy sick-list, so that we cannot reckon upon the whole of the British force being ready to take the field. The units are relieved in their turn after somewhat long periods, but the individual soldier does not pass more than five to six years in India on the average, and in many cases serves for a far shorter period. With certain additions and changes due to service in the East, the organisation of the British units is much the same as at home, but they are maintained at a higher strength, and may be reckoned as attaining a remarkable pitch of military efficiency.

The distribution of British troops was for a great many years mainly based upon the necessity for occupying vital centres and garrisons, and guarding the great lines of railway, while a not inconsiderable portion of the British force has always been located on the slopes of the Himalayas and in other healthy positions. That has been the policy in the past rather than one which expresses itself in a special military organisation, for the purpose of war beyond the frontier.

This question is too large a one to be discussed in this place, but whether we approve of this later policy or not, it is surely evident to those without the slightest personal knowledge of India

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that, it would be in the highest degree dangerous to reduce the British force as a permanent measure.

The whole cost of the British troops serving in India, and of their recruitment and training, as well as their pensions or "non-effective" charges, is borne by the Indian taxpayers. We cannot increase this force, however desirable such a step might be, because the revenues of India could not bear the large additional expenditure which would be involved. And there is even a stronger reason against such an increase in that England is unable to supply more men under the present military system and conditions, for the greatest difficulty is experienced even now in finding the annual drafts which are required. We cannot increase the force permanently, but it would be a fatal policy, especially at this juncture, to reduce the strength of the white garrison.

SOURCES OF THE NATIVE ARMY

The native army of to-day is drawn from many sources, from the Punjab and beyond the border; from Nepal, which furnishes the Gurkhas; from Hindustan, and in fewer numbers from Western and Southern India.

Since the Mutiny of 1857 the normal policy has been the adoption of a varied system in the constitution of the army. Some regiments are homogeneous, or of one class, as in the case of the Gurkhas, and about one-third of the army is organised on the class system. The remainder is organised on the "class squadron" or "class company" system. Thus, four companies of a regiment may consist of Sikhs, two of Mahomedans from the Punjab, and two of Pathans, also Mahomedans, from beyond the N. W. Frontier.

With pay and pension assured, the army is a favourite service with the agricultural class; and in the cavalry, having an admirable system of its own, under which the Sowar or trooper has a pecuniary interest in his horse and equipment, men of good family are to be found in the ranks. Except some mountain batteries the native army possesses no artillery. But its training, discipline, and equipment are based in a great measure on the system of the British Army, with such modifications as rendered necessary by the conditions of India or have been suggested by long experience.

The British officers of native regiments make their career in India, and as a rule are in strong sympathy with their men, between whom and themselves the best possible feeling prevails. The British officers of the Indian Army are an extremely hard-working body of soldiers, whose military qualities equal, if they do not surpass, those of the officers of any army in the world.

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SO-CALLED REFORMS

Taken as a whole, the Indian Army is a wonderful military instrument when we consider that it is composed of materials drawn from the races we have conquered. And we may fairly say that the *personnel* of the army is staunch and would act under its British leaders in the repression of disturbance in any part of India. That is not a condition which has been obtained during the last few years by so-called reforms. It is a grand heritage of a great system which has been built up by years of labour and effort, by a succession of soldiers and statesmen. But no one can venture to affirm that the effect of continuous agitation may not seriously affect a portion of that army, or that constant changes and unsympathetic measures conceived in the spirit of Western militarism may not undermine its contentment.

The Eastern soldier cannot be dealt with as if he were sprung from the West. Strength and sympathy form the keynote to the just rule of Asiatics, and without these we may as well give up the game.

The tendency of the present military policy in India is to amalgamate all the elements of the native army, and to get rid of racial and territorial distinctions, dealing with the troops in all the higher matters of administration from a far distant centre. The tremendous evil of over-centralisation and concentration is a grave political danger. The statesmen and soldiers of a few years back were keenly alive to this, but their experience is now disregarded, and the idea is to make the army a military machine to be used against a foreign invasion—a remote contingency—without any consideration of the perils attendant on such a course when unaccompanied by a recognition of the paramount importance of suiting our Indian military organisation to the conditions of the country and of the races we govern. Recent events in India should lead us to beware of attempts to tamper with a system which is based upon experience, and upon the essential conditions of our rule in that great Dependency.—(Lieut.-General Sir Edwin H. H. Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B., in the *Dundee Advertiser*.)

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

Who was the first Englishman that ever set foot in India? If we may believe a statement of the chronicler, William of Malmesbury, a certain Sighelin of Sherborne was sent by King Alfred in the year 883 to Rome with presents to the Pope, and thence

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proceeded to the East Indies to visit the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle at Mylapore (now a suburb of Madras), and, returning to England, brought back with him a quantity of spices and precious stones. This story of William of Malmesbury, however, does not seem to meet with credence among modern critics. Strange to say, if the story be not true, we must pass over a period of almost exactly seven centuries before we find the first authenticated case of an Englishman's foot on the soil of our future Indian Empire. Stranger still, this pioneer was a Jesuit father, Thomas Stephens, a native of Bulstan, in Wiltshire, who landed on the Indian shores in 1579. Sir W. W. Hunter, Sir M. Monier-Williams, Mr. Philip Anderson, and other authorities agree in making Thomas Stephens the first Englishman known to have visited India. His family and his career are fairly well-known. Unlike his brother Richard, who was a student at New College, Oxford, and had a remarkably varied career, vacillating for some years between the old and the new religions, at one time an amanuensis under Dr. Jewell and Archbishop Parker, then a student, and finally professor of theology in Allen's famous College at Douay. Thomas does not seem to have been a university man, though he may have become a Catholic through the influence of Edmund Campion and other Oxford Catholics of his acquaintance. In the October of 1575, Thomas was admitted into the Society of the Jesuits in Rome, and in 1577 was in his novitiate there. The companion who seems to have mostly influenced his early life was Thomas Powne, "a man whose life-story may be said to range, with a grand and gloomy romance, from the dazzling splendours of the Royal Court, where he was a special favourite of the Queen, to the chilling horrors of an imprisonment of thirty long years, undergone in ten different dungeons, for the sake of the ancient faith. The perusal of the accounts of the Indian mission, few and far between as they must necessarily have been in those days, seems to have fired the hearts of both Powne and Stephens with a desire of entering the Society of Jesus."

The two friends, having collected a sufficient sum, secretly set out for Rome, but whilst Powne, through the treachery of a friend, was seized by the Queen's officers and doomed to his long imprisonment, Stephens succeeded in making good his escape from this country, and, as we have seen, was received in the Jesuit novitiate in Rome, having among his fellow-novices such well-known characters as Robert Persons, Henry Garnett, and others. Stephens' heart's desire to devote his life to the Indian missions

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was granted by the the then General of the Society, Mercurian, who sent him from Rome to Lisbon, whence on April 4, 1579, he sailed in one of the five ships for the East *via* the Cape of Good Hope, reaching Goa, on October 24 of the same year. In Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages" is preserved a letter, dated November 10 of the same year, written by Thomas Stephens to his father—the only one hitherto known to have been preserved. Of this letter Anderson in his "English in Western India" tells us that people in London were filled with amazement that "a Roman ecclesiastic should enter with such eagerness and penetration into commercial affairs," and adds: "His advices were the strongest inducement which London merchants had been offered to embark on Indian speculations." This, however, was natural enough; Thomas's father was a leading London merchant, and no doubt the young Jesuit had been brought up in perfect familiarity with mercantile ideas and principles. A second equally interesting letter of October 24, 1583, written in Latin and addressed to his brother Richard, the a doctor of theology in Paris, is preserved, at least in extracts, in a manuscript copy in the National Library at Brussels. A full translation of this manuscript is given by Mr. Saldanha in the book before us. Father Stephens, generally known by the Portuguese form of his name, Estevao, became one of the most celebrated and successful of the Jesuit missionaries in India, where he died in 1619 at the age of seventy, and was probably buried at Rachol, the archiepiscopal seminary of Goa. His forty years of missionary life were not entirely absorbed by his labours for his native converts; he frequently rendered valuable services to Europeans when in the East. Thus in 1583 he was able to rescue from imprisonment at the Portuguese settlement at Ormuz four of his fellow-countrymen, the English merchants Fitch, Newbury, Leeds, and Storie, and in 1608 the well-known French traveller, Peyrard de Laval, received generous assistance from Stephens whilst in prison at Goa, as he himself testifies.

But, after all, it is not on the side of either political or missionary history that Father Stephens has won his niche in the temple of fame. It is on the literary side that he attained pre-eminence. In the first place, he has the distinction of being the first European to compile a grammar of an Indian tongue. This was a grammar of the "Konkani" language, which for many years remained in manuscript and was not printed until 1640 at Rachol. Of this first edition only two copies are known to exist, one in the India Office Library. A second edition was issued as late as 1857. But

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more remarkable than even this very creditable performance is the fact that Stephens has attained the distinction—unique, I imagine—of being reckoned a classical author, indeed the foremost classic, in one of the native Indian languages. Authorities still discuss whether this idiom ought properly to be called Konkani or whether it was a form of the Mahratti language largely influenced by colloquial Konkani. We need not enter into this controversy. Suffice it to say that it was the vernacular of the peoples to whom Thomas Stephens had to minister, and that in order to teach them the principles of the Christian religion he compiled a great poem, to which, following the Sanskrit nomenclature, he gave the title of "The Christian Purana." Three editions, issued with the licence of the Portuguese authorities, seemed to have been published within forty years of the first appearance, in 1614, of the poem; yet no single copy of these is known to be extant, and only a few manuscript copies, prized as heirlooms in the ancient families of Southern Kanara, preserved the text of the celebrated classic until last year (1907), when, what is claimed to be, and practically is the *editio princeps*, was brought out in a handsome and scholarly volume by Mr. Joseph L. Saldanha. The "Puranna" is divided into two portions, the *Pailem Puranna* or first poem, consisting of 36 cantos, containing 4, 181 strophes, and covering the story of the Old Testament; and the *Dussarem Puranna* of 59 cantos and 6,781 strophes, each strophe being of four lines—a grand total of 10,962 strophes for the whole of the epic. The poem not only exercised a profound influence on the Christianity of the Konkani people, but also, on account of the correctness of its language and the beauty of its poetry, took rank from the very first as a leading classical work in the vernacular of the Konkan (the portion of the Bombay Presidency stretching from Bombay to Goa, between the ocean and the Western Ghats).

The "Christian Puranna" was in former times greatly esteemed and much used by these Christians. Parts of it used to be read out regularly to the faithful in church on Sundays and holy days. When some 60,000 of these Christians were hurried away to a cruel captivity in Seringapatam by order of Tippu Sahib, it was the recital of the "Puranna" which kept the exiles true to their faith. In more recent times the English tourist, Dr. Buchanan, has recorded the pleasing effect noticed by him whilst passing through Christian hamlets in Kanara of the combination of prayer and musical recitals from the "Puranna," which were an unfailing item at family gatherings. Of late years much of this popularity has

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died away, owing largely to the disappearance of the early printed editions and of the growing scarcity of manuscripts. Mr. Saldanha's edition is therefore opportune from more than one point of view.

The literary merits of Father Stephens's great poem have been recognised by both Indian and European scholars, and we may conclude with a quotation from a native scholar, Dr. Kirtikar: "When the history of the entire Marathi literature comes to be written, there will be found space for depicting the grandeur and solemnity of the first great and noble Song of Christ, in fact the only Song of Christ written in Marathi by an Englishman, and containing the outpourings of an exotic spirit that burned with luminous ardour when it lived for the true welfare of the people of this part of India."—(The Bishop of Salford in the *Manchester Guardian*.)

UNREST AND ITS CAUSES

I have attempted in these notes to give little more than the impressions *de voyage*, as they fell upon untutored eyes, and I have written with a full consciousness of the absurdity of over-confident opinions upon questions which call for the experience of a lifetime of familiarity. But no British subjects can divest himself of a certain responsibility for the vast problems of the Indian Empire; and rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, the ultimate judgment thereon must rest at Westminster. Few, I think, can doubt that the affairs of India will, in the future, occupy not less, but more, of the attention of Parliament. If we cannot cure our ignorance, and even though we must be cautious in judgement we may at least, after mingling in converse for months with those who know most and can judge best, form some idea of what the main questions at issue are, and estimate, to some extent, the leading varieties of opinion that are held. We can at least begin to apprehend where the seed-plots of danger lie, and what mischief rash utterances may cause.

At Calcutta there is doubtless concentrated much of the best official opinion in India, and it is necessarily in close touch with the various provinces which are ably represented there. But the authorities there would probably be the last to claim that their views should be taken as an epitome of the whole. On the other hand, public opinion at Calcutta outside the official ranks would be in some ways the most unsafe of all guides to follow. Amongst

the commercial class there are a few who know the country intimately, and judge its conditions with prudence, insight, and long practical knowledge. But the general society is largely composed of men who know Calcutta alone, and, as a consequence—to quote the words used to me by a Calcutta man—"know less about India than most educated men in London." The ordinary business man is not in touch with the native. In many instances he knows scarcely a word of his language. Yet on the broad questions of social relations and of political agitation he often speaks with far more of confidence, while carrying far less of conviction, than any official who has spent half a dozen years in an up-country district. Some of the leading commercial men gave me views of very great value; but their value was in proportion to their diffidence and their caution. Too often one hears in those circles, which are scarcely nearer to the heart of India than London is, a recklessness of talk which makes the wisest administrator shudder. They will confidently teach the officer of the native army the real truth as to disaffection amongst his men; and they will settle with easy dogmatism questions which puzzle the oldest official. You hear, with irritating frequency, words about "the ruling race" which never pass the lips of the responsible official. One difference between Calcutta and the Mofussil strikes one at once. So far as immediate personal danger is concerned, or any dread of things even worse than personal danger, they are no more present in Calcutta than in London. There may be riots there. We have them at times at home. But unrest in the provinces is a real and ever-present menace—and by so much the less is it apt to be talked of. You *feel* that it is there, rather than hear of it. Those at home do not hear of it, and for that reason do not sufficiently realise the feeling. But it is there all the same, not as a source of nervousness or timidity, but as a summons to unremitting watchfulness. Yet here in Calcutta and in Bengal generally, there is, beyond a doubt, the central machinery of political agitation. In other parts it takes various forms, and its intensity is felt in very different degrees. On the North-West Frontier it is working near the powder magazine of Pathan lawlessness and proneness to Mussulman fanaticism. Amongst the ranks of our native army it might easily find suitable soil, if we were ever to forget, or if we do not, indeed, carefully encourage, that feeling of *izzat*, or instinctive self-respect and high-spirited pride, which is the chief guard of their loyalty. In the Punjab it stirs the poorer agriculturist by defaming official efforts, by fostering discontent against the Lands Alienation

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Act, and by decrying the administration of the canal colonies. In the United Provinces it can appeal to a class prone in any case to lawlessness and crime, and it may excite some sympathy amongst the talukdars or big landlords, who think their rights are being filched away from them in favour of the poor tenant. In Bengal it appeals to religious antipathy against the Mohammedans, to fancied interference with landlord rights, and to a class hard pressed by economic changes ; and it can call to its aid a restless, turbulent, pampered host of Bengali lads, who are stirred to violence —so one is apt to suspect—by those whose public acts do not bring them within the law. Nothing is more certain than that the wires of all the agitation throughout the Mofussil, far and near, are pulled in Bengal.

There is nothing the impresses one more in any attempt to study Indian conditions than the wide contrasts between the economics of the different provinces as regards the land. The most ordinary nomenclature tells you this. In Punjab, the zemindar class in ordinary talk means the agricultural class generally, of which the vast majority are actual tillers of the soil. In Bengal, the zemindar is a landlord, and often a man who has waxed rich by the rack-renting of the ryot, under the conditions of Lord Cornwallis' permanent settlement. The meaning of the word is simply "landholders ;" but in the Punjab the tiller of the soil is, as a rule, the land-holder ; in Bengal he is the ryot.

Add to this central difference innumerable others—different proportions of race and religion, different character and physique, different customs and traditions—which divide one province from another, and you begin to understand not only the skill with which agitation is engineered, but its essential artificiality.

Who, then, are the chief engineers, and what is the foundation upon which they work ? No native advocate of the schemes of the moderate, or even of the extreme, party will admit that he hopes or seeks for the ending of British rule. The moderates and extremists are not words of very definite meaning, and on the fringes of both parties there are many who rank themselves according to an easy opportunism. Talking to an Englishman, every man will profess to be a moderate. In his public utterances every man will use words which can readily be interpreted by the extremist as favouring his views. It is doubtful how far the breach which occurred between the two during the Congress at Surat was for the advantage of settled rule or not. That there are, and that there are understood to be, two wings of the party is far from an inconvenience to those who wish to

extend its influence. But that there is a vast mass of ignorant native feeling, which vaguely looks for complete release from the white man's rule, and which would be stirred by no other appeal, in which the memory of old days is working, and who think that destiny is somehow on their side—this is absolutely certain. Equally certain it is that there are passages in many of the speeches which one reads every day which have no meaning except as appeals to this vague longing and underlying ambition, and that secret missives are being distributed widely in the vernacular, which are addressed avowedly and expressly to that feeling. I have seen some such papers which chance has occasionally brought to light, and no one can estimate how far or how deeply their influence is working.

Very probably the educated or pleader-class, from which the incendiaries are chiefly drawn, do not themselves indulge in such aspirations, although they are compelled to encourage them implicitly. They have to find more specious matter of appeal, and to present it in a form in which it will attract the support of those who indulge in wilder expectations. I have already spoken of the religious movement, known as the Arya-Somaj. It may be doubted whether, amongst the educated Hindoos, any religious movement would now have much influence; and the childish religious superstitions of the ignorant mass would not probably be attracted by what claims to be a liberalising and rationalising of the old beliefs. But any religious propaganda will rouse a certain interest, and it at least draws a convenient line of demarcation between the white man and the native, and between the Hindoo and the Mohammedan. We have only to recall the vast consequences of the religious movement that paved the way for the Sikh conquests, to realise how potent such a movement may become on this soil.

The next topic is Swadeshi, or the exclusive use of native products and native manufacture. This is a movement with which, within proper limits, and apart from any concomitant violence or boycott, every one to whom I have spoken professes sympathy. It is not illegitimate as an aspiration, nor even as a practical line of conduct, and it might not be economically inexpedient. But there is no doubt whatever that it has been enforced by means which flagrantly defied the law, and that these means have brought about collisions between Hindoo crowds and Mohammedan traders which are expressly contrived to make the interference of authority necessary, and to saddle that authority with the suspicion of discouraging native industry. If popularly-elected legislature were

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to enforce the principle compulsorily, it could only do so at the cost of an internecine war.

Is it altogether uncharitable to suppose that an agitation thus supported, and making more or less vague appeals to such diverse sympathies—between which it is hard to discern one point of contact—has for its main object the advancement of the interests of its leading agents? That the pleader-class—the product of an artificial and ill-conceived system of education—and those who are most closely in sympathy with it are the chief promoters of unrest is as certain as evidence can make it. No doubt they can safely say, as some of them have assured me, that the end of British authority is the last thing that they wish. It does not follow they may not be appealing to instinctive longings that go further. Still less does it follow that they understand British rule as we do. If it is to be maintained, they would have it exploited for their own behoof. By its help they are to assume a position which their fellow-countrymen would not for a moment accord to them. They would have representative institutions, which their deft management and glib oratory would capture for themselves. By means of such machinery, and with the support of British authority, they would manipulate India, and impose on it an administrative tyranny worse than any from which it has suffered in past centuries. Of all the curses that pursue India, the worst is that of the subordinate native official, and it is that which the native chiefly abhors. The greatest blessing that could come to the country would be the deporting of the whole wretched tribe, down to the humblest red-coated chaprassi who waits at the Sahib's door, extorts bribes for every admission to "the Presence," grinds his countrymen under his ignoble bullying, and ascribes it all—no doubt with perfect success—to the orders of the Sahib. He it is who poisons the wells of our administration, and presents it in the ugliest colours to the credulous native. And all the time he is growing rich on it, and shows it in that increased oiliness and obesity, which always mark the prosperous native. It is easy to exhort the stamping out of this plague spot. I wish those who do so could listen to the countless stories of patient, but hopeless, effort on the part of officials who have tried. Drastic action, prompt punishment, vigilant protection of the sufferer, endless devices to outwit the petty bully—all end at last one way. The sufferer sooner or later comes to petition 'the Presence' to relax his efforts, to allow him to pay the exaction, and to leave him the submissive victim of his bully before

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the breach of the sacred tradition of bribery has slowly worked his ruin.

Is the extension of this kind of thing, the object of national aspiration, which we are to satisfy at the certain cost of civil war, the renewal of the old days of blood and anarchy, and the ruin of our work in India? But these subordinate officials, it may be said, are but petty malefactors, and not typical of a class. Ask wealthy natives of good position and honourable name if they are not themselves the victims of the petty assumption of the native official, and if something of the same sort does not occur in higher places, and directly under the influence of some, whose characters are held up as deserving of respect by some of their sympathisers at home.

Undoubtedly there is one underlying cause of unrest in India which is independent of all politics, although political schemers may easily use it for their ends. The wisest observers know its operation, and no one spoke to me more decidedly about it, or recognised more fully the sinister political effect which it might have, than a gentleman of native birth, who is recognised universally as one of the leading citizens and most profound lawyers in Calcutta, and whose position and character command for him the highest respect. It is the economical difficulty, which is at this moment peculiarly acute in India, and especially in Bengal. This gentleman spoke to me of the deep-rooted, however ignorant, idea on the native mind—the inheritance of centuries of habit—that all social sufferings were to be ascribed either to the fault of the *Sirkar* or Government, whatever for the time it might be, or to a curse resting upon that Government from heaven. By a series of uncontrollable circumstances diverse reasons have combined to produce an economical crisis in India. The chief, he considered, to be the total failure of hand-loom weaving, which was the principal industry of Bengal. The jute-mills have only employed a handful of the millions who have lost their old industry, and even that employment has involved the abandonment of the country for the large towns. This vast social change has been accompanied by an enormous increase in the export of foodstuffs, by a consequent rise in prices, that has struck at the poor with cruel severity. My friend fully admitted the stupendous difficulty of the subject, and the utter impossibility of a revival of the hand-loom industry. Whether an export duty on foodstuffs might become necessary was a question on which he refused to commit himself. But of this he was absolutely convinced—that unrest and agitation against our administration derived only a semblance of

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support from the side issues to which acute political agitators might appeal, and its most real and most dangerous ally was one that came from the operation of economical laws, for which no Government could be held responsible, and which could be dealt with only by a fiscal scheme conceived on courageous and liberal lines and unfettered by the maxims of any doctrinaire school of political economy.

To discuss this would lead me too far. I can only say that his horoscope of the political positions seemed to me convincingly true. If we are to deal with it, we must begin by brushing aside the mischief-makers. As for Advisory Councils, local autonomy, schemes of decentralisation, and the rest—they may be right or wrong. They certainly command no universal adherence, and they seem to many to be playing on the surface and to be something of the nature of fads. I heard some of the proceedings of the Decentralisation Commission. Within an hour and a half they ranged between a discussion as to the best form of village councils, the measure of social tact and conciliatory manners possessed by British officials, a discussion of educational administration—in which the members of the Commission seemed to me to be strangely unversed—and the relations between a powerful body like the Calcutta Port Commissioners and the Government. Does salvation for India, one wonders, lie that way?—(Sir Henry Craik in the *Scotsman*.)

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Railway Enterprise beyond the Kabul River

A civil engineer was deputed by the Government of India at the end of last October to examine the country within British limits beyond the point in the Kabul River known as "mile 300," construction of a railway to which was sanctioned in July, 1905. The object was to ascertain the best alignment for a line should such a project be sanctioned. The engineer had an escort of 100 Khyber Rifles. Desultory firing from the left bank of the Kabul River was reported on November 27, but on December 6 the local officers reported that the trouble had ceased. There were no casualties. No opposition to the survey was made by the tribes in British territory. The return of the engineer in charge to Peshawar on the completion of his survey was reported on December 2. No decision has been arrived at as to the prolongation of the line beyond "mile 300." The proposal for a cantonment at Torsappah may be regarded as finally abandoned. The frontier with Afghanistan towards Dakka has never been settled and the surveys have been carefully confined to British territory. There can, of course, be no questions of construction or even surveys in debatable territory till the frontier has been amicably settled with the Ameer's Government.

Summary of the Plague Commission's Work

The Government have issued an interesting summary of the work of the Plague Commission, entitled "The Etiology and Epidemiology of Plague." The conclusions are already very generally known. The Commission sums them up as follows : (1) Pneumonic plague is highly contagious. It is, however, rare (less than 3 per cent of all cases) and plays a very small part in the general spread of the disease. (2) Bubonic plague in man is entirely dependent on the disease in the rat. (3) The infection is conveyed from rat to rat and from rat to man solely by means of the rat-flea. (4) A case of bubonic plague in man is not in itself infectious. (5) A large majority of plague cases occur singly in houses. When more than one case occurs in a house, the attacks are generally nearly simultaneous. (6) Plague is usually conveyed from place to

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place by imported rat-fleas, which are carried by people on their persons or in their baggage. The human agent not infrequently himself escapes infection. (7) Insanitary conditions have no relation to the occurrence of plague, except in so far as they favour infestation by rats. (8) The non-epidemic season is bridged over by acute plague in the rat accompanied by a few cases amongst human beings.

Parsi Matrimonial Alliances

A correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette* writes as follows—What are the Parsis coming to? Every week almost, the last not excepting, an Anglo-Parsi wedding is announced. The Parsis have quite a knack at imitation and assimilation. They have inherited it from their remote ancestors. When they came here from Iran and were given an asylum by the Hindu King of Gujerat, they had no difficulty in adopting the manners and customs, and also to a great extent the dress, of the Hindus. Contact with Western civilization is Europeanizing the upper classes, who are being drawn closer to it, in respect, at all events to its outward forms and symbols. They are going in increasing numbers to Europe every summer. Going to England is naively spoken of as "going home." Some of them are purchasing mansions in England and a fairly large colony has established itself in London. The Parsis are alarmed at the matrimonial alliances which their youngsters are forming with European girls. They are concerned about the children born of such mixed marriages and still more about the forlorn maidens of their own race if their youths were to go far afield for choosing their brides. But I should think they need not be very anxious about the girls. I see that Parsi girls are getting as free and bold as English girls. Their "emancipation" is growing apace. The other day I saw in a restaurant a fashionably-dressed Parsi girl, equipped with the tiny accessories that her European sister loves to carry about chatting away with an Englishman at the same table with her. There was not a trace of constraint or embarrassment in her manner. Girls of this type are fast going in for higher education and qualifying themselves as doctors or nurses or school mistresses. If you were to gain their confidence it would open your eyes to hear some of them talk about their rights and their independence.

Indo-Tibetan Affairs

The orders which have been given for the evacuation of the Chumbi Valley by the Indian troops followed as a matter of course on the payment of the last instalment of the indemnity which the Tibetans had agreed to pay. It is true that the policy

of non-intervention which was accepted by the late Government has been ratified, and perhaps even extended, by their successors in the recent Anglo-Russian agreement relating to Central Asia, but it remains an open question whether a very considerable area of Central Asia is to be permanently inclosed within a ring fence, and kept inviolate from all contact with the outer world. There is already in the trade agents whom we are entitled to maintain in Tibetan territory a slight breach in the continuousness of the ring fence, and however strict the instructions of these agents may be to restrict themselves rigorously to the limits laid down in the treaty, their very presence can scarcely fail to widen insensibly the breach. Meanwhile, however, the Indian Government is rigorously enforcing the edict that no one for any purpose is to be allowed to enter Tibetan territory, and while it is, of course, not difficult to give effect to these peremptory orders so as to prevent members of the Alpine Club from attempting the ascent of Mount Everest, or officers of the Indian army from seeking to explore the middle course of the Brahmaputra, the prohibition of the Government is, as we have seen, quite powerless to prevent a foreign explorer, such as Dr. Sven Hedin, from entering Tibet and gathering fresh laurels in a field which might, not illegitimately, have been regarded as one peculiarly open to British explorers. The British Government has apparently made up its mind to assist the Tibetans in building a wall around their country. The test of a policy is its success, and it remains to be seen whether that policy will succeed in doing more than securing the exclusion of British explorers—and British influence—from the land of the Lamas.

Female Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam

Female education in Eastern Bengal and Assam is in a regrettably backward condition. At the end of the year 1906-1907 only one girl out of about 30 of a school-going age was attending school, and only an insignificant fraction of the pupils had advanced beyond an elementary stage. In the public schools, there were only 37 girls in the high, 81 in the middle, and 435 in the upper primary classes, whilst there were 70,000 lower primary pupils, over 44,000 of whom were not yet reading printed books. Moreover, the few pupils following the secondary course do not represent the general community, but are, with rare exception, either Brahmos or Native Christians. There is some home education in well-to-do families apart from the education of the schools, but the unsatisfactory figures of the last census indicate that this additional source of

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instruction is not very widespread. In Bengal only five females per thousand were returned as literate and in Assam only four. The statistics for the period 1901-1902 to 1906-1907, notwithstanding that the totals are lamentably small, show substantial progress. The number of recorded girl-pupils rose from 47,000 to 80,000, and although part of the increase may be due to the inclusion of schools not previously registered, there remains enough to show that the wish to educate girls is becoming more widely felt.

Education of Girls and Women in Western Bengal

On the 30th March 1907, there were 121,195 girls and women in public educational institutions being in every 33 girls of school-going age as against in every 58 at the close of the last quinquennium. Over 99 per cent. of the girls under instruction were in the primary stage. The total expenditure under this head was Rs. 5,46,803, of which public funds contributed Rs. 2,80,631. The Bethune College had during 1906-1907, 23 students of whom 15 were Brahmos, 6 Christians, and 2 Jewesses. Of the staff of Principal, three professors and three lecturers, only the principal and one lecturer are ladies. The cost of the college during 1906-1907 was Rs. 18,254, of which only Rs. 883 was derived from fees, the balance being paid by Government. There were seven high schools for girls at the close of the period under report with six hundred and eighty girl pupils, six of these are in Calcutta and one at Bankipore, four of the former being Mission schools. The number of secondary schools for girls has increased during the quinquennium by 21 and their pupils by 1,656 or 17·1 per cent. The number of primary schools for girls at the close of the period was 3,218 and that of girl pupils in such schools 70,215 in addition is 46,233 in primary schools for boys. The increase during the quinquennium amounts to 99·1 per cent. The cost of secondary schools for girls during 1906-1907 was Rs. 2,05,834, of which 41·7 per cent. came from Provincial Revenues, the corresponding figures for primary schools being Rs. 3,00,837 and 56 per cent. It is noticeable that the cost of every girl in secondary and primary schools, respectively, is Rs. 513 and Rs. 4·1 compared with Rs. 17·7 and 2·7, the corresponding figures for boys.

Primary & Secondary Education for Boys in Western Bengal

The number of primary schools has increased from 32,024 to 33,954 and that of pupils from 818,537 to 953,455 ; and it is reported that this increase has been secured without any lowering of the standard of efficiency required. The proportion of boys

actually at school at the close of the period was 253 out of every 1,000 boys of school-going age. The corresponding figure for 1901-02 was 217. On the other hand the proportion of pupils in upper primary schools has shewn no advance during the last 15 years. This, coupled with the unpopularity of middle vernacular schools, points to the conclusion that vernacular teaching beyond the elementary stages does not, under present conditions, commend itself to parents as being of practical value. The total expenditure on primary education was Rs. 25,50,768 during 1906-07 of which public funds contributed Rs. 8,94,749 or 35·1 per cent. There has been a steady increase in the number of English schools accompanied by a decrease in the number of secondary vernacular schools. The number of boys attending English secondary schools at the close of the quinquennium was 122,937, an increase of 2,337 during the period. In the middle vernacular schools there were 24,350 boys at the close of 1906-1907, showing a decrease of 11,291 in ten years. There has been an increase in expenditure on secondary schools of nearly three lakhs during the quinquennium; and the expenditure during the year 1906-1907 was Rs. 25,43,105 of which Rs. 5,58,303 was from public funds.

Education in Madras

The total number of boys in the primary stage on the 31st March, 1907, was 848,111 against 731,097 at the end of the previous quinquennium. The advance was largest under Local Board and Municipal Schools. With the increase in the number of pupils under instruction, the expenditure on public Primary Schools for boys rose from Rs. 19·55 lakhs in 1901-02 to Rs. 25·48 lakhs in 1906-07. The increase in the number of pupils in the higher stages of instruction was not so marked. The number of pupils in the secondary stage in institutions recognised by the department rose from 59,436 to 68,128. Under Collegiate education, the number of pupils rose from 3,779 to 4,687. The number of girls under instruction rose from 130,432 to 164,706. The increase is said to have been most marked in the lower primary stage. There was an increase in the number of institutions for girls also. The expenditure on education rose during the quinquennium from Rs. 79·32 lakhs to Rs. 97·64 lakhs, an increase of 23 per cent. This does not include the recurring grant of six lakhs in aid of primary education. During this period, the total number of public institutions rose by 1·8 per cent., while the number of private institutions declined, although their strength rose by 8·6 per cent. Taking both the classes of institutions

together, the total strength increased by very nearly 17 per cent. For the first time, the number of youths of both sexes under instruction reached the figure of one million. Of the total expenditure, 49½ per cent. was devoted to elementary, 27¾ per cent. to secondary, 13·2 per cent. to collegiate and 9·6 per cent. to special education.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Camphor-tree In Burma

In Burma the camphor tree is being experimentally cultivated at Bhamo and at Momeik and is said to be doing fairly well. This tree also flourishes in Maymyo and it is believed that it would do well at suitable elevations in the Shan States.

American Enterprise in India

An instance of American enterprise in India may be noted. The Carnegie Steel Company have now their own manganese mines in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces and they ship the ore direct to America. As their consumption is very great, this arrangement is one that pays the Company handsomely. It is also reported that a German firm has purchased a manganese property in Mysore, and we may soon have other foreign companies in the field. The Tata Company, which is about to build iron and steel works at Sini, is understood to have acquired an area of land whence it can draw its own manganese ore. The industry is in its infancy, and though prices of the ore have declined between 40 and 50 per cent in the past year, there can be no doubt that this is nothing more than a temporary check. What is needed is the opening of smelting-works in India, so that the metal instead of the ore could be shipped to Europe instead of America.

Price of Copper

Not so long ago, when the price of copper had risen to an extraordinary height, India was being ransacked for the metal, and even common utensils were bought up for export. Within the past two years prices have fallen with ruinous rapidity, the out-turn of the American mines having far out-stripped the demand. It was reported that production was to be limited in order to ease the position, but an English trade journal now prophesies that another drop of £10 or over per ton in the market price may easily take place. This result is anticipated as the American mine-owners have not really curtailed their production. There are rumours of

Syndicates being formed in India to prospect for copper in certain States, some of which are beyond the administrative border but the time does not seem propitious for operations of this kind.

Burma Rice

Returns recently published show in a remarkable way how India draws upon Lower Burma for rice in times of scarcity. In fairly normal years, such as 1903-4-5, the exports from Burma to Indian ports averaged about 5,000,000 cwt.; in 1906 they rose to nearly 14½ millions and in 1907 to 17½ millions. Eastern Bengal and Assam took a very large proportion of this last amount as the crops were poor in the new Province. It pays the exporter in Burma to send his rice to India rather than to Europe, and trade at Rangoon fluctuates now according to the Indian demand. Thus in 1904 the export from Burma to foreign countries was 37½ million hundred-weights; in 1906 and 1907 the figures dropped to about 28 millions. The old prejudice against Burma rice on the part of the Indian consumer is gradually disappearing and Rangoon now pours its rice into Calcutta and other ports whenever there is a shortage of supplies in India.

The Indian Perfume Industry

There is a good opening for a perfume factory in India if equipped with up-to-date machinery. Scent-distilling is carried on profitably in India, chiefly in the north-west, where roses, for instance, are largely grown to supply the distiller with what he wants. The chief perfumes used are rose water, lemon-grass oil, sandal-wood oil, henna, champa, maulsiri, cajeput oil, harsingar, keora or khetkis, khas-khas, motia or bela, and chameli or juhi. Men with a capital of perhaps Rs. 300 or even less distil these and sell them generally to others who conduct the retail trade. There thus comes out of the articles two profits, of the actual distillers and the retailers; in addition, the growers of the flowers, and agents who sometimes collect them, have also to make a profit out of the business. All of these men, of course, live in a very primitive way. The Indian perfumer has not yet arrived at the stage of assimilating Western methods. When he does, the perfume industry of India will become one of the most important in the world. India possesses hundreds of perfume-yielding plants and the manufacture of perfumes, of which the Indian is very fond, dates back to many centuries. The local tastes, however, are not those of the Western World, and Indian scents do not always commend themselves to Europeans, for the reason that they are heavy in the sense that they

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are not volatile. One reason for this heaviness is found in the vehicle employed, which is sandalwood oil. This oil is not, strictly speaking, sandalwood oil, but the common sweet or gingell oil employed as a vehicle for extracting the perfumes, and which accounts for the heaviness referred to.

Fruit Trade with England

Now that Liverpool can be reached from Calcutta in twenty-five days, people are asking whether commercial enterprise in India can not develop a profitable fruit-trade with England. The *Englishman* maintains that the Indian plantain has only to be known in England to cut out the West Indian banana, though nominally they are the same fruit. The enormous increase in the consumption of bananas in England can hardly have escaped the notice of any Anglo-Indian returning home after a few years' absence. One firm alone has already thirteen steamers of sizes varying from over 3,000 to 5,000 tons employed exclusively in the banana trade with the West Indies, each steamer being capable of carrying 60,000 bunches of bananas at a trip. Though this fruit was originally found growing wild in this part of the East, it is now cultivated in all tropical and sub-tropical countries, attaining its greatest perfection in Jamaica and Costa Rica, and in the alluvial soil of the river bottoms along the coast lines of Central America, growing there sometimes to the height of 40ft. There are 176 known varieties, the yield being about 300 bunches per acre per annum. The banana farms of 10,000 or 12,000 acres are a magnificent sight. The cultivation is not difficult, and the Bengali cultivator would have little to learn. The secret of success lies in having the fruit properly grown, cut at the right time, handled without bruising, and bringing it into the English markets before the green fruit begins to colour. The British public would soon, says our contemporary, prefer the small delicious Bengali *Cheeni-Champa* to the banana of the West Indies.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE PROVINCE BY PROVINCE Bengal

"All's well that ends well" that is, if it is really the end of it all. In the not very bold or dignified compromise arrived at the last Provincial Conference, where our leaders erred was in thinking that this was the end of the whole quarrel. But, to put the horse before the cart, the occasion for this moral is that at the last Provincial Conference nothing was done logically or consistently but every thing was done at a halfway house between Moderation and Extremism. The resolutions were neither of a Moderate character nor did they represent out-and-out Extremism. In each case, it would seem that the views of the two different camps were huddled up together in the most illogical juxtaposition all for the policy of 'peace-at-any-price.'

The Provincial Conference. The collapse of the Moderates The Moderate leaders, it would seem, were so mightily pleased at having got the Swaraj resolution adopted as they desired it that they were ready to yield on every point and to every sort of resolution which had a chance of satisfying the Extremists. It is doubtful whether either the leaders or the delegates had very clear ideas in their mind as to the principle of the Conference, what it sought to do and what it did not. But the most ridiculous resolution passed at the Pubna Conference was the one which made a request to the members of the last Standing Congress Committee to hold a fresh session of the Congress on the principles of the Calcutta Congress of 1906. The wonder of it is that men like Messrs Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bhupendra Nath Bose and A. Chaudhuri acquiesced in this resolution and did not enter any protest. The Standing Congress Committee does not exist as it was appointed for only one year. The constitution of the Congress passed in December 1906 has also become inoperative on the expiry of the one year for which it was framed. How then could the members of the Standing Congress Committee do anything now? And they are to hold the Congress on the principles of the last Calcutta Congress. What those principles are it is not stated, nor is any reason assigned why this should be insisted on when it was clear that a public body like the Congress could not possibly go back upon the principles of its past sessions without a vote of the Congress itself. We know what this resolution means and it would be a great mental effort to think that the

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Moderate leaders did not know it too. It means an admission that at the Surat Congress an attempt was made to flout the principles of the Calcutta Congress, whatever they were, and that every development that has followed the break-up of the Congress at Surat must be given up as lost labour. It means that the signatories to the articles of the Convention are asked to stultify themselves and give the lie to the principle with which they started at Surat that there was no properly constituted authority to hold the Congress next year. It means that the Convention should be ignored, the labours of its committee to draft a constitution lost, and a Congress held on the old lines without any rules of order or discipline and a long rope given to men like Mr. Tilak to play fast and loose with the life and security of its delegates and heap disgrace on the nation. It is pitiful to contemplate that some of our leaders who were signatories to the Convention creed were consenting parties to this mischievous, albeit infructuous, resolution. Peace is a good thing but not so if dishonour is yoked with it; a compromise is desirable only if it is a working compromise. It would be very strange if our leaders honestly believe that the compromise arrived at Pabna would work for a single day and that on the basis of the unintelligible and illogical system of resolutions of the Pabna Conference it was possible for the two parties to work together for the furtherance of national interests. If they so believe, it is painful to think how soon they will be disillusioned.

The Decentralisation Commission has left Calcutta. While it was here, it did not rouse any enthusiasm nor The Decentralisation Commission call for much attention. Some of the leading men of the Province were examined, but it is to be feared that they had not much interest in the work and the value of their evidence must be regarded as falling far short of what might be expected of them. The fact is that large expectations were raised by the Commission and the fact came with a cold thud of disappointment to the public that the Commission was simply concerned with the readjustment of relations mainly between different functionaries of the bureaucracy. That is a matter in respect of which Bengal has learnt to grow utterly indifferent. Somehow the idea has caught hold of the people that beyond considering whether a thing or two more of the routine duty of the District officer should not be transferred to the popular Boards the Commission did not concern the people at all. That explains the utter coldness with which the Commission has been received by the people in Bengal.

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The Partition of the High Court Early this month the Chief Justice of Bengal was guilty of what some are apt to regard as a little piece of indiscretion in referring to a possible dismemberment of the Calcutta High Court. Speaking at the last Trades Association Dinner, his Lordship referred to a rumour that the High Court was going to be shorn of some of its territorial jurisdiction by a transfer of some of its Benches to Dacca, or by the establishment of a High Court at Dacca, and urged on his audience to enter a strenuous opposition against the proposal, should it come. The people naturally suspect that there must have been something more than a mere rumour to induce the Chief Justice to utter this warning, though Mr. Secretary Morley has said that the thing is 'improbable. All that I need point out is that if the 'Trades' people really care a straw about the integrity of the High Court they must be regarded as more than usually short-sighted in that they did not oppose the Partition of Bengal tooth and nail. For one with half-an-eye might see that with a divided Bengal the integrity of the High Court could not possibly stand very long. So that having complacently swallowed the whole project it would not do for them to complain that the little tail had not been bargained for. In the meantime, the Chief Justice should not be surprised if the Trades people, or anybody for that matter, are not fearfully upset at the thought of the loss of dignity and authority of an institution whose dignity has been more than usually compromised under his regime.

The most gratifying event of the last month has occurred in connection with the great Hindu bathing festival of Ardhodaya Yaga the Ardhodaya Yoga. The occasion was, in the Hindu estimation, one of great auspiciousness, such as does not occur more than once or twice in the life of a generation. Hindus from every part of Bengal swamped to the towns on the banks of the Hooghly to have a dip in its sacred stream which act would give them religious merit beyond what an average man might hope to scrape up by the work of a life-time. Naturally there was a great rush and Hindu pilgrims in that supreme indifference about safety or sanitation when religious merit is concerned thronged in any number and by any means to the riverside districts. From this rush great calamities were expected and the authorities were prepared for any number of casualties by accident, epidemic and all the other engines of destruction which operate upon huge concourses of men. The thing however passed off very smoothly at all places. Everybody was keenly alive to the situation and was filled with an adequate sense of responsibility. At every riverside place the Government and the

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local municipalities had taken great sanitary precautions and every possible arrangement was made to meet all sorts of emergencies in connection with the occasion.

The authorities certainly approached the work in a becoming spirit and well executed the duty that was thrust upon them. But the most remarkable part of the whole affair consisted in the volunteer organisation. Young men in every one of the places where a crowd was expected band ed themselves into a corps of volunteers for the assistance of the poor, helpless, thoughtless pilgrims. Young men from the interior of the country came forward to join these bands in their great philanthropic endeavour. The Government of Bengal, the police authorities, the Municipalities, and the Port Commissioners placed every facility in the hands of these volunteers in the performance of their labour of love. And a vast amount of the most excellent work these young men put in to their eternal credit. Hospitals and dispensaries were erected by them, an effective system of ambulance organised and bodies of volunteers were told off to their duties in every conceivable spot where they might be of use to the pilgrims. At the railway station hundreds of volunteers helped the pilgrims into the carriages and out of them, bargained with gharrywallas, directed them to their lodgings and often accompanied them to their destination. At lodging-houses they kept constant watch over the sanitation and comforts of the lodgers. In the streets and ghats they regulated traffic and rendered every possible assistance to the pilgrims in however lowly a capacity. At the mortuary they assisted in the prompt cremation of the dead. Only one who has seen the tremendous rush that occurred at the ghats could realise what all this meant. To the volunteers it meant strenuous work often at their peril from early dawn to midnight and always on irregular and insufficient rations. With all this personal inconvenience they went on rendering this noble service in the cause of humanity amid the tearful blessings of the millions whom they helped, some of whose lives they saved and whose lost relatives they had often rescued from what was regarded as irrecoverable loss. And it was not for one day only that the volunteers were called on to work. They went on working in this fashion off and on for about a fortnight or more.

The reward Grateful Bengal has lavished its affections on the noble youth who have done all this. Pilgrims from every part of Bengal have carried back to their homes stories of the angelic services of these noble young men and there is no

pilgrim but has a grateful story to tell of this noble band of young men. But the true reward for all this noble work lay elsewhere and the volunteers have reaped a full harvest of it. It was their success, success in carrying the whole business through without any slur upon themselves, success in instilling the spirit of emulation in the hearts of all men and women success in being the instrument of saving the lives and properties of millions, for where thousands of deaths were expected it did not come up to hundreds.

So far at least as the people are concerned, the Government of Eastern Bengal has up till now not sought to justify its existence by making any attempt at reform by taking any step towards improving the administration of the country. The Partition of Bengal was sought to be justified as an attempt to bring the administration in closer touch with the people, but the only way in which the people have so far come to know more of the Government has been by the grim shadow of Police Rule constantly hanging over their heads and a system of most effective espionage established all over the province in connection with the *Swadesi* movement. But in its attempt to promote female education, the Government of the new province, if it is really serious, would seem to have turned over a new leaf in its life. Some time ago interrogatories were circulated amongst people whom the government thought to be the most prominent men in the province as to the best form in which female education might be spread in E-B and A. The interrogatories would seem to show that the government has not set about the work with a very lofty ideal and that it attaches a great deal more of importance to primary zenana education than to the establishment of high schools and colleges and encouraging high education among our girls. But all the same the desire to do something for education is laudable. The latest news is that a committee has been appointed to consider the answers to the interrogations which have been received and to draft a scheme. The *Englishman* names the Nawab of Dacca and Syed Nawab Ali Choudhuri as the members of the committee. I do not know who else are there but so far as these two gentlemen go their names are not very encouraging. The educational pretension of either of these gentlemen are very small and at any rate the latter has never concealed his opinions as to the inadvisability of female education *per se*. It may be that better men are there, but it seems more likely that the ablest of our public men in E-B and A will keep themselves out of the committee. This comes of the hapless disinclination of public men

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of E-B and A to have anything to do with the Government. There are some matters in which our desire to boycott Government tends only against the interests of the nation.

The other matter beside Police Rule which has reminded people of the existence of the new regime of late Partition of Mymensingh is the proposal to partition the district of Mymensingh. Mymensingh, it is notorious, is a portentously large district which can not be managed with convenience either to the Government or to the people under the present arrangements. The Government of Eastern Bengal has therefore issued a resolution giving its arguments in favour of the partition of the District. The proposal so far as this goes has long been on the tapis and it must be said to have met with a large amount of popular approbation. But then the Government, at least in E-B, has the knack of doing every thing in a way which the people can not but deprecate and in this case it has added a rider to the proposition which gives away the whole case and provokes staunch opposition. The proposal is to divide Mymensingh by a line which runs through the headquarters town and station the two headquarters just where the present town of Mymensingh stands. The result is that the headquarters of both the districts are placed near each other. So the entire argument from the administrator's point of view is given away in so far as it remains as difficult for district officers to get to the parts of the district as before ; and the people have no excuse for supporting the proposal which leaves their difficulties where they were and needlessly adds to the expenditure. Heaps of arguments may be shown against the proposal while the only argument that supports the Government is based upon projects of railways yet to be accomplished with Mymensingh as the centre of the system. To a proposal of partition with head-quarters at a reasonably central place in either district, the Government may, on the contrary, count upon considerable support.

One of the most encouraging things for a social reformer in India is the remarriage of Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mookerji's widowed daughter. The girl was about thirteen years of age and had been widowed within two months of her marriage at the age of nine or ten years. Dr. Mookerji, a Hindu of the most orthodox type, has shown large amount of courage in deciding upon the remarriage of his daughter in which he is no doubt greatly supported by his natural love for his unfortunate daughter. The marriage roused some opposition

Widow Marriage in High Life

in India is the remarriage of Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mookerji's widowed daughter. The girl was about thirteen years of age and had been widowed within

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but it was not as violent as one would expect it to be, and some very orthodox gentlemen, including several Hindu Pundits, extended their support to this great act of reform by attending the wedding. The circumstances in this case were such as to evoke every body's sympathy, and Dr. Mookerji's unique position in society made it possible for him to secure a large amount of support to the ceremony. Time and general culture too had a great deal to do with the success of the marriage. But in any case it is clear that a great step towards social reform has been taken by this marriage, and Justice Mookerji is certainly to be congratulated on his courage and on his initiating a successful step forward in the country's progress towards social reform.

The full report of the debate on Dr. Rutherford's amendment to **The Indian Debate** the address which came to hand this month gives one no indication of any hope of furthering the cause of Bengal or of securing any greater insight into the state of Mr. Morley's mind with reference to Indian aspirations. Sir Henry Cotton had in no unmistakable language asked Mr. Morley to give the Indian public some definite assurance of his desire to treat their demands for the reforms of administration with sympathy. Mr. Morley juggled out of the position by evasive platitudes which would be amusing were they not so exasperating. Nothing was clearer than Sir Henry's demand, nothing more proper. If Mr. Morley was a genuine reformer who sought to further the interests of India, the only thing he could have done was to give a frank, fair and definite reply as to how far he was willing to go, on what principles of practical politics he was prepared to proceed and what people might properly expect of him. That would be honest, that would immensely assist in clearing the atmosphere and in effecting mutual understanding. But Mr. Morley seems to have long forgotten to be clear and definite. He must indulge in vague, breezy words and an epidemic of qualifications to whatever approaches to a categorical proposition. I only wish that Mr. Morley knew that whatever course he wants to take, it cannot but be of the greatest assistance to him to make a clear and categorical statement about the state of his mind.

If the *Pioneer* is to be believed the Government is after all making an experiment towards the separation of **Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions** Judicial and Executive functions and the experiment is to be first made in a few districts in Bengal, East and West. The Government is certainly to be congratulated on its decision, if it is serious. The details of the scheme are not yet known and it is only reasonable to expect that the Government will

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not go the whole hog with the Congress-wallah. Still, any step that secures to a larger extent the independence of the Judiciary in the country must be hailed as a move in the right direction and as a decided success of the popular cause. Criticism or congratulation need not unduly forestall the scheme, but this much it is certainly pertinent to observe, that the separation must be substantial and not chimerical and judicial officers so long as they are such should be thoroughly independent of the executive. This means of course a separation of the two services and not only of the functions.

Geschichtsmacher

BOMBAY

Those who attended the monster-meeting in the Town-hall of
Sympathy with Bombay convened by the sheriff to protest against
Indians in the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal need no
Transvaal stronger proof for demonstrating how the uniform
feeling of common nationality pulsates in the heart of the entire
people. Bombay was fortunate in her choice of the President in
H. H. Aga khan, than whom no more appropriate personage
could lend the dignity and weight of his association with the
aims of the meeting ; while the particular form of the public
meeting being held under the auspices of the sheriff was deliberate-
ly chosen to avoid the scenes which ensued in similar meetings in
other provinces. The flagrantly unjust and wicked conduct of
the Transvaal Government towards our countrymen forms a sad
commentary upon the genuineness of the pseudo-imperialism of
modern times. The bounds of the Empire must certainly be loose
if the mother-country cannot, under the present constitution,
impose its will on one of the members of the Empire in order to do
nothing but sheer justice to another and more important member.
Even, if we judge from the standpoint of self-interest, it must be
conceded that, in as much as the population of Transvaal contains
a large element of non-English population from Europe, a larger
infusion of the Indian people in it will provide a ballast and secure
a guarantee against the efforts of this non-English population to
break away completely from the mother-country, as is the tendency
of the so-called colonies of the Empire. In the contests now
raging between the white and black races in Africa, or of the white
and yellow races in America, one can discern the coming struggle
of the East against the West, and it needs all the sagacity and
foresight of the statesmen now at the head of affairs to postpone
the ultimate conflict.

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

That a festival of grief and prayer like the Mohurrum should be the occasion of faction-fights between the two sects of Islamism reminds me of a shrewd observation reported to have been made by the late Mr. Justice

Mohurrum riots in Bombay

Telang several years ago on a similar occasion that "it was a great pity that the noble seed of Islam fell on the uncongenial soil of Arabia." Two years ago, the differences between the Shiahs and Sunnis came to a head and broke into free fights and secession of the Tabut procession. This year, the atmosphere was calm and undisturbed. But for a small affray near the mosque of the Shiahs, the incident would have passed quietly, if the Police authorities had not allowed themselves to precipitate into an attitude of alarm and begun the trouble by firing on the mob. This unfortunate haste changed the complexion of affairs which necessitated placing the Mahomedan quarters under military control for the space of two days. It is inexplicable that among the killed were found one Hindu, and one Parsi, the latter of whom was standing in the window of the first floor of the house. It is easy to be wise after the event ; but, unless the matter is thoroughly investigated, the public mind will not feel reconciled to the immediate necessity of the drastic measures adopted by the police. The tabut-procession was of course stopped and the discontent of the Mahomedan population though temporarily smothered by force, may re-appear in some strange shape.

Exceptional interest is attached to the annual address at the University-convocation this year owing to the circumstance that an eminently practical and sympathetic Governor was making his first declaration of views on education since his arrival. Popular expectation was more than realised, and his address will long be remembered as the exposition of views of an administrator, entirely untrammelled by conventional ways of thought and conduct. He placed for the first time the example of Japan before the country and at once pointed out the real difficulties to be surmounted to attain it. He did not conceal his desire to place free and compulsory education in the primary grade at the disposal of the country if the national resources permitted it. He recognised the several defects of the system of education ; scientific education must, according to him, begin in the school. The vernaculars should be utilised as the media of instruction. The colleges should have well-equipped laboratories and the University must provide them as its first duty, where the colleges cannot afford. He confessed it to be a mistaken policy not to have preserved a due co-ordination

Chancellor's Convocation Address

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between the classical learning of the East with the modern literature of the West in the teaching of the University. In one or two respects, he expressed his strong dissent from the policy of Lord Curzon. The Universities' Act appears to him to have been, though he did not say it in so many words, a grave blunder. Each provincial University must shape its constitution according to its provincial needs. Unlike Lord Curzon, he admired the high ideals preserved in our ancient literature which must have greater effect in moulding human character than even the Japanese "Bushido." If the leaders of our province fail to take advantage of such utterances of the chancellor and press them to a practical result, a great opportunity for improving the University would be lost.

The sympathetic policy of the new Governor has resulted in drawing the hearts of the people to him. The Plague-policy of the Governor experiment of giving government-grants under strictly popular management was tried with success in Poona. Inoculation appears to be the only remedy which science has yet provided in dealing with large numbers of the people as we have in Bombay. The Parel Laboratory is personally supervised by the Governor from time to time, and all possible chances of a vitiated serum as in the Mulkowal tragedy are thus eliminated. He has taken the editors of the press in his confidence, by calling them to the Laboratory to witness the preparation of the serum and enlisting their co-operation. The medical men from the districts had been invited for the same purpose. This encouragement to inoculation is given without using compulsion in its favour, while rat-extermination is vigorously proceeding. Already, this campaign has kept the plague under control, and is to that extent successful. How the epidemic may develop in the near future it is difficult to foretell.

The provincial committee of the Convention appointed at Surat in last December has set about the task of framing its draft of the constitution in right earnest. The Constitution of the National Congress sub-committee is meeting from day to day and it is certain that the Bombay draft will be ready by the time required by the resolution of the Convention. The nation is now passing through a political evolution which has made a set of rules and a creed necessary for the proper conduct of the Congress. But the difficulties are so immense that well may the draughtsman stay his hand and meditate over the impossibility of ultimate success. The question is. Is there sufficient public-spirit in the land to

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work an elaborate and complicated constitution? If not, shall we not expose the hollowness of our political movement by promulgating a constitution for which the nation is not ripe? However, we cannot avoid the task of tackling the problem at last!

Another important activity relates to the drafting of a memorial about the proposed reforms of the Councils. Bombay is no doubt very late in submitting her views but, when the memorial is published, it will show enough justification for the delay in its thoroughness and length. Our Provincial Conference, which was to meet at Dhulia in Khandesh, has not yet been fixed. Bengal was rather precipitate in holding her Provincial Conference at Pabna when the differences between the political parties at Surat were fresh. Bombay has wisely decided to postpone her Conference until a constitution is adopted at Allahabad during the next Easter holidays and then to run the Conference on the lines settled at Allahabad by common consent.

The C. R. Hindu Female High School started out of a donation of three lacs and a half from the estate of the philanthropic merchant whose name it bears is now an accomplished fact. The chief interest in this school lies in the new system of higher education for girls which is devised by its conductors. Female education has made little advance so far because, as now imparted, the girls are passed through the same course as boys. But, "woman is not undeveloped man" but different in her sphere of life, ideals, and purpose. The instruction imparted must be such as will fit her to fill her due position in the household and society, and not to make a "gay butterfly" or an ardent suffragette of her. The future will show how far this novel scheme will succeed in the objects placed before it.

Chanda Ramji
Hindu Female
High School

D. G. D.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

MALARIA IN BENGAL

We have received a nice brochure on the all-absorbing topic of *England's Administration of India* written by Mr. Chunder Nath Bose, formerly Translator to the Government of Bengal. In the pages of this thoughtful pamphlet, Mr. Bose presents a most vivid picture of the havoc which is being wrought in Bengal by Malaria, the greatest enemy of Bengali life. The description is so very faithful that we make no apology to give an extract of the same for the edification of our readers :

" Malaria has changed lakhs of villages into scenes of desolation which any Englishman, caring to know whether India is happy or unhappy under English rule, may see for himself any moment in the company of competent local guides, if he has not seen it already. It is desolation of the most dismal kind. Flourishing villages, full of life and health, full of joy and mirth, and ringing all the year round with sounds of festive meriment, are now hushed in the silence of death and desolation. It is silence that is deepened by the weary wail of the childless mother or the motherless child. It is silence best beloved of beasts and birds of prey. Edifices here and edifices there without a single soul or with only a soul here or only a soul there, which are pictures of silent sorrow, sickness and suffering, fallen into ruins, with the widest vegetation above, around and within them ; mud houses and huts, with their doors and thatches gone and their walls in every stage of ruin ; tanks and ponds covered with thick vegetation and smelling as if like malaria itself ; roads and lanes and bye-lanes made almost impassable by and sometimes even invisible on account of jungle, with hardly a dozen pedestrians in the course of the lighted part of the day, the unlighted part being out of the question ; school houses without scholars ; pathsalas without pupils ; the blacksmith's bellows stirring up no fire ; the potter's wheel giving no shape to clay ; the oilman's crude, creaking machine standing silent as the grave—this is desolation which the eye can not bear to look upon, which it can not behold without a shudder, even in the midday sun.

" But infinitely deeper and more deplorable than this external desolation is the mental desolation which malaria causes. There

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is no counting the number of men, women and children who lose their dearest and indispensables every year. Bengal is plunged in the wildest and most distracting grief. We are at our wit's end what to do, where to go, where to live, how to save the wrecks that malaria makes of our darlings from drifting in to the jaws of death. The situation is simply bewildering ; the anxiety is overpowering ; the embarrassment is immeasurable ; the despair is inconceivable. If this is happiness there is no happiness anywhere on earth.

" We are an essentially home-loving people, but malaria makes hundreds of thousands among us homeless like the Jews. We fly from the houses of our ancestors—those abodes of piety and pleasure with which are associated our dearest, holiest and glorious memories, as from the dwelling houses of disease and death. I have not dared to visit my own ancestral house for more than 42 years, except for day or a half-aday three or four times in the height of summer during that long period. The sight of my ancestral house in ruins and partly hidden in jungle is heart-rending to me, brings tears to my eyes. And my case is only one out of many hundred thousands. The enforced severance from ancestral home is a heart's wrench of which those who do not love home as we do and revere and worship ancestors like us can form no idea. The reader will not require to be told how very unbearable and agonising it is to many among us, no very inconsiderable number, that they cannot come to the houses and Puja halls or *Chhndimandaps* of their ancestors to do by them their solemn and sacred duty of celebrating the social festivities and religious ceremonials started in the remote past and continuing the work of every day charity for which their ancestors, each according to the best of his power, endowed *Atithisalas* and *Sadabratas*.

" This is enough to show that malarious Bengal is not only not happy but is in a state of indescribable mental and bodily agony under English rule. And as malaria is spreading throughout India has commenced to make the healthiest places unhealthy, all India will sooner or later become miserable like Bengal, if measures be not forthwith taken by Government to eradicate the poison wherever it is found and make its further propagation difficult, if not impossible."

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The Bishop of Southampton, who at one time held the bishopric of Bombay, contributes a remarkable article to *The East and the West*

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on the above subject. He declares that no thoughtful and well-informed person will any longer doubt the reality and serious import of the condition of unrest in India. It is wide-spread and deep-rooted. Mr. Morley has said that it is not dangerous. He had in his mind, perhaps, the possibility of organised revolt and mutiny. In that sense, his statement is probably true. The unrest, in so far as it is active and militant, is confined to the educated, and chiefly to the class of agitator with whose mind and ways we have long been familiar. And it is dangerous to peace and to the welfare of the country, because these men are energetically spreading discontent and exciting and poisoning the minds of the masses who are illiterate, ignorant, and credulous. Apart from the question of danger, the state of feeling is in the highest degree disappointing. It is impossible to doubt that progress towards a better understanding, greater confidence, freer social intercourse, and warmer friendship has received a shock, and has, to some extent, been checked and hindered. A variety of causes have tended to agitate the minds of the people and have given rise to painful fears in the minds of Englishmen that the deep underlying attitude towards them is not so friendly as, in more hopeful days, they were fain to believe. Mr. Morley believes that the unrest is due to racial causes. The bishop ventures to think that neither causes have been very influential. But certainly racial passions have been greatly excited by much that has taken place, and not least by the fatal display of intolerance and race arrogance exhibited by our own countrymen in South Africa and in other parts of the world. There can be no doubt that the treatment of Indians has put a most powerful weapon into the hands of seditious agitators, and has excited the deepest resentment in the minds of the people of India. The Bishop thinks that the situation is ominous and that the English people have failed to win the affection and the steadfast loyalty of the Indian people. It cannot, we are told, be doubted that the calamities from which India has suffered now for many years—plague, famines in quick succession, earthquakes, locusts—have greatly contributed towards increasing the volume of irritation in the Indian mind. In connection with famines, the bishop says that the resources of the people are drained by excessive taxation, that the famines find them in a condition of profound poverty and helplessness in which they are unable to contend with them successfully, and easily succumb to privation. The poverty of Indian agriculturists is due to the customs of the country to much greater extent than to excessive

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taxation. All who know the Indian people are aware that the habit of borrowing money is inveterate. According to the Bishop, the people borrow, not to supply their wants but to defray the extravagant expenses connected with family ceremonies such as marriages and *sradhs*; the debts so contracted are transmitted from father to son through many generations. The system of early marriages among both the Hindus and Mahomedans is responsible for a disproportionate increase of population and also for an undue pressure upon the food-supply of the country. The unrest undoubtedly has received a powerful stimulus in connection with what is called the partition of Bengal. 'The opposition to this necessary reform in administration was manufactured in Calcutta.' As illustrative of the attitude adopted by the educated classes his Lordship refers to the subject of university reform which was carried against a very strong and bitter opposition.

His Lordship discusses what faults there are in the Englishmen which occasion disaffection and alienate from them the good will and esteem of the Indian people. 'Is India always to remain a subject country?' he asks, 'is that our desire and inward purpose? Do we feel that our duty to India and mankind can only be accomplished through the evolution of a united, free, intelligent, self-governing people, and that it cannot be accomplished through the indefinite continuance of foreign bureaucratic rule, however good and beneficent?' The Bishop is convinced that the Indian people will be friendly to the English people when the minds of the latter will meet those of the former on the subject of our future goal. According to the writer, we expect that our rulers should give us an increasing share in administration and until they see eye to eye with us and accept our views in this matter, the unrest would continue.

The article is thus summed up:—"What is chiefly needed for the peace and well-being of our Indian Empire is a greater unity of ideals between British and Indians, and on the part of Europeans more seriousness and godliness of life. More earnest religion in the hearts of our people would bring the solution of many of our problems. Apart from God, the task is too great for us. That is the chief thing to realise and to keep before our minds. It will be well for us in the time to come if we take God along with us in more faithful and intimate relations than we have done hitherto. The chief need of Indians at the present time is to beware of false prophets, and to believe that their prospects depend absolutely on

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their power to be patient, and to draw out by their sterling qualities the friendly interest of the British nation. To alienate the confidence of Great Britain is to betray their own best hopes. We are strong, our intentions are good, we desire to give Indians fair play. But we want a higher kind of imagination in dealing with an Oriental people. We want to treat them with deeper respect, with less haughtiness, and with more sympathy. We want to realise that in the Providence of God, a great destiny may be awaiting them, and that benefit and blessing will come to ourselves in proportion as we help them to work it out. We want to free ourselves from the influence of mere selfish considerations and to work more steadfastly towards the Divine. Above all, we have need to realise that our safety and well-being in India must be dependent on the fear of God, and that only disaster and judgment can follow our neglect of religion and our practical denial of its obligations."

Mr. W. Gentry Bingham has contributed an equally remarkable letter to a recent issue of the *Financial News* of London on the same subject. According to this gentleman, the present troubles in India are mainly due to the arrogance and want of sympathy of the official classes, and to the custom, which has grown up in England, of accepting the views of officials in India as above criticism. Mr. Bingham also thinks that the Anglo-Indian view is to back up its officials, right or wrong ; while the India Office has latterly ceased to fulfil its true function as a Court of Review and apparently considers its sole duty to consist in upholding the Anglo-Indian official as sacrosanct. The writer then gives some instances of bureaucratic injustice from his own experience and concludes by saying that the intelligent classes among the Indians are fast losing that respect for the justice of British rule which was the greatest safeguard of that rule some time ago.

INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Shah Din, an ex-Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, is anxious to improve the *Relations between Anglo-Indians and Indians* as will be evident from his characteristic article which occupies the place of honour in the February number of the *Hindusthan Review*. It is stated at the outset that the social gulf between the two communities has become wider than ever, and unless effective steps are taken to place their social relations upon a better footing, the material and moral

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progress of India will be seriously retarded. The writer is sanguine that the creation of an improved social feeling 'is well within the sphere of practical action.' It seems, however, that no true intercourse between Europeans and Indians is possible in this country, unless both classes realise and candidly admit the indispensable limitations which the idiosyncrasies of each impose upon that intercourse and he believes that half the difficulty of the situation would be solved if such an initial recognition were always to guide and qualify the demand which each community can in practice make for social concessions from the other. It is too much to expect that the Indian will soon outgrow or wholly discard such of his old-world usages as jar upon the European or that the latter will, within a measurable distance, be so far influenced by his new habitat as to renounce his racial peculiarities, national instincts, and social conventions which have come down to him from his forefathers. The Khan Bahadur is of opinion that the famous statement of Rudyard Kipling—'never the twain shall meet'—is only a cramped view of the great potentialities of human progress towards common ideals. The East must nerve itself to a supreme effort of the will to find out the way, and, by casting off the wearisome load of its social prescriptions must raise itself to a higher plane of existence. The West must come down a little from its high pedestal of political superiority, and by learning to appreciate the good points which exist in the self-contained social organisation of the meditative East, must bring itself to accept them as serviceable institutions in practical life. Thus only will they know each other in this country and become true helpmates and fellow-workers in the field of human advancement.

In the matter of bringing about a social *rapprochement* between the two communities, the writer observes that each class must be prepared to learn much of the other and to unlearn much that it has learned from contaminated sources. He further suggests that Europeans and Indians should cultivate a real acquaintance with each other's languages. In this respect, Indians have met their European masters half-way by studying their language and literature so closely that some of the great names which are the pride of Englishmen are household words with the literary classes in India. It is impossible, according to the writer, to govern a people in a spirit of 'real sympathy' without reaching their heart, and the heart cannot be reached without fully understanding and appreciating the language of their inborn feelings as well as their hopes and fears.

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Another way of promoting friendly intercourse is that the Europeans, being the ruling class, should adopt some practical steps to permit the Indians to share with them the amenities of social life. Conversaziones, soirees and garden parties having failed, the vital need of the day is that educated Indians should be made to feel at home by the side of Europeans and this end only achieved by the latter admitting Indian gentlemen of position to their own clubs, inviting them to private dinners and generally introducing them into the inner circle of European social life. If the initiative in this matter is taken by highly placed Europeans in a spirit of earnestness and 'paractical sympathy,' there need be no reason to despair of good results. As most Hindus have religious scruples against sitting down to meal with a European, the writer suggests that a beginning may well be made in that direction in co-operation with Mahomedans whose scriptures permit them in express terms to dine with Christians.

The Khan Bahadur next refers to the excuse often presented by Anglo-Indian writers that the backwardness of the Indian women constitute the greatest obstacle to the success of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians and remarks that this argument is not without force. But, in spite of this, the writer thinks that in view of the peculiar position which Europeans occupy in this country and of the heavy responsibility which rests upon their shoulders, they are not justified in thus entrenching themselves behind a social dilemma. It is suggested that either Indian gentlemen may not be introduced to European ladies in private houses, or mixed social clubs may be established with the membership limited to the stern sex. The writer reminds us that the task of bringing about a better social relation between the rulers and the ruled is both delicate and onerous, and requires for its due execution a rare combination of good temper, foresight, tact, sympathy and toleration such as we can only acquire by a prodigious expenditure of individual effort and national will-power of the highest type. The right and speedy solution of the social problem in India is a paramount necessity of the day, and though the initiative must be taken by our dominant partner, our own share in the full realisation of this great idea is by no means humble or unimportant. Our responsibility is great because our stake in the country is enormous. Mr. Shah Din's advice is that we should honestly try to discard our prejudices, false sentiments, little conceits, selfish trivialities and fetishes of usage and custom. In short we must equip ourselves fully with the moral and intellectual

apparatus essential to all enlightened progress on the most approved modern lines.

HALL MARKS OF INDIA

Mr. Glyn Barlow whose book entitled *Industrial India* was favourably noticed in an early issue of the *Indian World* contributes a brilliant article to the pages of the February *Indian Review*. It throws a flood of light on the doings of Anglo-Indians to whom it is likely to be nothing short of an eye opener. An excellent hallmark of India, says the writer, is the one which relates to a breadth of mental vision. The Englishman at home is admittedly insular. But in these days of cheap travelling he is not so insular as he was, though the great mass of Englishmen are nevertheless very insular still. Very few Englishmen, comparatively, travel abroad ; and the average Londoner, with a month's holiday, is more likely to go a long railway journey. The Englishman who lives in India is of necessity something more than a sight-seer. He lives a new life, and is brought face to face with a new people. Even though he may be in no way a deep thinker, he must necessarily receive an impression from close intercourse with a people who have been influenced by an ancient religion and an ancient philosophy, of which he has hitherto known nothing ; if he is a thinker, the impress will be so much the greater. The Anglo-Indian is generally, to be sure, a conservative of a most pronounced type ; but his ideas on general subjects are nevertheless much broadened as the result of his residence in the East.

An impress that is too readily received, even if only to a very slight degree, is an impress of indirectness of action. Unfortunately in India, there are many especially amongst the lower and lower-middle classes who are particularly prone to indirectness of action. Now, indirectness of action loses some of its power for evil with Orientals, inasmuch as it is so common that under certain circumstances it is to be anticipated and does but little harm ; but straightforwardness is an Englishman's boast ; he claims to be *sans peur et sans reproche*, and it is a very evil thing when this absolute straightforwardness is in any way impaired by a long residence in the East. By this reference to a diminution of the sense of honour it is not suggested that Englishmen in the East are commonly given to doing dishonourable actions ; but it is meant —and no one can well deny it—that a long residence in the East tends in too many cases to make the sense of honour less acute

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than it was. Honour may remain unsullied ; the hand may still scorn either to receive a bribe or to give one, and the tongue may refuse to utter that which is not true ; but it is not unlikely that —by something that is sometimes very much like necessity—a man may occasionally find himself doing little things that he would have scorned to do before he left the land of his birth—little venial sins against honour such as should remind him that he is not altogether the same man that he once was. 'This is a very sorry impress, and it is existent in not a few. With some the mark stands out in bold relief, and it is very seldom a birth-mark. It may be imagined that Clive, for example, before he came out to the East would have knocked the man down who should have declared that it was in his nature to play the trick that he played upon Omichund and to forge a colleague's signature.

It is a common idea in England, according to the writer, that 'laziness' is one of the prominent hall-marks of a residence in India. In this respect there are distinctions to be drawn. In the case of the Anglo-Indian housewife it can not be denied that she does as a rule full short of the activity of her English sister. With numerous servants at her beck and call, there is less work that demands her personal attention and there is more time to loll in an armchair and read novel or indulge in a siesta. The European in India, however, usually leads a fairly busy life, and during such leisure as he enjoys he is more likely to be busy at some kind of sport or recreation than to be idling his time. The idea, somewhat common in England, that the Englishman in India gets a big salary in return for very little work, and that he sleeps or loaf through the greater part of the day is incorrect. No doubt a good deal of time is spent in doing nothing. On Sundays and other whole holidays it is impossible, if there is a hot sun overhead, to turn the day to much holiday account, and it is scarcely to be wondered at if a long siesta—deliberate or of necessity—occupies a considerable portion of the day. The charge of laziness is perhaps kept up, moreover, by the laziness of the way in which an Anglo-Indian sits at his ease. He is given to sprawling in a long-armchair, with his feet nearly as high as his head. The long-armchair of Anglo-India is certainly suggestive of laziness ; a typical picture of Anglo-Indian would be a man in *neglisse* attire, lying at full length in a long-armchair, with his legs on the arms, a cheroot in his mouth, and a glass of whisky-and-soda in his hand.

A very common hall-mark of a residence in India is a non-enthusiastic spirit. The newly-imported young Englishman is of a

buoyant disposition, full of ardour and of feeling ; but it may be prophesied with a fair degree of safety that in a very few years his enthusiasm will have considerably cooled. The cooling takes place rapidly, and in too many cases the end is a frost, a killing frost—an apathetic supercilious spirit, which excites itself about nothing and which finds nothing worthy of admiration. The people of India have shown of late that they can be ardent and enthusiastic with the most keen, when once their ardour and enthusiasm have been roused ; but the normal spirit of India is quietism—a disposition to pay, to labour, and to wait. But the Anglo-Indian spirit of non-enthusiasm may be more specially attributed to the depressing influences of official routine. In Government service there is very little room for enthusiasm.

In opposition to the hall-mark of non-enthusiasm may be set the hall-mark of open-handed generosity. The Englishman at home is apt to be a little bit 'close.' He is apt to weigh his bounties, and he is usually more inclined to be just than to be generous. Many Englishmen in India are quite as close as their brethren at home, but the majority of them have learned from the aristocracy of the land the trick of generosity and of lavish entertainment of friends. The average Anglo-Indian is always hospitable, and if a subscription is started he is always ready to give generously ; and when he goes back to England it pains him at times to find that he is not received with the same warm hospitality that he himself in India has always shown.

One of the hall-marks that the spirit of the Englishman in India may receive is a certain touch of mysticism. In India, where a horoscope is as taken seriously a parish register, where mantras are muttered by millions of tongues, and where the evidence of a strong belief in mystic power is everywhere, the spirit of the stranger in the land is liable to be inoculated with a touch of mystic thought. A hall-mark that is received by a good many is a fellow-feeling for all living creatures. The Englishman who comes to India on a shooting-trip is not likely to be impressed in this way ; nor is the Anglo-Indian resident, if his sporting instincts are strong. But an Englishman who studies the thoughts of the people around him cannot but be impressed by the Indian's reverence for life. The marks are good and evil both, and it is well for an Englishman in India if he can get himself stamped with the good marks and avoid the evil. The Englishman may generally be congratulated if, after a long residence in India, he is as real an Englishman as he was when he came out.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Indian Review

The February number of our Madras contemporary opens with Mr. H. W. Nevinson's *Farewell to India* which has been widely noticed in daily papers. Under the heading of *The Unrest in India* Mr. Natesan has a critical review of Dr. Rutherford's famous speech on Indian affairs recently delivered from his seat in the House of Commons. An abstract of Mr. Glyn Barlow's excellent article on *Hull Marks in India* appears elsewhere in these pages. Mr. M. Macmillan writes on a subject which is foreign to India and Mr. M. T. Narasinha Aiyengar gives an account of the life and life-work of Madhuravani, the Sanskrit Poetess of Tanjore. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee's learned paper on *The Scope and Method of an Industrial Survey* which was prepared for the Industrial Conference at Surat is reproduced as an article. Mr. V. J. Kirtikar writes a critical review of a book named *Mahayana Buddhism* by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Mr. Joseph Furtado's article on *Songcraft in Goa* is followed by some well-written notes on *Current Events* by 'Rajduari' as usual.

The Mysore Review

The January number of the *Mysore Review* opens with a short note by the Editor who desires to have it announced that arrangements are being made for improving the *Review* all along the lines. Mr. N. S. Jambunathan has a very readable article on *The Problem of Life*. Mr. K. Subramanya Aiyar B.A., writing on *Commercial Education* puts in a strong plea for the institution of a Faculty of Commerce Degree by the Indian Universities. In the course of a very useful article on *The Study of Archaeology in India*, Mr. Vyasa says: "Perhaps there is no country save India in the world so specially famous for its ancient relics and monuments. Even the wild jungles contain wonderful monuments of ancient Indian civilisation which is even to-day the wonder of the modern world. Every province and every district supply materials to the explorer and the rich temples and mosques are of great historical value to those who want to get authentic information about our great ancestors and their mode of life and thought. To the poet, to the

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historian, to the statesman—in short, to every sort and condition of men they are rich with valuable lessons: indeed they are enviable specimens of Indian Art with a charm all their own." Among other contributions in the number are *Selection and preservation of seeds* by Mr. A. K. Yeganarayana Aiyar, *Chanakya's Arthashastra* by Mr. R. Shama Sastry and a further instalment of the Editor's translation of Mr. Nanilal Banerji's beautiful Bengalee novel entitled 'Satyananda.'

The Hindustan Review

There is a class of political thinkers who are evidently of opinion that regeneration of India may be a *fait accompli* if the social differences between Indians and Anglo-Indians could be made up and an *entente* established. To this class belongs the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Shah Din whose suggestive article on *Relations Between Anglo-Indians and Indians* occupies the place of honour in the current *Hindustan Review*. We publish a summary of this article in a separate section of our Review. Mr. H. G. Keene has some words of praise for *Lord Lytton as Viceroy*. According to Mr. Keene, Lord Lytton 'gave a very substantial proof of anxiety for the agricultural peasantry who formed the vast majority of the Indian population.' In these days when the Indian atmosphere is surcharged with noisy clamours about *Decentralisation*, we doubt not but it would do one's heart ample good to learn what a retired legislator has to say about this topic of topics. We commend the article on *Decentralisation and Administrative Councils* by Mr. K. Perraju for the perusal of our readers. In the course of the next article on *The Greatest Need of India*, Mr. V. L. Narasimham puts in a vigorous appeal for 'individual efforts being made 'in the cause of the betterment of society' The Revd. Edwin Greaves contributes a spiritual article which has but little to do with India. Miss S. Panukutty gives a highly entertaining account of *The Nambudries of Malabar*.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY

1908

Date

1. A violent mill-riot occurs at Rajgunje, near Budge Budge, where six thousand coolies fight desperately with one another throughout the whole day.
3. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court dismiss the appeal in the Police libel suits preferred by the Editor and the Proprietor of the *Indian Daily News*.
5. Mr. Smuts states in a speech at Pretoria that no mercy would be shown to Mr. Gandhi and his followers in the Transvaal.
6. Editor Joy Chundra Sarker of the Rungpur *Bartabaha* is sentenced to six months' hard labour on a charge of Sedition.
9. A crowded meeting to protest against the Transvaal Asiatic legislation is held in Caxton Hall, London, under the presidency of Lord Ampthill. In the Darjeeling Mail assault case, the accused, Mr. Durga Chandra Sanyal, is sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.
10. Maharaja Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore dies in Calcutta.
11. A mass meeting of Indians in the Transvaal is held at Durban to protest against the Registration Act which is straining the loyalty of the Indians both in India and South Africa.
14. Indian leaders in the Transvaal are arrested wholesale.
16. A destructive jute fire breaks out at the Beliaghata section of Calcutta causing a very great damage to property. Printer Baikuntha Chandra Acharjee of the *Yugantar* is sentenced to two years' hard labour.
17. In the Lazarus Brothers' assault case the accused Mr. Akshoykumar Das Gupta and others are sentenced to various terms of imprisonment at Dinajpur.
18. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameswar Singh Bahadur of Durbhanga makes a gift of Rupees two lacs and a half for the purpose of constructing a library building in connection with the Calcutta University.
20. The entire working staff of the G. I. P. Railway at Parel go on strike.
21. M. Gyula Tornai, the greatest painter of the 'Gorgeous East,' arrives in Calcutta.
22. Sir Louis Dane takes over the Government of the Punjab from Sir Denzil Ibbetson.
- The Bombay Railway strikers arrive at Parel where their grievances are ordered to be redressed.
23. The Madras Government considers it unnecessary to impose any further direct punishment on Captain Kemp.
26. It is ordered that the Registration Act in the Transvaal will remain in abeyance and prosecutions will cease.
27. Baron Von Aehrenthal declares before the Foreign Committee of the Hungarian Delegation that he would shortly provide the shortest route from India to Central Europe by effecting a junction of the Austrian, Turkish and Greek Railways at Larissa. M. Leekat Hossain is sentenced to three years' imprisonment at Barisal.
28. H. E. Lord Minto holds an investiture of the Orders of the Star of India and the Indian Empire at the Government House, Calcutta.
29. A public meeting convened by the Sheriff is held at Bombay with H. H. the Aga Khan in chair to give expression to the strong feeling prevalent throughout the country on account of the ill-treatment accorded to Indians in the Transvaal.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

By far the most pressing subject for the attention of the Indian patriot today is that of education. Education forms the differentiating factor between a civilized and uncivilized country and is the lever that is raising even Asiatic countries into powers of great influence and importance. At present India is awfully, hopelessly backward in education, as will be seen from the table below :

Province or State	Number of persons per 1000 able to read and write	
	Males	Females
Burma ...	378	45
Travancore ...	215	31
Baroda ...	163	8
Madras ...	119	9
Bombay ...	116	9
Bengal ...	104	5
Mysore ...	93	8
Berar ...	85	3
Assam ...	67	4
Punjab ...	64	3
Rajputana ...	62	2
United Provinces ...	57	2
Central India ...	55	3
Hyderabad ...	55	3
Central Provinces ...	54	2
Kashmir ...	38	1

The above is an appalling table and fully indicates the depth of ignorance in the country. In the last census (1901-2), the total

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number of educational institutions in the country from primary schools to collegiate and specialistic ones was 104,622, and the total number of scholars in all these institutions was 3,886,493. Out of a total population of nearly thirty millions of souls, we have less than three millions or less than 10 per cent of people who are able to read and write in all India. As for higher instruction, we had in 1901-2, 145 Arts colleges and 46 colleges for professional training in all India with about 23 thousand scholars between them. Any patriotic Indian who knows anything about the progress of education in Western countries and also in Japan ought to be ashamed of these figures and try his best to remove the evil which is indicated by them.

The Gaekwar of Baroda has recently introduced a measure to make education free and compulsory in his dominions for boys and girls of school-going age. The Maharaja of Mysore is adumbrating a scheme for the introduction of compulsory education in his State. And their examples are likely to be followed shortly by other native States of India. It is the condition of ignorance in British India with which we are concerned. It is by State aid and popular efforts that the problem can be attacked successfully.

Recently, under Mr. Morley's directions, the Government of India has been taking advice and opinions of the local governments as to whether a system of compulsory free education can be introduced within British territories in India. We hope Mr. Morley's efforts in this direction will not prove infructuous. If the Government of India will enjoin upon the several hundred municipalities and local boards in the country to make all primary education compulsory, even if not free, within their respective jurisdiction, a considerable advance might be made in the matter. But it appears to us that it would not be very prudent or wise to leave the entire direction of primary education in the country in the hands of municipalities or local boards or any other agency which is generally controlled by officers of the State. A considerable portion of primary education or the education of the masses of the people ought to be controlled and directed by Indians themselves, irrespective of State aid or State interference, because of two reasons :—Firstly, to introduce a healthy competition between the private and the State-aided systems of education and secondly, to keep the masses bound to the educated classes by ties of obligation and of duty. At present about 70 per cent of the total educational institutions in the country are maintained by the State or

aided by grants made by the State and the proportion is annually growing in favour of the Government. The hold of the educated people over the masses is gradually slackening in consequence. We would therefore suggest to such public bodies as the Deccan Educational Society, the Madras Educational Society, the Gurukul Society and the Board of the D. A. V. College of the Punjab, and the National Council of Education in Bengal to co-operate with each other with a view to take a larger measure of popular and primary education into their hands. On a matter like this, there does not appear to be any body or institution in the country with whom the above-mentioned bodies may come into conflict. Rather it is likely that if their efforts prove successful, their examples may be generally followed all throughout India by all the Native Chiefs and Provincial Governments. The duty of educating the poorer classes of our people we have most shamefully neglected all this time, and even yet there are no signs anywhere to take this matter seriously in hand.

In this connection it is necessary to add that our masses are very good materials to work with, and that, though they may not be literate, their minds have not been allowed by hereditary culture and education to remain as absolute blanks. It will not therefore be a hard task to educate them and to bring them to feel that knowledge is a great power and that it is the knowledge of the material things of life and of the conditions which we live in which gives a dynamic force to social organisations and raise and elevate nations in the modern world.

As for secondary education a great part may also be taken in hand by Indians themselves. We can not expect the Government of India or the local governments to do much in this line. The various national schools that are cropping up everywhere in the country might do excellent work if they would only give more time and attention to technical instructions and the teaching of elementary science. Not only good and handsome employments could be found for all diligent students of such schools, but the problem of skilled labour in the country would have also been solved a great way, for India badly stands in need today of ten thousand master-craftsmen and foreman-mechanics.

Now we come to high education. Higher or collegiate education in India is at present controlled by the five existing Indian Universities and hampered by thousand and one rules and regulations of an exacting nature and by examinations in which it is more often the aim to test not how much the student has learnt

THE INDIAN WORLD

but what portions of his text-books he has overlooked. Most unfortunately University education is attractive to our people because it leads to good employments under the State and to certain professions which not only offer a handsome income but position and dignity as well. So long as this intimate relation continues to exist between higher education and the service of the State and the learned professions in the country, not much hope of improvement can be entertained either in the direction or in the character of high education in India. It will not therefore do either to boycott the existing Universities or to run a parallel show to them. The existing Universities will be fed by those students in the country who aspire to careers that can be opened through their degrees only ; and if the bulk of our promising youngmen will have their eye upon these careers alone, no other institution can thrive in the country for the purpose of imparting higher education. So long as these Universities did not come into being, Benares and Poona and Navadvipa and Vikrampur thrived as centres of intellectual activity. Now, most of these places are being deserted and our students are flocking to our University centres. The best intellects in the country will naturally gravitate towards those centres which can offer due scope of position and emoluments to their attainments. We said something like this when the Bengal National Council of Education was started and we repeat the statement to-day. In the purely academic and legal departments of higher education there is absolutely not much scope for independent institutions under the existing condition of things. In the departments of scientific, technical, commercial and industrial training, however, the scope is very wide,—almost as wide as the country itself. In this direction a great and sacred work lies before us. The best intellect in every province must devise some means for such scientific, technical and commercial education as may have become the crying need of each particular province and in which departments it will not be difficult for diligent students to find respectable employment. To the study of medicine, of engineering, of mining and mineralogy, of agriculture, arboriculture, pisciculture, of metallurgy, ship-building and plate-laying and of hundred and one industrial technics, ten thousand youngmen all over the country might profitably devote their time and attention. In short-hand and book-keeping, in the fine arts and architecture, in modelling, designing and surveying, in enamelling and textile-weaving, an equal number of young men might find useful and honourable occupation. In each and all departments mentioned above, the

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

successful student might not only earn a decent livelihood but also attain to a position of dignity and respectability in society. If therefore instead of throwing a lot of good money and honest labour on education on 'national lines and under national control,' we had organised local universities for imparting scientific, commercial and technical education on modern and up-to-date European lines, much greater good could have been done to the country as well as to our people. It is conveniently forgotten that it is neither Oxford nor Cambridge that make for the prosperity of England. It is such Universities as Glasgow and Birmingham that produce the men who are building the fortunes of the British Empire. Academic education may be good and desirable for a self-contained and prosperous people, but it does not suit a struggling and impoverished nation. We, therefore, want more of such education as will open up to our people new careers, new employments and new fields of work. Who shall organise this great work ?

Something, no doubt, has been done to give a start to scientific and technical education in this country. In all the Presidency towns of India several medical institutions have been established. In technics, the Bombay Victoria Technical Institute, the Kala Bhawan of Baroda, the Jeypore School of Art, the Mysore College and the Bengal Technical Institute are all doing very good and useful work. We want hundreds of such institutions to grow all over the country to meet the progressive requirements of modern civilization and to solve the general economic problem of our industrial life.

Is it too much to hope that an Indian Council of Education, composed of representatives from all different provinces of the Empire, should undertake to organise a system of primary, secondary and higher education all over the country according to the latest German or the Japanese model ? If the idea appears too big or an impracticable one, we should be satisfied with provincial organisations, provided they are run on a definite standard and a common plan. May we not appeal to Mrs. Besant in this connection to see how far she can organise all the intellectual forces in the country and give them the direction indicated above ? We hope that the Indian University she is thinking of establishing will neither neglect primary, secondary and technical education on the one hand nor busy itself with purely literary or philosophic training on the other. The neglect of the one and the partiality for the other have been the bane of India in the past, and every sincere patriot of India ought to see that they are not allowed to stand in the way of the progress of India in the future. ▶

INDIAN PROBLEMS

Those who are interested in Indian politics without knowing more about them than they can gather from their daily papers may perhaps find the following considerations useful. They should know that the attempted assassination of Mr. Allen, the Magistrate of Dacca, was preceded by a long series of anonymous threats. Similar threats are now addressed to the other English officials in Eastern Bengal. It is a significant fact, again, that, in spite of the large reward offered, no clue has been obtained to the identity of Mr. Allen's assailants. They were evidently educated men of some position, and to any one who knows the conditions of life in Bengal it is hardly conceivable that many of the native officials in Dacca have not some notion who the culprits are. In such circumstances administration in Eastern Bengal is attended by more than usual difficulty and danger, and our fellow-countrymen in those parts may well demand the fullest support and confidence. The only excuse for the campaign of terrorism which is being attempted is the Partition of Bengal, with which the officials in question had nothing to do, and which they are powerless to alter. An Indian friend of mine writes to me that Bengal is still restless. If any one wishes to know how and why Bengal is still restless, he can hardly do better than procure the December number of the *Indian World*, published in Calcutta. There he may read the full text of the presidential speech which Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was to have delivered at the abortive Surat Congress. The rest of the number provides much food for thought for those who will read it calmly and impartially, and, indeed, contains more information as to the thought and political attitude of educated Bengalees than any number of scare head-lines and sensational telegrams. I make no comments one way or the other. But I venture to say that any one who will carefully read the Magazine I have just mentioned without prejudice for or against the Administration will better understand the difficulties our officials have to face at the present time. The wonder is that the ordinary, and extremely heavy, work they have to do is performed so well. It would be interesting to know how far the disturbed state of Bengal is due to the well-meant visits and encouragement of such men as Mr. Nevinson. It is not likely that they have much real understanding of their native friends, and it is more than possible that they convey a totally mistaken impression to Indians of the average Englishman's opinions as to Indian government. It may be doubted whether the present is a good time for political theorists to visit a country whose own politicians are in the frame of mind too plainly indicated by Dr. Rash Behari Ghose's very able and eloquent, but obviously embarrassed, speech.

J. D. Anderson

(In the London *Spectator*)

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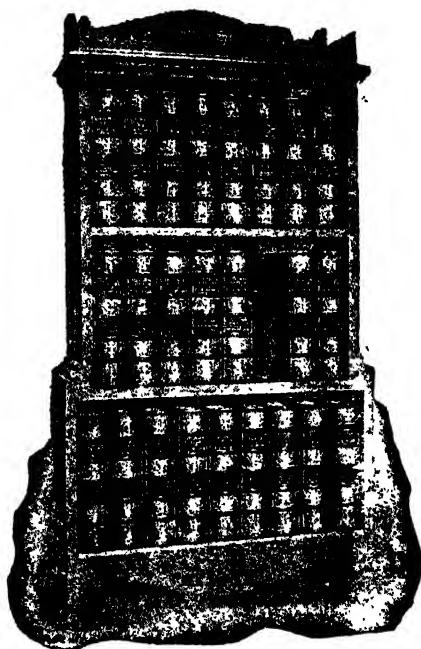
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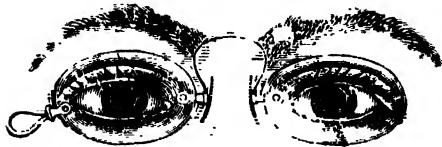
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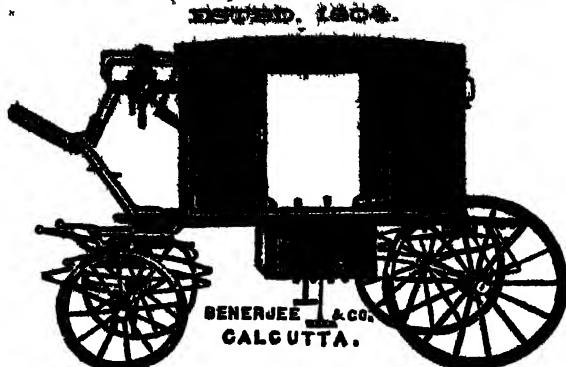
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* The illustrations in connection with this article and referred to in the foot-note in p. 305 will be inserted along with the next instalment of the article.
—Ed. I. W.

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THE INDIAN WORLD

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[No. 37

THE MUNDAS

THEIR COUNTRY, THEIR CHARACTER, AND THEIR POETRY

I

Away on the south-western confines of the Province of Bengal, and high above its level plains, in wild majesty and rugged glory, towers the wooded and rocky table-land of Chotanagpur. Of all the administrative divisions of Bengal, none possesses a greater interest for the anthropologist, the ethnologist and the sociologist than this extreme south-western division with its various aboriginal tribes, their quaint customs, their time-worn religions, their primitive land-tenures, their archaic tribal organisations and social institutions. Nor is the Chotanagpur Division less interesting to the naturalist, the geologist, the botanist, the artist or even to the mere lover of Nature's beauties. Here, indeed, may be seen Dame Nature in all her "pristine majesty outspread," and Nature's child, the savage(*a*) man, "in his primeval dower arrayed."

Rude magnificence and wild beauty, tropical exuberance and impetuous vigour,—these are the characteristic features of this land of craggy rocks and fertile valleys, of dashing hill-streams and roaring cataracts, of virgin forests and verdant fields.

The diversity of soil and scenery in the high lands of Chotanagpur is as remarkable as it is delightful. Here, a bare grey rock composed of pile upon pile of huge boulders with hardly any sign of vegetation or animal life on it, looks down grim and sombre upon the smiling and fertile valley below. There, a pretty remnant of primeval forest displays its wealth of splendid trees—the stately *sal* and the majestic *mohua*, the wide-spreading *banyan* and the cotton-yielding *semar*, with their fantastic garlands of various

(a) Strictly speaking, the wild tribes of Chotanagpur, though still passionately fond of hunting, have long outgrown the genuine savage or hunter state—the first stage of savage existence. The second stage, namely the nomadic or herdsman state,—has however been but partially abandoned by some of the tribes such as the korwas, and wholly by the rest who have settled down as pastoral and agricultural tribes.

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creepers and their pretty undergrowth of tangled thickets and prickly shrubs, flowering bushes and feathery bamboos—affording a dubious pasturage to the stray cattle from the villages around. Away in the background rises the most beautifully well-wooded range of blue hills—the happy resting-place of birds of various hues and melodies and the occasional haunt of beasts of prey. Here, lies a bit of the most arid waste with its stubborn soil of red sand and gravel which ever refuses to yield to the plough. Down there,—perhaps only a few paces off—you see stretching before you to the edge of yonder hill-stream, the most fertile fields of pulse and paddy, *surguja* and *sorsa*(a) sloping down, terrace under terrace, and exhibiting every shade of the loveliest green and yellow. Here, you have a delightful vista of the most magnificent and varied mountain scenery. Not far off, you come upon a fine sweep of open country fringed with pretty little hamlets half-veiled in green foliage and presenting an enchanting picture of quiet dreamy beauty.

In this rugged clime of barren rocks and fertile valleys, this land of semi-savage man and savage beast, extremes meet—extremes of weather, extremes of scenery and extremes of human character.

In the hottest days of summer, the temperature rises as high as 110° degrees in the shade(b). In the coldest days of December and January, the temperature indoors goes down below 40° degrees, and you may perchance see of an early morning hoar-frost whitening the open fields here and there. In the rains, the rainfall has been known to measure eight inches within twenty-four hours(c). At times you have an incessant down-pour for days together when it seems as if the flood-gates of heaven are opened never to close again. The silver thread of a hill-stream that in the winter and summer months babbles past you along its narrow channel of rock and sand, all of a sudden develops, with the very first rains, into a huge roaring torrent that sweeps away everything before it in its impetuous rush and swirl.

The town of Ranchi with mines of health and store of natural beauty, is the favourite resort of health-seekers and tourists. But there are villages in the interior of the Ranchi district that are

(a) *Surguja* and *Sorsa* are two indigenous oil-crops of the Chotanagpur Plateau. The former grows on a small flowering plant. The latter is the common mustard, the *Brassica nigra* of Botanists.

(b) In the Singbhum district of the Chotanagpur Division, the temperature rises as high as 118° degrees in the shade.

(c) The average annual rainfall in the town of Ranchi is 50 inches.

veritable hot-beds of jungle fever and its train of concomitant complaints. The wilder parts of Chotanagpur are still the haunts of tigers, bears, elephants and venomous snakes. The town of Ranchi, on the other hand, is exceptionally immune from the serpent kind and beasts of prey naturally fight shy of the urban area.

As is the country, so is its oldest-known aboriginal occupant. In the words of Wordsworth,

‘By faithful Nature guarded here,
The traces of primeval Man appear.’

Dark of colour, muscular in build, sinewy and supple in his limbs, proudly erect in his bearing, vehement in his temperament, strong in love as in hate, the Munda is a splendid specimen of the Kolarian aborigines. Soil, climate, and scenery have helped to make the Chotanagpur Munda the anomalous creature that he is. Contraries meet in him as in the land of his birth. Ordinarily, grim and gloomy(*a*) in appearance, like the bare grey rocks of his country, the Munda is on festive occasions a picture of gladness and gaiety, to which the sunny valleys of his native land, with their golden fields of paddy dancing in the breeze, afford but a faint reflection. His is not the tame merriment of the Low-lander, but an uproarious mirth whose flames are often—alas!—fanned by brutal drunkenness. Shy and reserved in the presence of foreigners and strangers, the Munda brims over with sparkling wit and genial humour in the company of familiar acquaintances and fellow-tribesmen. Hospitable to a degree to people of his own tribe, he is often worse than inhospitable to aliens whom he looks upon with an eye of suspicion. Ordinarily, quiet, undemonstrative and inoffensive, the Munda is all flame and fire when the demon of Anger possesses his soul. Once his blood is up, there are no lengths to which the impulsive Munda may not go. He quakes and quivers in all his limbs. He rages and raves, he shouts and gesticulates, under the sway of his over-powering passion. Out fly his arrows, down goes his *lathi*, and the unfortunate victim of his wrath is doomed to a deplorable fate. Human life the Munda reckons as naught when the spirit of revenge is on him. Little does he care for family, friends and relations, when they happen to stand between him and the object of his demoniac wrath. His cattle and lands, riches and

(*a*) One great distinction between the Mundas and their neighbours, the Uraons, appears to be that the former are rather sullen and forbidding in outward appearance, whereas the Uraons are always merry and cheerful in temperament. The appended illustrations of Munda youngmen and Uraon youngmen, and a Munda patriarch and an Uraon patriarch will bear this out.

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property, all lose their charms for the Munda in such supreme moments. Ungoverned passion and nothing else for the time being rules his actions(*a*). In the sowing and harvesting seasons the Munda is as plodding and industrious as the cattle that drive his ploughs. From sunrise to sunset, you may see men, women, and even children patiently at work in the fields. For the rest of the year, the Munda is the laziest of the lazy. He will rarely budge from his village, save when the old spirit of the hunter seizes him and out he goes into the woods for sport, or when, on stated occasions, the festivals of his antiquated religion bring their accustomed round of boisterous festivities of drink and wassail, song and dance.

Many are the songs in which the Munda expresses his longing for the return of the festive seasons. Hear how feelingly in the following, the Munda welcomes the coming blossoms of the *Sal* tree, which form the object of his worship in the *Sarhul* festival, the *Ba-parab* or Flower-feast of the Mundas.

[JADUR] *

Helare sarajumba !
Helare bagikedlea !
Helare surasangen !
Helare rarakedlea !
Helare sarajumba !
Helare nosorenme !
Helare simkatare !
Helare aragunme !
Helare tendailite !
Helare nosorenme !

[TRANSLATION]

Hail ! Sal Flower !
O ! Thou didst leave us !
Hail ! Sal Blossoms(*b*) !
O ! Ye forsook us !

(*a*) The records of the criminal courts of the Ranchi District show that the number of offences of a purely criminal nature committed by the Mundas are exceedingly small. Barring the large number of cases of 'paddy-cutting' and 'wood-cutting' under a claim of right—which can only be technically classed as criminal cases,—the Mundas hardly figure as accused in any criminal cases except in those of murder, grievous hurt and simple hurt committed in sudden anger and in the heat of the moment.

(*b*) In the original, we have 'blossom' in the singular form.

* The various classes of Songs and Dances of the Mundas are the *Mage*, the *Jarga*, the *Jadura*, the *Gena*, the *Japi*, and the *Lahsua* or *Karum*. The *Mage* dances and songs begin from after the *Sohorai* festival in *Kartik* (October-November) and continue up to the *Kharrā* Puja festival in *Aghan* or *Pous* (November December). The *Jarga* songs and dances are customary when the Munda stores his *moras* (bundles) of paddy inside his house in *Aghan* and *Pous*. From after the *Kharrā* Puja, the *Jadur* and the *Gena* songs and dances have their turn and continue to be sung and danced till the *Sarhul* or *Ba*-festival

*

Hail ! Sal Flower !
 Do thou come down !
 Hail ! Sal-Blossoms !
 Do ye descend !
 By the leg of the (votive) hen ;
 Do thou come down !
 By our rice-beer libation,
 Do ye descend !

Though there is no art in this string of passionate exclamations, there is genuine feeling ; though the outer expression is halting and imperfect, the inner emotion is deep and strong. The Munda painfully feels the poverty of his expression, and seeks to vent forth his intense emotion by repeating the same idea many times over. (a) Paucity of words in his own language to express his feelings and ideas he further seeks to make up for by the employment of such Hindi words as he may have picked up from his Hindu neighbours, by the invention of onomatopoetic words and expressions, (b) by piling up synonym upon synonym, by the introduction of contrasts and similes, and by similar other devices. (c) But even these hardly suffice to disburden the tumult of feeling within. And the intolerable burden of emotion does not allow the Munda rest till it forces itself into adequate expression. The tempest in the soul

which is generally celebrated in the month of *Chait* (March-April). One *Gena* is sung after every two *Jadura* songs. After the *Ba* or *Sarhul* Puja is performed at the *Sarna* or sacred grove, the *Japi* songs and dances are taken up and continued for a fortnight or so when the Munda youths go out into the woods on hunting excursions. After the *Japi* comes the *Lahsua* or *Karam* songs and dances which go on up till the *Sohorai* festival. The *Kadletia* festival alone is unattended with any songs or dances. The *Jadura* and the *Gena* dances are known as *nir-susunko* or the running dances because the dancers move fast in these dances, faster in a *Jadura* than in a *Gena*. The *Japi* is also a *nir-susun* in which, however, the dancers are arranged in a straight line and move backwards and forwards. In the *Jarga* dance, too, the dancers move briskly in a circle but not so swift as in the *Jadura*. In the *Lahsua* or *Karam* dances, the dancers move on in a slow pace, the female dancers frequently stooping forward and swaying their persons in different postures. In the *Mage Dance*, too, the dancers move slowly and swing their bodies in various postures.

(a) These repetitions, however, are seldom made in identical words, but synonyms are freely used and occasionally coined. These synonymous repetitions form a marked feature of the poetic diction of the Mundas.

(b) These expressive and sonorous phrases greatly add to the effect of the Munda's songs. Among these sound-pictures may be mentioned the following :— *ari-ari*, *ata-mata*, *bikana-bokona*, *barang-barang*, *bijir-balang* *biring-biring*, *bojor-bojors* *bojo-bojo*, *bangad-bungud*, *binga-banga*, *chere-bery*, *chom-chom*, *doed-doed*, *dugu-mugu*, *dugur-dugur*, *gasa-gasa*, *gaja-baja*, *gule-gule*, *jaram-jaram*, *jenged-jenged*, *jilib-jilib*, *jolob-jolob*, *jipir-jipir*, *keleng-beleng*, *kandang-kundung*, *kere-bore*, *kidar-kudora*, *lauga-chauge*, *lindu-lindu*, *lese-lese*, *losa-loso*, *lenge-lenge*, *leon-leon*, *limang-lomonga*, *lada-ludu*, *mondol-mondol*, *nala-i-balai*, *nambar-dumbar*, *pisir-pisir*, *rarae-barae*, *raranq-raranq*, *riring-riring*, *rolo-rolo*, *rese-pese*, *ribi-ribi*, *ribir-ribir*, *saigo-maigo*, *seke-seke*, *tapu-tupu*, *tiri-riri*.

(c) Among these other devices may be mentioned, the free use of certain expletives such as *ge*, *go*, *ho*, *re*, *do*, etc., the arbitrary lengthening of vowel-sounds for the sake of euphony or emphasis and the insertion of short vowels in the middle of words or suffixing such vowels at the ends of words for purposes of melody.

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must needs burst forth into fitting utterance. And thus impelled by surging emotions within, his whole physical frame involuntarily falls into that rhythmical movement which we call Dance. Children leap and dance under the stimulus of great emotion. Even so do savage people who are but as children in intellect and in feeling. The vibrations of the soul impart rhythm to the movements of the feet in Dance and to the flow of words in Song. And thus we find measured movements of the feet accompanying the songs of all primitive races. Song and Dance are indeed the twin-daughters of Emotion.

The formal part of song is in time moulded to some extent by the steps of the feet in dance. In fact, Song and Dance—the rhythm of sound and melody of voice and the measured movements of the feet—must originally have acted and re-acted upon each other. And Rhythm and Metre in the poetry of all nations are but the modern survivals of the Dance originally inseparable from the songs of primitive man. The line, the half-line, the stanza, and the couplet, with their regular intervals of time represent the various modes of the forward, the backward, the lateral, and the circular movements of the primitive dancing singers. And the varying cadences of sound had their counterpart in the varying steps of the Dance,—some short, some long, some quick and sudden, some slow and long-drawn-out. And all these various movements of the feet and modulations of the voice are expressive of the various classes and degrees of emotion.

For a correct appreciation of the songs of the Mundas, therefore, we have to picture to ourselves a merry band of

‘Many a youth and many a maid
Dancing in the chequered shade,’

to the sound of music and song,—the rhythmical movements of the feet and pantomimical postures of the body lending force and often meaning to those songs. Imagine a group of semi-savage young men and young women in gala attire, the bloomy flush of life tingling in every vein, and flowers and feathers in gay profusion decorating their well-combed and well-oiled hair. There they stand, arm in arm, in the village *akra* or dancing-ground, and form a curve—almost a circle. In the centre of the ring stand the musicians with their drums and pipes and stringed instruments—the noisy *dumang* or *mandar*, the martial *rebere* or *kharrn*, and the mellow-toned *dulki* or *dholok*, the melodious *murli* or *bangsi*, the stringed *tubila*, and the sweet-voiced *banam* or *saranga*.* The

* The other musical instruments one sometimes meets with in a Munda

dancers standing at the head of the curve begin the song and lead the dance. On they move from right to left. Their female companions lower down the line follow the dance and take up the song. In songs that are dialogistic in form, the young men and young women sing alternate couplets or stanzas by turns. The musicians attune their music to the song. And thus song, and dance, and music merrily proceed in unison, to the intense delight of dancers and spectators. On and on you see them dance, —now moving forwards and now stepping backwards, now with light steps and anon with vehement strides, now erect and now stooping, now walking and now running, now wheeling round and round in a circle and again spreading out in a straight line. At intervals, you hear a chorus of deafening shrieks and yells that testify to the overflowing hilarity of the animated dancers. And thus foot, voice, and musical instrument combine to proclaim the intense emotion of the savage heart to which one of these alone would be powerless to give adequate utterance.

When we thus enter into the spirit of the Munda singing his songs in weirdly plaintive melodies to the sound of no less weird music and in accompaniment to his expressive dance, we realise that the apparently unimaginative Munda is, after all, something of a poet at heart—a poet of Nature's own making. Under the rugged exterior of the savage Munda dwelling in squalid mud-huts amid the stench of his manure-pits and dirty stagnant pools, an innate love for the beautiful in Nature and in Man quickens his soul and prompts his song. The sweet sounds and harmonies of Nature—the music of the wooded hills around, of the blue sky above, and the green earth below, of the rippling hill-streams that fertilise his fields, the murmuring breeze that plays with the golden corn in his valleys,—all these breathe an ineffable sweetness into the Munda's soul. The silent music of nature seems to have glided into his soul and made a poet of him. And the Munda sings, as the bird does,—because song comes unbidden to his lips. And like the birds, too, his 'wood note wild' is often-times only a flood of harmony without any definite meaning.

The naturalness and unstudied grace of the Munda Muse is, at times, extremely captivating. Though the Munda poet has produced nothing to challenge comparison with the artistic literary

village are the shrill-toned *Kurudutu* or *Narasinga*, and the *perene* or *Sahnal* of duteet melody. These, however, are not played upon by the Mundas themselves but by the Ghasi musicians attached to most Munda villages. The services of those musicians of the Ghasi tribe are put in requisition in Munda marriages but not in the village dances.

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productions of a civilised race, we are struck at his joyous perception of natural beauty, his occasional vivid and poetic presentations of nature, the naturalness of many of his images and expressions, the occasional glimmerings of noble sentiments, and depth of tender feeling, and, above all, a certain dewy freshness and spontaneity that pervades many of his songs. Here and there, particularly in his love-songs, we light upon exquisite snatches of true lyric poetry, and perceive lightening-flashes of genuine poetic genius through clouds of faulty expression and crude ideas. The poetry of the Munda may be compared to the sandy bed of one of his native hill-streams. Like the grains of gold embedded in the sandy channel of the *Subarnarekha*, but in greater abundance, you find among the Munda's songs particles of pure gold—gems of genuine poetry—lying about amidst dull and dusty masses of crude imaginings and puerile sentiments.

Among the various inspiring causes of Song and Poetry, love of Beauty in Nature and in Man are by far the most fruitful. And these are the sentiments that, more than any other, inspire the unlettered Munda with the poetic impulse. The harmonious beauty of sight, sound and smell around him, fills his soul with ecstatic delight. The mental vision of external beauty stirs his soul to its innermost depths. And he is too deeply moved to rest content with a mere passive enjoyment. He needs must translate the music in his soul into the music of words. The beauties of Nature he must needs *create* anew with such materials as he can command. But the artistic materials within his reach are as yet extremely scanty, crude, and rudimentary ; and he often gives us in his songs but a bare picture of the vision with little or no artistic setting. But we instinctively feel that the singer means more than what meets the ear. The bare picture without any ornamental frame-work is at times pregnant with beautiful suggestions. Though there is no profusion of imagery, the joyous appreciation of things beautiful is unmistakeably present in songs like the following :

[LAHSUA]

<i>Haturedo gulaichi,</i>	<i>Bakriredo chameli.</i>
<i>Ti'iriri maina,</i>	<i>Rutu saritana.</i>
<i>Tarado moitana,</i>	<i>Tarado batana.</i>
<i>Tiririri maina,</i>	<i>Rutu saritana.</i>

[TRANSLATION]

All o'er the village, the *gulaichi* blooms,
The *chameli* blooms in the *bakri*.*

* *Bakri* means the compound of a house, particularly the village landlord's house. "The *Chameli* is an exquisitely fragrant flower—the *Jasminum grandiflorum* of botanists.

List ! list ! dear girl, how sounds the flute,
 How sweet it sounds *tiri-riri* !
 Some gleam in buds unopen'd yet,
 Some blaze in full-blown glory.
 O list ! dear girl, how sounds the flute,
 How sweet it sounds *tiri-riri* !

The presentment of nature in this dainty little song is unquestionably poetic, if not artistic. We perceive that the Munda has a sensitive heart which vibrates with the touches of sweet harmony in nature, and possesses the true poetic eye to recognise objects suitable for poetic presentment. Nor is he altogether destitute of the poetic ear by aid of which the music in the soul is bodied forth in the music of song, and feeling is harmonised with sound, and sound with sense. Thus, in the following song, the sweet cadence of the verse and the happy word-pictures, though spoilt in the translation, will not escape the Mundari-speaking reader :—

[JADUR]

<i>Buru buruse manido,</i>	<i>Bera berare rai.</i>
<i>Limang lononga manido,</i>	<i>Kidar kodora rai.</i>
<i>Sidalang gutim re manido,</i>	<i>Tusalaang sangaing re rai.</i>
<i>Alo, kuripe sidea manido,</i>	<i>Alo kuripe tusaea rai.</i>
<i>Tire mudam gonongte manido,</i>	<i>Jangore pola satite rai.</i>

[TRANSLATION]

Over the hills, fair fields of mustard lie,
 Down on the valleys spreads the waving *rai* !
 How soft and fresh the glistening *mani* glows !
 How gay the *rai* in youthful vigour grows !
 Come clip the *mani* leaves that sprout too soon.
 O, thou and I, the *rai*(a) so high we'll prune.
 But don't, ye girls, the mustard plants uproot,
 Nor break the *rai* so high whose stalk doth shoot.
 For rings youringers grace with *mani*(b) bright,
 For *pola*(c) deck your toes with *rai* rings white.

How graphic and truthful is this description of the beautifully flowering mustard and *rai* plants on the native hills and valleys of the Munda ! There they lie waving smilingly in the breeze, and one is tempted to gather them. But the Munda's quick sense of beauty and of the fitness of things tells him that the most fitting use of those nice little flowers will be to adorn the fair—to heighten the charms of feminine beauty.

(a) There are two varieties of the *rai*,—one large as a coffee berry and growing wild on big trees, the other growing in *bera* lands on small plants. Its flowers are yellow and berries white in colour. It is known by the botanical name of *Bassica alba*.

(b) The *Mani* is the red mustard with yellow flowers, the *brassica nigra* of Botanists.

(c) *Pola* is a brass ring worn on the toe by Munda females.

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The number of songs in which the Munda poet sings of the beauty of flowers is not inconsiderable. Here is another in which he compares flowers to the brightest and loveliest objects within his ken—the magnificent morning Sun and the peerless orb of night.

[GENA]

<i>Singiturorea, ho, dada !</i>	<i>Singituro gulanchi</i>
<i>Chandumulurea, ho, dada !</i>	<i>Chandumulu natalba</i>
<i>Singiturtan leka, ho, dada !</i>	<i>Singituro golanchi</i>
<i>Chandumulutan leka, ho, dada !</i>	<i>Chandumulu natalba</i>

[TRANSLATION]

Ah ! There in the east, my brother dear,
In the east sweet blooms the *gulanchi* bright
The west where the moon doth first appear,
The west is fragrant with th' *atal* white.

Like th' rising Sun, my brother dear,
In the east bright glistens the *gulaichi* wild.
Like the rising Moon, my brother dear,
In the west sweet blooms the *atal* mild.

It is not, however, a mere impersonal description of the beauty of flowers that contents the passionate soul of the Munda poet. His love for flowers at times rises to the height of a personal emotion—a feeling akin to the tender love of a mother for her child, if not the passionate love of a lover for his mistress or the worshipful devotion of a *bhakta* or devotee. Thus, in the following song, the pathos with which the Munda girl expresses her yearning affection for the flowers that grow by her paternal hut is exquisitely touching.

[JADUR]

<i>Nipilko nipilko maina,</i>	<i>Nipil biring biringo maina,</i>
<i>Chanduko chanduko maina,</i>	<i>Chandu barang barang</i>
<i>Ipilk're gomtamre maina,</i>	<i>Sukua chi banoge maina ?</i>
<i>Chandukore chaltamre maina.</i>	<i>Napaya chi banoa ?</i>
<i>Sukudoreing Sukua, Dada,</i>	<i>Napadoreing napaya, Dada,</i>
<i>Bakrire toa ba, Dada,</i>	<i>Okoi baetaing ?</i>
<i>Sukudoreing Sukua, Dada,</i>	<i>Napaedoreing napaya Dada</i>
<i>Pukripiringi keora-ba, Dada,</i>	<i>Chimai dalitaing ?</i>

[TRANSLATION]

The Stars ! The Stars !—O, girl, the Stars ! They twinkle sweet, my dear,
The Moon ! The Moon !—My girl, the Moon ! It shines so bright and clear !
With those fair stars in wedlock join'd, O, will thy heart rejoice ?
O, you bright Moon for consort chos'n, say wilt thou bless the choice ?
Ah ! if thou talk of rejoicing, dear, rejoice, no doubt, I will.
Ah ! if thou speak of pleasure, brother, pleas'd indeed, I'll feel,

But the *toa* flow'r in the *bakri*, brother, that blooms so sweet and gay,
 O ! who will wear the *toa* flow'r when I am far away ?
 And the *Keora*(a) flow'r by the tank, brother, that blooms so sweet and gay,
 O ! who will wear the *toa* flow'r, when I am far away ?

The beauty of flowers has something ethereal about it, its fragrance is redolent of a diviner atmosphere. Flowers, in fact, are fit emblems of spiritual beauty—the beauty and purity of the soul,—the essence of all outward beauty of form and colour. The devout Hindu who first conceived the idea of making offerings of fragrant flowers at the shrine of the Deity must indeed have been inspired by a feeling of this nature. And we have, perhaps, a faint preliminary touch of a similar sentiment in the following song in which the Munda poet bewails the fate of two nice little flowers ruthlessly torn and soiled by the hunters. Mark how the sight of the sullied and faded flowers pierces the Munda's heart with a keen pang—such pang as you feel at the sight of cruel wounds on the person of one you love.

[MAGE]

Sianrire sianrire sianrire hundiba do,
Bakainire bakainire bakainire bangur ba.
Sianrire hundi-ba do okoi maire petekeda ?
Bakainire bangur-ba do chimai maire chagarkeda ?
Sendesako jilib jilib senderako petekeda,
Karengako jolob jolob karengako changarkeda.
Penderaks, chutireks petekeda ;
Karengako chagarkeda, subarekochagarkeda.
Chutireks petekeda, chutikoto gosojana,
Subareko chagarkeda subadara mailajana.

[TRANSLATION]

On you *sianri*(b), on you *sianri*,
 On you *sianri*, th' *hundi*(c) flow'r !
 On you *bakaini*(d), on you *bakaini*
 On you *bakaini*, the sweet *bangur*(e) !
 O say, my girl, who th' tips did tear,
 Of th' *hundi* flow'r on *sianri* fine ?
 O girl, who did with the stem sever,
 The *bangur* sweet on you *bakaini* ?

(a) The *keora* is a sweet smelling whitish flower of the *pandanus odoratissimus* species of Botanists. The *toa* is a beautiful flower of a milk-white colour.

(b) *Sianri* is the name of a jungle tree.

(c) *Hundi* is a small flower growing on creepers. It is known as the *neoari* flower in Hindi.

(d) *Bakain* is an indigenous tree of the Chotanagpur Plateau. It grows very high but is worthless as timber. It is the *Melia Composita* of botanists.

(e) *Bangur* is a sweet-smelling yellow flower, in Hindi called *ban-kapas*.

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The hunters with their gleaming spears,
The hunters nipp'd the *hundi* white.
The hunters flashing as they pass'd,
O they destroy'd the *bangur* bright.

The hunters tore the *hundi* white,
They tore it at the tips so small,
The hunters broke the *bangur* bright,
They broke the *bangur*, stem and all.

Alas ! They tore the *hundi* leaves,
O Look ! How with'ring there they lie !
Th' uprooted *bangur* ah ! lies dead !
From tip to root 'tis soil'd and dry !

The 'merciless ravage' of the hunters pains the Munda to the quick. But as yet his idea is undeveloped and his expression of it halting. It was a pang like this which wrung the heart of the great Ayrshire peasant-poet when he caught himself turning down a mountain-daisy with his own plough and helplessly exclaimed :—

" Wee, modest crimson-tipp'd flow'r .
Thou's met me in an evil hour,
For I maun crush among the stoure
Thy slender stem,
To spare thee now is past my pow'r
Thou bonni gem ! ”

It is the recognition of a spirit in the flowers that lies at the root of this tenderness for them. The great English nature-poet, Wordsworth, has interpreted this feeling for us in more than one exquisite poem. Who does not feel with him when he says—

‘ To her fair works did nature link
The human soul that through me ran
And much it grieves my heart to think
What man has made of man.

* * * *

Through primrose tufts, in that sweet bower,
The peri-winkle trailed its wreaths,
And 'tis my faith that every flow'r
Enjoys the air it breathes ? ’

A faith like this perhaps yet hovers in a nebulous state about the Munda mind. And we may imagine the Munda of a future generation with his ideas developed and sentiments chastened by education and advancing civilisation, adapting the words of the English High Priest of Nature and thus admonishing the hunters :—

Then, ye hunters, move along these bowers
In gentleness of heart ; with gentle hand
Touch—for there is spirit in the flowers.

It is not, however, the beauty of inanimate creation alone that inspires the Munda's Muse. The beautiful birds hopping and playing, flying and singing around him 'in joy of voice and pinion,' attract his fancy. Their joys and sorrows touch a sympathetic chord in his heart. Their varying notes of gladness and sorrow he interprets by aid of his 'inward ear.' Thus, in the following song, we hear the wail of a *lipi* or lark whose nest in the fields is being washed away by the rain. Her mate now 'true to the kindred point of heaven,' but not 'of home,' is soaring aloft far away from his young ones and their mother. And she pours forth her lamentations in a flood of plaintive melody in the fond hope that they may reach the ears of her truant mate :—

[JADUR] *Chetan rimil Lipi gule gule,
Latir lari Lipi nali balas.
Tikin singi Lipi gamaleda,
Tarasingbera Lipi rampileda.
Perejana, Lipi, naiyal garha,
Leangjana, Lipi, dela burn.
Noralang, Lipi, natutana ;
Kosomlang, Lipi, hualtana.
Nonelangko, Lipi, eamtana,
Ganralangko, Lipi, saidiana.*

[TRANS.] Black clouds, O Lipi, gather'd on high,
And dark'n'd the heaven blue.
O ! chased by wanton winds below
Up misty vapours flew.
By noon-tide did the dark clouds burst,
And wat'ry drops descend.
When more than half the day was done,
O Lark ! so hard it rained !
The furrow'd field, as day wore on,
Rainwater did o'erflow.
The stubborn clods of glebe, O Lark !
All thaw'd and melted so.
The water from on high, O Lark !
It sweeps away our nest.
In this wide world, O now is left,
No hole our heads to rest.
The rushing torrents flood the fields,
Away our nest they sweep—
Our helpless chickens, list, O Lark !
How piteous—ah !—they weep.

The beautiful little sparrow darting about in such careless joy of heart awakens a feeling of paternal tenderness in the Munda. But this tenderness is tinged with a touch of lurking regret and pity at the thought that this joy is to last but for a while.

Sarat Chandra Ray

(To be continued)

COLOUR AND CONTINENT CONSCIOUSNESS

The oft-quoted couplet of Rudyard Kipling

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet
Till Earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat."

probably more than any other prose or poetic effusion in English literature has proved a potent factor in creating bad blood between the Easterners and Westerners. The general tone of the writings of this supercilious and erratic Englishman has a peculiar tendency to set the Oriental and the Occidental by the ear and widen the gulf between them. He has unscrupulously exploited the people of Hindostan. He has made the major portion of his money and reputation by making the men and scenes of India appear in his works in a lurid, uncanny light. As a romancist and writer of the novel, Mr. Kipling has his license to exaggerate. The outside world, however, does not take his "stories" merely as fiction. He is regarded by his admirers as a true delineator of life in the Orient and especially in India. His pen-pictures, therefore, invariably introduce into the sub-conscious mind of the Western reader a subtle and insidious poison which for ever warps his impression of the Oriental character.

Rudyard Kipling, however, is not the only author the tenor of whose writings has been the means of causing and perpetuating the schism between the Asiatic and the Occidental. He is but one of a by no means small fraternity. There are others of his ilk who make profitable "copy" out of alienating the sympathies of the Easterner and Westerner. In America and the British Colonies, the number of such writers is large. The following verses of the American poet, Francis Bret Harte, are often quoted, both in the United States and Canada, when Oriental topics are being discussed, or an Easterner is around, and like the above quoted couplet of Rudyard Kipling, have been the cause of lowering the status of the Asian in the eyes of the Occidental :

" Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,
Which the same I would rise to explain."

During recent years much has been written about the Orient and its peoples. This literature, one is apt to think, would have led to the diffusion of correct knowledge regarding the Easterner and proved the means of evaporating the hazy clouds of prejudices

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engendered by such writers as Kipling and Bret Harte. Of late the Oriental has begun to take kindly to travel and emigration. The coming of Asiatic to America and the British Colonies, one is liable to think, would have dispelled the untenable notions held in regard to the Oriental. Such, however, has not proved to be the case. On the contrary, ever since the people of Asia commenced to emigrate to America, Australia and the British Colonies in Africa, and especially since the Japanese began to gain the upperhand in the death-struggle with the Russian, the cry of the world-menace of the yellow and brown races is becoming more and more accentuated. For many years the British Colonies in Africa and Australia have been up in arms against the Indian immigrants. Of late Canada and the United States of America have joined in the crusade and in both countries earnest efforts are being made to exclude the people of India. The Anglo-Saxons and Latins settled in the Canadian and American West—the strip territory extending from the Pacific Ocean thousand miles or more into the interior—are labouring under an impression that the people of the Orient are leagued against them, and if left unchecked, will combine their forces to make a fell swoop on them and wrest from them the country which their forefathers forcibly took away from the North American Indians. They have taken vows to exclude the Asiatic and reserve the continent for the "white man". Naturally, in this particular section of America, the number of propagandist writers who, in season and out of season, malign the Asian and prejudice the Occidental peasant and working people against him, has increased of late, and the crust of fiction which surrounds the "race" problem has grown in thickness. Similarly in the British Colonies, wherever situated, the number of people who, by means of pamphlet, platform or private talk, decry the people of the Orient, has rapidly multiplied during the last decade or two. Agitators of this kind, however, merely reflect the spirit of the community in which they live. The significance of the passages quoted from Kipling and Bret Harte lies in the fact that they typify the sentiment of a section of Britishers and Americans towards the Easteners. This sentiment, when carefully analyzed, reduces itself to this : The Occidentals in North America and elsewhere are very touchy when questioned in regard to the way they acquired the countries which they now call their own. They, however, appear to be determined to reserve these territories exclusively for the white people. While they are anxious to go to the Orient for the purpose of exploiting the men and

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resources of the East, they are unwilling to allow the Easterners to come to these "reservations" of theirs in order to return the compliment. "Material gain" and not equity is the keynote of life in the Occident, and although such a sentiment, by all canons of morality, certainly is questionable, yet this is the sentiment of the preponderating majority in America and all the British Colonies to which the Orientals have migrated.

"Colour and continent consciousness", therefore, though a mere prejudice, yet is a palpable reality to be reckoned with. The people of India know what the "crime of colour" means. Amongst the educated community there is hardly any who is entirely oblivious of the fact that in the "big house" in the European quarter of his town reside men and women whose brains are obsessed with such prejudices. Englishmen in India, and some of them even out of India, gratuitously remind Indians that their Oriental minds are incapable of grappling the details, and their wills too weak, their bodies too infirm, to enable them to properly engineer a popular form of Government. Democracy, they invariably are led to believe, is a Western product and, like the 'fur coat,' is incapable of being employed in regions other than the very cold ones. Frequently educated and highly cultured Indians come in rude contact with the concentrated hauteur of supercilious men and women from the Occident, who fatten themselves on what, according to their own philosophy, ought to be Indian preserves, and whose sole excuse for flagrant misconduct consists of their "white" complexion and European, and in many instances but a "part-European," parentage. Too many times uneven justice is given to the people of Hindostan when the complaint is made against persons of supposedly "superior" colour and extraction; too frequently Indian immigrants to the British Colonies have been either excluded or inhumanely treated, that India needs to be told that colour and continent consciousness, though a relic of barbarism, is nevertheless a tremendous reality.

The people of Hindostan are admitted to be the cousins of the Anglo-Saxons. Both came from the same stock—belong to the same branches of the human family. Despite what is said about Indians by sectarian people and religious fanatics, they possess an ancient civilization. They were an enlightened, and highly cultured people when the Europeans were still savages. Their heritage in art, literature, religion and philosophy is second to none. Yet Indians labour under countless disabilities because they have brown skins and their fore-fathers migrated to and settled

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in an Oriental land instead of travelling toward the setting sun. As an essential part of his creed the Anglo-Saxon believes that he is destined to lord it over the rest of humanity on the principle of "the survival of the fittest" and considers that Indians are doomed ever lastingly to play the part of "second fiddle."

It, therefore, should not be hard for the people of India to realize that the Occidentals, especially those inhabiting the United States, Canada, Australia and the British Colonies in Africa, are not willing to act upon Uncle Toby's advice to the fly : "Surely there is room in the world for me and thee." If such people ever do feel that the world is wide enough for all men, of whatever origin, they want Orientals to remain cooped up in the Asiatic continent. Mr. V. L. Tissera, a tea merchant born in Colombo of full-blooded Ceylonese parents, who has since become a naturalized "citizen" of the United States, relates an amusing story which illustrates this point. An English tea-merchant went to a regular customer of Mr. Tissera's and opened up a conversation in order to secure from the firm an order for his line of tea. He was told that they imported their teas from Ceylon through a native-born Ceylonese, Mr. Tissera. "From Tissera—from Tissera," he said. "Yes, from Tissera," replied the head manager of the firm. "Yes; but these Asiatics are not trustworthy people," interjected the English drummer. "Mr. Tissera is a pretty good and reliable man," he was told. "His place is in Ceylon, and not in America" replied the exasperated Englishman.

In order to find justification for the slogan, "White America," "White Australia," etc., many untenable objections are offered against the Orientals. It is asserted that on the Pacific Coast of North America the Asiatic and the Westerner have met; but they have not "mixed." The habits of mind and the modes of life of the Occidental and Oriental, it is claimed, are as dissimilar as the negative and positive poles of the battery and it is asserted therefore that there is no likelihood of the continental line between the Easterner and Westerner becoming extinct, yielding place to a wholesome blend of the two.

"When a Japanese widow sues a Chinese bachelor for breach of promise in New York, the unadaptability of the Oriental races does not seem particularly intense," points out an editorial writer in the *Chicago Examiner* of recent date. The fact is that the Orientals in America and other Occidental countries have shown their willingness to meet the Westerners more than half way. It has been their unflinching aim and effort to sink their idiosyncrasies into

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oblivion. It has been their desire to put the brake of Oriental spiritualism on the American craze for the "almighty dollar". They have endeavoured to correct the impractical in them by grafting on themselves Western practicability. The people of India, at home and abroad, are renowned for their staunch adherence to caste and religious forms. In the American and Canadian West they even have shown abundant proofs of being eager to cast aside these observances. With a view to conform to their new environment, many Sikhs have parted with their long hair and most of the immigrants have adopted the Western mode of dress—trousers, coats and evening caps. The Japanese have gone even farther than this. They have not only cast aside their kimonoes and wooden sandals; their women have not only divested themselves of their loose, long, flowing single garment of variegated colours and, in lieu of these, adopted the garb worn by Occidentals of the same class; but they have gone to the length of marrying and intermarrying with Americans. They do not come to the Occident, like the Chinese, merely to earn money, save it, and, when a fortune is amassed, transplant it to their native land. The Japanese comes to America to stay. He migrates to the Western continent in order to make the new world his home ; and his living there tends toward permanent good, as he improves land by reclaiming marshes and bogs. Nor does he lower wages. In certain kinds of work, such as domestic service, the Chinese and Japanese are receiving not only the same wages as do the Occidentals ; but in many cases they are in receipt of better salaries and emoluments, being the superiors of their white competitors. It is often asserted that the Orientals in the Occident live far more cheaply than the Occidentals ; but the Japanese have raised their standard of living, in many cases even aping the Westerners by adopting their costly "vices" of drinking, gambling, etc. So far as it lay in their power they have conscientiously tried to squarely meet the objections of the Occidentals, even by imitating the ugly features of Western civilization ; and they have succeeded in a marvelous manner in removing all causes for grievance.

The "crime of colour," however, is against them. They cannot bolt out of existence the fact that they, or their parents, migrated from Asia. The American is prejudiced against their "colour." He considers himself "superior," not because of some sterling worth in him, but because of his "complexion" and his Occidental birth. Nothing that the Oriental does to conciliate the Westerner, therefore, finds favour in the eyes of the latter. America annually re-

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ceives, by the ship-load sun-burnt scum from the Southern countries of Europe. Many anomalies result from the migration of these Latins. However, they are being received without much agitation. The Orientals, who are much superior to these men in morals, thrift, stick-to-it-iveness, patience, and in many cases physique, are not even tolerated. Their colour is a bar sinister against them. They do not hail from the continent of Europe. Colour and continent consciousness is urging the Canadian and American people to debar Orientals from their countries. Mobs set fires to their dwellings and drive them, at the point of revolvers, from their houses. The exclusion of the Chinese is already an accomplished fact, both in the United States and the Dominion of Canada and has been so for many years. Even students from China who come to the so-called "Land of the free and home of the brave," armed with transports and official papers, find upon landing insuperable difficulties and vexatious annoyances. President Theodore Roosevelt, who not long ago earned the good-will of the Orient by serving as the "dove of peace" between Japan and Russia, has sent a gigantic armada of sixteen battleships, ostensibly on a 'peaceful' cruise; but American newspapers and politicians openly declare that its real mission is to give the Japanese an idea of Uncle Sam's naval and military strength, and bully the Mikado into restraining the exodus of his subjects America-ward. The Canadian Government, for a year, has been perfecting measures to keep the so-called "Hindoos" from their territory, and the "land of the stars and stripes" is endeavouring to follow its neighbour as a close second in the matter of excluding Indians from the North American continent. The pet war-cry of both the Canadian and American has come to be "White North America," and the propagandists of the sentiment are gaining such an upperhand in several parts of both these countries of North America that a thinking man is obliged to pause and consider if the Orient shall have to wade through human blood to equality with the colour and continent-conscious American. No prophet can exactly foretell how or when this continent struggle is to end. Time alone will show whether the fight is to continue bloodless and as to which of the two contestants—the Orient or the Occident—will be worsted. Meanwhile it is of interest to watch the details of the developments and to remember that at the present time the sky is overcast with murky clouds and presents a frowning, threatening, aspect.

Saint Nihal Singh

THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS

The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, speaking at the Budget Debate on the 27th March, delivered an important speech on the above subject. As usual with the Government of India, all the credit and originality for the inception of the scheme is sought to be monopolised by it. "What is not in the *Sun* is not under the sun" was the proud boast of the Editor of the American "Sun," and our Government likewise can not conceive of any wisdom outside its pale. We do not grudge them this flattering unction which is the last infirmity of noble minds, though one would rather desire that the olympian gods were free from this mortal vice. The Hon'ble member did not rise to the height of the occasion and his ill-humoured sling at the galaxy of jurists like Hobhouse, Garth, Phear and others for bad logic and defects of constructive proposals is conceived in questionable taste and is as inexcusable as undeserved. The memorial in question is a remarkable document and beside it Sir Harvey's presentation of the subject is no better than a modest rushlight by the side of a huge incandescent lamp. Despite all these, however, public thanks are due to the Hon'ble member for recognising after all this anamoly in the Indian jurisprudence—this joinder of dual functions in the same officer. The bogey of "prestige" has been laid at rest, and this is no mean feat considering that, even after Lord Kimberley's striking vindication of it in the House of Lords in 1893, the fallacy was having a prosperous lease of life in the hands of persons like Sir Charles Elliot, Bengal's quondam Satrap. Readers need hardly be reminded that the separation was once effected about 1839, but the Sepoy Mutiny turned many heads away and the *ancient regime* was restored with a vengeance. Sir Harvey Adamson seems to have resisted to some extent the siren song of the current official opinion in favour of the existing system, and the principles he has enunciated are unexceptionable, namely, that justice should not only be pure but also above suspicion and that the trial of offences and the control of Magistrates who try them should never devolve on officers who have any connection with the Police or with executive duties. In coming to details however, he has sacrificed those very principles and has outlined a scheme which is faulty in development and anomalous in theory. The scheme however is merely tentative and has been offered as such for public criticism. The first defect of a fundamental character which vitiates the whole scheme is the ignoring of the principle that the High Court should have

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the entire control over the Judicial Magistrates on questions of appointments, transfer and promotions. The Munsiffs and Sub-Judges are already under their disciplinary jurisdiction and a logical corollary of any sound scheme of separation imperatively demands that the *whole* judicial service (judicial Magistrates, munsiffs etc.) should be placed in entire subordination to them. The words in Sir Harvey's speech that High Courts are to be *freely* consulted on questions of transfer and promotion appear to be conveniently vague and leave many loop-holes. The *sine qua non* of a sound scheme of separation is that officers in the Judicial Service (Magistrates or Munsiffs) must look for advancement only in the judicial line and to the highest tribunal of justice alone. It is stultifying the whole thing by still keeping the Divisional Commissioners on the top and vesting the administrative control of the service in them. It is only perpetuating the existing evil. With a view to the desired end, there should be one uniform method of recruitment for the whole Judicial Service, officers being told off to duties of civil and criminal justice according to choice modified by actuarial considerations. The present method of appointments in the Provincial Judicial Service has greatly contributed to the efficiency of the staff, and public service will distinctly be the better and richer by this proposed change.

The Government scheme contemplates that the Magisterial Judicial business of the District is to be under the Senior Magistrate. The question of cost apart, this arrangement is wholly unnecessary and will only pitchfork without any justification a superfluous officer in the district system of administration of justice. Under certain instances, as for instance when the Senior Magistrate happens to be a member of the Provincial Civil Service, this will mean the grossest injustice to the body of Sub-Judges, who have deserved well of the country and the Government and will involve a departure from the well-established policy of the Government in promoting Sub-Judges, under the Assam and Bengal Civil Courts Act, to the rank of Assistant Sessions Judges. The existing staff in the district is already sufficient to admit of the separation being affected without any additional cost whatsoever, and Mr. R. C. Dutt's scheme might be tentatively introduced *mutatis mutandis*. In districts which have got Additional Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judge will only exercise his criminal jurisdiction and supervise generally the whole criminal work, the Additional Judge being entrusted merely with civil work. In districts where there are no Additional Judges, the Senior Sub-Judge will be deputed to do the

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civil work of the Dt. Judge. As a matter of fact, in every district the Sub-Judge as a rule does all important civil work and the suggested change will only systematise an already existing arrangement. All these again will be quite compatible with the sources of authority of the District Judge. The District Judge draws his powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction from the Civil Courts Act and the Codes respectively. What is proposed is merely a new disposition of business, keeping things nearly in *status quo* and allotting duties of criminal justice to the District Judge and civil justice to the Additional Judge or where there is no Additional Judge to the Senior Sub-Judge.

Sir Harvey Adamson's scheme also suffers from another characteristic defect in that the District Officer will remain vested with the preventive Magisterial powers. This is hardly consistent. What then becomes of the first head of the scheme that the judicial and executive junctions are to be *entirely* separated? To accomplish a separation and yet to keep in tact the preventive magisterial jurisdiction is a sort of judicial oxymoron, and be it noted that Chap. viii. to Chap. xii. of the Criminal Procedure Code offer the widest scope for the abuse of such powers.

The outlines of the scheme as modified stand as follows:—

1. The judicial and executive functions to be separated completely in name as well as in reality.
2. Officers of the Indian Civil Service to select after a period of probationary training the Judicial or the Executive line, and thereafter to be employed solely to the careers to which they are allotted, subject to the exigency of the Public Service.
3. The High Court to have entire control of the appointments, transfer and promotions of the Judicial Service (entire Civil and Criminal.)
4. The District Judge to be (Criminal) Judicial head of the District trying (i) appeals from *all* classes of Magistrates, (ii) Sessions Cases and supervising the criminal work throughout the District.
5. The Additional Judge and, in places where there is no Additional Judge, the Senior Sub-Judge, to be the civil head of the District, trying civil cases and appeals and exercising the extensive civil jurisdiction of the district.
6. The District Officer to be the executive head of the district, discharging revenue functions and controlling the Police.

It will be recognised that the modified arrangement incidentally cuts the gordian knot of the problem of training the Judges. The Bar

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has admittedly outstripped the Bench and it is possible under the present system for an I.C.S. to aspire like a Chinese Mandarin without any previous training to a seat on the Bench and to try cases against the decision of hoary-headed Sub-Judges who began law before he was even perhaps born. The necessary limits of a magazine article forbid a more detailed treatment of the subject but it is confidently hoped that the suggested alteration will ensure the following advantages to the scheme.

(a) They would satisfy all the requirements of a sound scheme compatible with the maintenance of the maximum of efficiency. The question of "sinews of war" is always important and, considering that the Government always plead expense as an excuse for inaction, the fact that the proposed scheme does not involve any additional outlay has much to recommend it. The public will hardly accept the Home Member's *ipse dixit* that the Bengal Government have been able to show with any convincing argument that the scheme of the Memorialists will entail great cost, and it almost seems that the question of cost has been conveniently brought to the fire to cut a red herring across the tail.

(b) They maintain the *status quo* and preserve the continuity in appointing Sub-Judges as Assistant Sessions Judges.

(c) They guarantee the accomplishment of the separation in theory as well as in practice.

(d) They obviate anomalies and defects noticeable in Sir Harvey's scheme and present a simple plan fit for immediate experiment in selected parts.

(e) They solve the delicate problem of the training of the Judges

A Moffussil Lawyer

OCCASIONAL STORIES

BASANTASENA OR THE CLAY TOY-CART

VIII,

Sthabaraka also arrived in the garden, the old Puspakarandaka, not suspecting in the least that he had been conveying some one in his cart. Though Basantasena did not know that she had taken the wrong cart, she was feeling very uneasy, and apprehended that some unknown calamity was lying in wait for her as her right eye was twitching, certainly a bad omen for a woman.

No sooner did the cart enter into the garden than Shakara ran to get into it, and, looking in, exclaimed in amazement that there was a woman in the cart. At this, Vita came up to the spot and saw that the woman was no other than Basantasena and, not knowing that she was there through mistake, reproached her for her unworthy conduct at her coming to visit the scoundrel Shakara, leaving Charudatta.

Basantasena was beside herself with fear and amazement at this sudden and unexpected sight of Shakara and Vita, and hardly realised the real situation : but the unmerited rebuke of Vita brought her to her senses, and realising the peril she was beset with and briefly explaining how through mistake she had taken the wrong vehicle and was brought there, she threw herself on the mercy and protection of Vita, who, she knew, had a bit of nobility in him, unlike his friend Shakara. Vita knew full well what the consequence of the horrible mistake would be, yet he promised to try, as much as lay in his power, to avert the worst. So he got anxious to keep Basantasena away from the sight of Shakara. With this end in view, he exclaimed to Shakara that there was a witch in the cart which would eat them up both alive, if they attempted to enter it and that the best course for them would be to run instantly for their lives. The villainous Shakara proved more than a match to Vita, this time : he was not to be persuaded to go away leaving the cart behind, and, it was no good to argue the matter out with him. Vita could no longer help telling him that the witch in the cart was no other than Basantasena who had come to visit him. Very glad to learn this, Shakara approached Basantasena

and entreated her all the while to be kind to him. This was too much for Basantasena and she kicked the scoundrel disdainfully.

This gross insult instantly put him out and made him determine to put an end to the life of the unrelenting wench. But instead of killing her with his own hands, he at first tried to persuade both Shakara and Sthabaraka to commit the horrible act for him and tempted them with gold. But quite unlike their employer, they were not destitute of a conscience which revolted against such a horrible suggestion; so they flatly refused to carry out his diabolical wishes. Baffled in his attempts to persuade them, he now guarded up his loin to put his vile project into execution: and as soon as he pounced upon Basantasena, Vita caught him by the throat and pushed him to the ground senseless. Soon regaining his consciousness, he thought that he had at last found out an excellent method of easily dispatching Basantasena by thus throttling her, as he himself had just been throttled by Vita. But unwilling to keep any eye-witness of his own misdeed, and with a view to send them away, he said to his friend and servant that, though Basantasena loved him dearly at heart, she was ashamed to profess her love in their presence. Though at any other time the intelligent man could have easily seen through this apparent stratagem of the scoundrel, this time he was easily deceived and quitted the scene with Vardhamana without further delay. Still unable to put a complete reliance upon the integrity of the villain, Vita, instead of going far away from the scene, only hid himself at a little distance to see what Shakara would do next. Even now was this good man deceived—he saw that Shakara was adorning himself with flowers, and taking this to be an external manifestation of his amorous sentiment, Vita left him with Basantasena, without any more doubt or misgivings.

Again in his vulgar way Shakara approached Basantasena with seeming entreaties. But she would hear him no longer, and in her utter disgust exclaimed. "Go hence, oh ! you vile wretch ! The honey-loving bees do not abandon a pure and stainless lotus. A good man of a noble descent should be served carefully, poverty-stricken though may he be, and it is the glory of a courtesan to set her heart upon an honest man ; and I who have loved a mango tree cannot now cling to a locust tree." This insulting speech of Basantasena only served to rekindle the smouldering fire of wrath of the monstrous villain, who cried out : "Wench, you compare that pauper, Charudatta, to a mango tree and call me a locust tree, and that is the way how you abuse me and

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give your preference to that wretched pauper over me ? This instant I am going to strangle you with the spirit that dwells in you." So saying Shakara seized the helpless courtesan by the throat ; a very slight throttle was too much for so delicate a girl as Basantasena, and in an instant she fell to the ground unconscious, with the name of Charudatta unfinished on her lips. Thinking that the murder was complete, the monster actually began to dance in joy.

Presently returned Vita with Sthabaraka, and, not seeing Basantasena with him, asked Shakara where she was. Shakara at first evasively answered that she had gone away ; but this laconic answer did not satisfy the ominous curiosity of Vita, so he began to press for a fuller detail. In answer, the scoundrel spoke so confusingly that Vita now grew all the more suspicious and bade him to speak the truth, the whole of the truth, and nothing but the truth. "Be easy on that score," said the cruel wretch, unblushingly, "I have killed her." Vita would not have been more stunned if the thunder had struck him at that moment, and he fainted ; but soon regaining consciousness, wailed mournfully for a long time, and after the first sudden ebullition of grief had subsided a little, he thought that it was not at all safe to remain there as Shakara might easily lay all the blame of the misdeed on his innocent shoulder at any moment ; so Vita rose up to go away, but Shakara ran forward and caught hold of him and flatly charged him with the murder of Basantasena. Drawing his sword, Vita scornfully said, "Go hence, you wretch ! Don't obstruct me." At this, sin and cowardice shrank before real courage, and without any further molestations, Vita, determining to join the party of Aryaka and Sharbilaka, went away, saying, addressing the departed spirit of Basantasena : " Oh, you beautiful one ! born again and don't be a courtesan ; but be virtuous and good and take your birth in a sinless family."

When Vita was gone, Shakara saw that his own servant, Sthabaraka, might at any moment disclose the story of his misdeed. He, therefore, ordered him to proceed home at once, and to wait there till he, Shakara, himself would reach there.

After the departure of Sthabaraka, Shakara came back to the spot where the body of the unfortunate woman had been lying motionless, and thinking her quite dead, covered the body with dried leaves which lay scattered all around in the ground ; in another instant he hurriedly ran out of the garden, saying to himself, "all right ! now I shall proceed thus. I will at once go to the Court and lodge a complaint there that Basantasena has

been murdered in my garden by Charudatta for money ; and with this trick of mine he must also be dispatched."

IX

Shakara reached the Court house just at the time when it was about to begin the day's work. In those days the crier of the court had to first ascertain if anybody had to present a case for trial and then report the same to the judges, who would thereupon call in the plaintiffs. On that day, when Shakara was announced the whole court was startled at the name, for the judge and the other officials knew the character of the rogue full well ; and they all in one voice exclaimed " What ! the king's brother-in-law, the District Superintendant of Police, himself to present the first case to-day. Like an eclipse at sun rise, this portends the ruin of some great man. Go forth, and tell him that his suit cannot be heard to-day." He was very angry with the judge when the crier returned to tell him this, and in his rage threatened the judge with dismissal by reporting this conduct to the Queen, his sister, and King Palaka, his sister's husband. The judge knowing that nothing would be impossible with the scoundrel, at last allowed him to enter the court-room, and lodge his complaint formally ; and the clerk of the court was ordered to take down his statement. The villain of the Lord of the Police ended his statement thus: "Even if I were guilty, my brother-in-law, the king, would not punish me. He gave me the old Puspakarandaka, the best of all his gardens, out of his love for me and to look after it. There I go every day to keep it clean, to keep it dry, to keep it trimmed, and to keep it blossoming. By chance I saw there the body of a woman prostrate." At this point the judge interrupted him asking if he knew who that unfortunate woman was. " Oh, sir," continued the villain, " why shouldn't I know the woman, the ornament of the city, adorned as she was with thousands of jewels ? When the garden was empty, some wretches must have enticed Basantasena into it and strangled her to death for her money and jewels. But not I "—continued Shakara and broke off in saying this and covered his face with the hands. The judge forthwith ordered the clerk to put down the words, " But not I " as the first article in the case. Shakara saw that he was going to ruin himself through unnecessary haste, so he at once roared aloud. " Why are you picking up a row for nothing ?" and audaciously effaced the words " But not I " with his toe ; but the judge, afraid to do anything to punish this audacity, did not charge him with any contempt of the court. ▶

The statement taken down, the judge ordered that the mother

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of Basantasena should be summoned at once. Accordingly the old woman came to the court with a trembling heart not knowing what this sudden call meant. The judge asked her if she was the mother of Basantasena and where Basantasena was at that moment. To the first of the question she answered in the affirmative but she felt greatly embarrassed in answering the second part ; but the imperative demand of the law court, at length, compelled her to say that her daughter, Basantasena, was enjoying at the house of the noble Charudatta, the son of Sagarakadatta, and the grand-son of Binoyadatta. Hearing this much, the judge had no other alternative but to summon Charudatta also ; so a messenger was forthwith dispatched to fetch Charudatta to the court.

This most unexpected summons created a great uneasiness in the mind of the noble Charudatta,—he could not account for it, because, he thought, the king knew him and his family too well. But on a second thought, it came to his mind, that he had helped the escape of the state-prisoner Aryaka, the cowherd youth, and most probably the king learning this through the spies had summoned him. However, he had no time to lose in pondering, and followed the messenger to the court. Just as he was starting, he heard the crows cawing very harshly over his head and felt his left eye twitch : they made him very uneasy, for, according to the Hindu augurs, they forbode evil. While he was proceeding, noticing all these evil omens, many more met his eyes in the way. The more of these things he saw, the more fervently did he pray mentally to the gods to avert the evil : and in due time entered the court room in this anxious frame of mind.

The judge saw Charudatta enter, and noticing his countenance with the well-formed aquiline nose and the beautiful large eyes, thought, " can this be the home of wantoners ? In the elephant, in the cow, in the horse and in man the appearance never belies the character within." When Charudatta came near him, the judge asked him, pointing to the mother of Basantasena, if he had any attachment and love for, or friendship with, the daughter of that old woman. Charudatta felt the same sort of embarrassment as,—nay even more than,—that, the mother of Basantasena had felt when the court asked her where her daughter was at that moment : but when asked in the name of justice, he could not but answer in the affirmative, adding " youth is to blame here, not my character." Then did the judge inquire of him the whereabouts of Basantasena at that time. On his replying that she had gone home, the Court inquired : " How has she gone ? When has she gone ? and going,

by whom was she accompanied?" and things of that kind, but Charudatta, unable to answer at once all these interrogatories, thought, "shall I say she has gone away unobserved?" but the judge and the clerk pressing for a quick answer, he said, "she has gone home. What more can I say?" Shakara could hold out no longer, and wrathfully exclaimed, "Entering my old garden, Puspakarandaka, and strangling the poor creature to death for money, now sayest thou that she has gone home!" At first Charudatta could hardly comprehend what this might mean, but soon he understood that this was all why he was suddenly called to the Court; and what Shakara had said on the night when Basantasena entered his house on being pursued by Shakara, at once rose to his mind. Again did the judge ask Charudatta how had Basantasena gone—on foot or on any conveyance. His answer was, "I can't tell you how she has gone away, as I have not seen her go."

At this moment, the watchman who had been kicked by his colleague, when examining the cart of Charudatta when it was conveying Aryaka, entered the court-room complaining loudly in the following manner: "I was looking for Aryaka, after his escape from the prison, and suspecting a covered cart that was coming I wanted to look in. You have seen it, man, I must see this time," said I. "At this my highly respectable colleague kicked me. Now, I pray for justice at your hands." Thus suddenly interrupted in the procedure of the trial, the judge asked the man to whom the alleged cart belonged. The man seeing Charudatta in the court-room pointed out to him as its owner and added that a woman was being conveyed in it to his garden-house. This was as it were a revelation to the judge who could not so long entertain any suspicion against Charudatta, and he ordered the watchman to go to the old garden, Puspakarandaka, on horse back, to see whether any woman had perished there and return without delay. The man obeyed, and in a short time was back with the news that there he had seen the corpse of a woman torn by the birds and beasts of prey. On being interrogated how he could know that the corpse was one of a woman, he said that he knew it from the traces of hair, and arms, and hands, and the feet. The judge thought this sufficient to corroborate the statement of Shakara, and his suspicion against Charudatta was now increasing every moment, and he did not think it necessary to further cross-examine the watchman.

Charudatta, very uneasy in mind, apprehended some calamity and was getting amazed more and more as all these adverse proofs were being piled up against him, and in his mental agony he said

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to himself : " When Fate is adverse to any body, misfortune enters through every gate, as the bees gather in great numbers to suck the honey when the flowers blossom for the first time." Shakara's heart now leaped with joy, as he perceived the growing discomfiture of Charudatta and as he saw that evidences corroborative of his false statement were forthcoming from the most unexpected quarters.

All these might not, when taken by themselves, constitute any valid evidence against Charudatta, but Fate had ordained that the innocent man must suffer ; so something happened at this stage of the trial which proved conclusively that Charudatta was guilty of a foul murder.

After releasing Aryaka, Charudatta had returned home from the garden with a heavy heart, not knowing the whereabouts of Basantasena ; and, seeing the golds Basantasena had given to Rohasena for the construction of a toy-cart, sent away Mitreya with them to return them to her and to bring tidings about her. No sooner had Mitreya left for the lodgings of Basantasena, there came the messenger of the court to fetch Charudatta. The news of the sudden summons of a man of spotless character, like Charudatta, created a great sensation and excitement in the city from one end to the other in a very short time and Mitreya had not gone far before the news reached him. Instead of proceeding on with his errand, he ran to the court to see with his own eyes what the matter was ; Charudatta calmly explained to the anxious Brahmin how, through the wicked scheming of Shakara, he stood at that moment charged with the murder of Basantasena and how by the working of a cruel Fate the charge had, to some extent, been proved against him. Hearing Charudatta's story, Mitreya burst out into a sudden rage of fury and ran towards Shakara raising his staff to strike the wretch with it on the head. The latter, too, enraged at the insolence of the Brahmin, rose to fight him. A severe scuffle ensued between the two, in course of which the casket containing the ornaments of Basantasena fell to the ground from the girdle of Mitreya. Shakara quickly picked them up and holding them before the judge said : " These are the ornaments of the unfortunate woman for which she has been murdered." The whole court was simply taken aback at such a disclosure at such a critical moment. Addressing Mitreya, Charudatta sadly said : " The fall of the ornaments at this moment portends my own fall." " Why don't you explain the real state of things ? " asked Mitreya. " The short-sighted eyes of the king," answered Charudatta " won't see the truth, and my doom cannot be averted." The mother of

Basantasena, now interrogated whether the ornaments belonged to her daughter, simply said that they were very similar to her daughter's but they were not the very same. From this the court surmised that they belonged to Charudatta himself, though he put in a disclaimer. The court now exhorted Charudatta to speak the truth and nothing but the truth in the name of justice, and in reply he said : "I am born of sinless parents, there is no sin in me : but if you suspect sin in me, what is the good of a sinner's life ? "

The judge was now under the painful necessity of ordering the guardsmen to lay hold on Charudatta. At this point the old woman, who had been watching the trial with rapt attention, but not without much anxiety, intervened saying " Is it possible that he who gave away the precious diamond necklace, the best of its kind, in return for the stolen ornaments of my child, could commit such a crime ? If my daughter has been murdered, the deed is now past praying for but let this noble soul live." This was too much for Shakara, who turned her out, assaulting her mercilessly, and the wretched woman went away crying and cursing bitterly.

" Our business is only to ascertain the truth," observed the judge, addressing Charudatta, " and the rest depends upon the king," and ordered the crier to go to the king saying, " go and inform the king the whole of the case and don't forget to remind him what Manu has said that the capital punishment should never be inflicted upon a Brahmin sinner, who should only be banished from the realm with his entire wealth." The crier very soon returned with the orders of the king, who said " In as much as he has killed Basantasena for such a trifle, the same ornaments shall be hung about his neck and drum shall be beaten and he shall be conducted to the southern execution ground and there *impaled*, so that who ever repeats the same crime shall be punished with the same shameful doom." Hearing this, Charudatta observed pitiously saying : " Oh, the thoughtlessness of king Palaka. It is quite a just fate that the kings are thrown by their ministers into the fire of injustice and suffer unspeakable woe and pain ; and besides, thousands of the innocents have been killed by these white crows, the corrupters of the king's justice."

Then turning to Mitreya said, " Friend, please go and tender my last respectful compliments to my mother, and please keep my son Rohasena from harm." The faithful Brahmin was stupefied with this terrible shock—the loss of his life-long friend and supporter—and mumbled forth an answer with great difficulty.

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"Friend, how can I live without you?" With a view to console him, Charudatta said: "If you are so much moved, who will console and look after my bereaved son and wife?" The call of duty had the desired effect of consoling Mitarya, who, broken-hearted, went his way homeward to break the terrible news to the family of the doomed.

The executioners, now at the bidding of the judge, caught hold of Charudatta, tied the ornaments round his neck, and began to conduct him to the southern execution ground, with the drum beating along with him. As he was caught hold of, he disdainfully uttered forth the following curse: "If you kill this innocent poor Brahmin at the mendacious charge of an enemy, you are sure to be plunged into the Hell with your sons and grand-sons."

X

The infliction of the capital punishment upon a Brahmin, against the customary laws of the realm, struck horror into every heart in the city, and they were sure that the wrath of God would very soon fall upon the king who passed such a monstrous sentence. Besides, in the case of Charudatta every body believed that a great injustice had been done to him, for they knew the respective characters of Charudatta and Shakara perfectly well. So when the former was being conducted through the city, almost all the inhabitants quickly ran to see the noble man for the last time, all the while cursing the thoughtlessness of the ill-counselled king, and all followed him forming a solemn procession to the execution ground.

When the procession was passing the door of Shakara's house, Sthabaraka, who had been kept in confinement by his master in a room in the first floor that he might not come out to disclose to the world the misdeed of his master, saw the great crowd through a window and heard the crier announce that Charudatta was going to be impaled for murdering Basantasena. The good man could wait no longer, and heedless of the consequence, at once jumped through the window, and strangely enough reached the ground quite unhurt, and ran through the crowd crying aloud that Charudatta was quite innocent, and it was his master, Shakara, who had murdered Basantasena. All in utter amazement looked towards the man. At this instant, Shakara, dancing with joy came up to see his enemy impaled, but hearing the cry of his servant ran towards him in great fright to try to stop him. But the man could not be persuaded to stop. So the villain, even at this crisis, had recourse to another trick to frustrate his servant's aim: quickly

taking out a gold bangle from his own wrist, he held it out before the crowd, saying that the servant was trying to ruin him out of some spite, for Shakara had dismissed him for stealing that bangle of his. This was sufficient to discredit the poor menial, and none would believe him any more. So the man had to go away broken hearted.

By this time the procession had reached the execution-ground, and the executioners, out of pity for the nobleman, arranged amongst themselves that instead of impaling him, and thus barbarously prolonging the unspeakable agony and suffering of the horrible death, they would decapitate him with the single stroke of a sword and put an end to all his trouble and miseries in an instant. But, now a difficulty arose as to which of the executioners should perform the horrible deed, as none of them wished to lay his hands upon the noble person, not to speak of beheading him. When they were in this state of confusion, the *murdered* Basantasena mysteriously entered the scene accompanied by a Bauddha mendicant.

Basantasena had not actually died of the strangling, but had only lost her consciousness temporarily, and when her consciousness returned, her limbs began to move lightly under the heap of dried leaves. Just at that moment Sambahaka, a Bauddha mendicant who had come into the garden to wash his garments, was passing by the spot where the body of Basantasena lay under the heap and stopped; on a closer observation he saw that a delicate and beautiful hand, with gold bangle on, lay under it and removing the heap of dried leaves, he saw to his utter surprise that under them lay the same kind lady who had protected him from the clutch of the greedy gambler. Basantasena now gently opened her eye-lids, and seeing him standing before her wanted a drink from him in a very feeble voice. He had nothing with him at that moment to hold water in; so he ran to the tank to dip his garments in water and returning began to rinse the water from them into the mouth of Basantasena. In a short time she regained her former strength. Satisfying, in as few words as possible, the curiosity of Sambahaka at finding her in such an odd plight, she requested him to accompany her to her lodgings, and he forthwith set out for that destination with her. When they were passing through the city, the announcement of the crier reached their ears too, and they ran to the southern execution-ground. They reached there when the executioners were discussing as to who should strike the blow. Basantasena seeing Charudatta, among the crowd, flew to his arms,

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shedding mixed-tears of joy and sorrow,—joy at this strange union and sorrow to think of so tragic an end of the lord of her soul. Charudatta could not realise whether he was dreaming, till Basantasena cleared away all the mysteries, beginning with the confusion of the cart till the present moment.

No sooner had Basantasena finished her narrative, the executioners who had heard her with rapt attention and surprise caught hold of Shakara, saying : "We are ordered to execute the murderer of Basanta. As you have murdered her so we must put you to death." He would have instantly suffered his doom but for another stroke of good luck.

The discontented and disaffected subjects of the state, hearing that the noble Charudatta was to be impaled, marched in a body to the palace of Palaka, under the lead of Aryaka and Sharbilaka, and killed the king who was at that time performing a sacrifice. They put on the throne Aryaka who ordered Sharbilaka to ride without delay to the execution-ground to save, if he could, the life of his benefactor. Sharbilaka reached there when the executioners were dragging Shakara to the pale. Sharbilaka was very glad to see both Charudatta and Basantasena alive and announced to them that Palaka had been dethroned and killed, and Aryaka was awaiting the pleasures of his benefactor, Charudatta, to ascend the throne. A messenger was sent to Aryaka telling him of the safety of Basantasena and Charudatta.

Meanwhile another messenger came with the sad news that Dhvita, the faithful wife of Charudatta, was going to immolate herself in a funeral pyre unable to bear the bereavement of her husband. Immediately was the messenger sent back with the news that Charudatta was safe, and a request was made to the noble lady to desist from such a horrible project.

Soon the messenger sent by Sharbilaka to Aryaka came back with the happy tidings that the king had been pleased to confer the title of "a legal wife" upon Basantasena ; and as to Shakara, the king said that he must be dealt with according to the pleasures of Charudatta. But Charudatta, unwilling to mark the auspicious movement with any thing unkind, ordered that he should still hold his office of the District Superintendent of Police under the new *regime* ; and thus he remained as one of the innumerable citizens who took part in the festivities at the time of the happy union of the noble Charudatta with the beautiful Basantasena.

A. C. Bannerji

SELECTIONS

THE UNREST IN INDIA

A SUMMARY OF CAUSES AND REMEDIES

The task you set me is now over. In the last four months I have visited the chief centres of thought and action in India, such as Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Eastern Bengal, Surat, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, and Baroda. All these I have visited in turn, many of them more than once. I have also spent some days in the famine districts of Orissa and the United Provinces. I have seen the factory life here in Bombay, in Calcutta, and Delhi. Wherever I have stayed, with the one exception of Calcutta, I have made long excursions among the villages, and in most places I have visited schools and colleges, law courts, and plague hospitals, if there were any. As the unrest which you asked me to study lies among Indians, I have naturally consulted most with them; but in nearly all places I have consulted the Anglo-Indian officials, police-officers, journalists, professors, missionaries, or merchants as well, and I take this opportunity of thanking both Indians and English people for the courtesy of their assistance.

Some people both at home and in India seem to have expected me to say there was no unrest, or at all events no cause for it. If they really believed that themselves they were strangely deluded. There is no sedition in the proper sense of the word, which I take to be an intention of subverting the existing Government by organised violence. I believe there is no such intention, and there are very few at present who would desire such a result. But it is almost impossible to use the word sedition rightly out here because it is distorted so as to cover any criticism of the Government, whether it be the wild abuse of two or three vernacular papers or the quiet and reasonable protests of leaders like Mr. Gokhale. Let a man say but one word against the bureaucracy or the relation of Anglo-Indians to the inhabitants of the country and the howl of "sedition!" is raised at once. So it is best to avoid the word altogether, and I will only say that in all the cities and provinces I have visited, though they differed from each other in character, language, and even in religion, I have found one feeling in which all were united, and that was deep dissatisfaction in regard to the British rule.

BRITISH RULE

Let it be granted that we stay in India as far as practical politics can look, and that it is to India's advantage for us to stay. We must grant that, because the Indian peoples are now entirely unarmed and unorganised ; so that if we withdrew, our place would be taken within a year by Russia, Germany, or Japan ; perhaps by all three in conflict. When the very worst that can be said against our rule has been said, the substitution of Russia's rule for ours remains an incalculable disaster, nor have Germany and Japan yet given proof of governing subject-races with success. Till India is strong enough to hold her own (which used to be the hope of our statesmen) we must retain the ultimate supremacy in government and war ; not that we do it particularly well, but that others would do it worse. The present crisis lies in the question whether we are to retain that supremacy with the good-will and confidence of the peoples of India or in face of an opposition that will continually increase in unity, strength, and violence. Now is the time when this decision must be made. The history of the last three years proves it, and if we decide wrong we may not have such another opportunity.

What could be done for the moment by legislation and outward changes I have sometimes discussed in other letters. We could redress the Partition of Bengal by raising the whole province into a governorship, at the same time extending the principle of governorship throughout India and giving each governor an Indian on his executive council. We could extend the present elective system of the Legislative Councils, till at last they were entirely elected, though the governor would retain the veto. We could grant a system of general education, such as the Maharaja of Baroda has actually established in his State after fifteen years of successful experiment. It might cost £5,000,000, but it would be worth the price, and we could save some thing at least off the army and something off the other public services. We could be loyal to Queen Victoria's Proclamation and admit Indians without prejudice to the position they had fitted themselves for. We could reform the police and make their position such that they would no longer be compelled to eke out their livelihood by corruption and false evidence. We could resolutely extinguish the system of forced labour for the benefit of civilians and other Europeans.

THE ONE THING NEEDED

There are many similar reforms that could be accomplished by law, but, unhappily, the greatest and most necessary reform is

beyond the power of legislation. That reform requires what our fathers called a "change of heart," always a difficult thing. The real danger to our position as beneficent ruler lies in the arrogant isolation and ill-manner of our people towards the inhabitants of the country. It is an old tale, and everyone at home has heard instances of it which may have appeared incredible. But one has only to spend a day on an Indian railway, or in a club, an hotel, or a bungalow, to learn that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the evil. It is undoubtedly increasing as more English women come out to add the immense weight of their influence to the prejudice against "those natives," and as more merchants and planters come out who hope to assert their dignity by surpassing the example of officials and officers in rudeness and contempt.

Except among the baser sort of Anglo-Indians, the word "nigger" has died out, and they suggest that the word "native" should follow it. If the phrase "rulers and ruled" died too, and if social philosophers would cease to drone out their weary ineptitude that "East is East and West is West," the situation would be much eased. But above all I suggest that our judges and jurymen should return to the old principle of equal justice for all races of men, and that certain of our public officials should cease to read other people's letters. Now and then they may discover what they call sedition by those means, but the discovery is not worth the price of our national honour. Why should representatives of our Government condescend to a baseness which would exclude a man from any club in England?

After all I have said, it must not be supposed that I am blind to the advantages of our rule to India. It has saved her from Russia; it has given her a long peace and comparative security. If it has destroyed her industries and tended to her impoverishment, as many say, it has given her bridges, railways, and a few roads, a common language for intercourse, and a fairly good secondary education. Above all, it has inspired her with a conception of unity, liberty, and self-Government, and with those principles of self-development and self-assertion in which we are so strong and the Indian nature formerly was rather lacking. I have not dwelt on these things, because you sent me to write about the unrest, and one is apt to regard the causes of unrest as natural evils. But if you say the advantages of our rule are also among the causes of unrest, and that the unrest itself is far from being an evil, I shall joyfully agree. (Henry W. Nevinson in the *Manchester Guardian*).

AN INDIAN SHRINE

Everyone has read of the wonders of Benares, the most ancient of existing cities, and has seen pictures of the famous rows upon rows of temples that line the sacred river. Indeed, nowadays, thanks to railways, there is little excuse for the pious Hindu who does not visit Kasi and Gaya and Jagannath, since these shrines can be reached at little cost of time or money, and in such comparative comforts as the Indian third-class railways carriage affords. But there was a time when Banares seemed very distant to the pilgrim who could only approach it on foot, when the roads were not safe, when to the chance of dying of cholera or fever on the road was added the fear of dacoits or marauding troops. Hence Hindu piety created other and more accessible shrines, where the simple piety of the rustic might be gratified, and where, to be frank, the attendant priesthood might find a means of livelihood. One of the most locally famous and beautifully situated of these is the shrine of Sitakunda, the burning "Spring of Sita," on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, some twenty miles to the north of Chittagong, and now a station on the Assam Bengal Railway.

The burning springs of Sitakunda early attracted the attention of European travellers. In 1778 they were visited by Lord Teignmouth, and, eight years later, Sir William Jones saw and described the lower shrines, though there is nothing to show that he made the toilsome ascent to the beautiful temple-crowned peak of Chandra-Sekhar, some 1,200 feet above the beach.

The various holy places at Sitakunda are believed by local Hindus to have been inaugurated by the famous "Vyasa" Muni, the "editor" or compiler of the Mahabharata. They are practically a compendium of all the "tirthas," or places of pilgrimage, further west, and he who with faith approaches these beautiful sites between sea and mountain will undoubtedly obtain all the benefit he might secure by a toilsome expensive journey to Kasi or Gaya. In fact, one of the burning springs for which the place is famed is known as the Gaya-kunda, and here you may offer the traditional 'pindas' or rice-flour balls, to the memory of deceased ancestors. The materials may be bought in the neighbouring village for two pice in a little earthen bowl. In Eastern Bengal, we sturdily refuse to admit that we are "Pandava barjitar"—outside the wanderings of the sons of Pandu, as told in the sacred epic. We firmly believe, for instance, that the unmistakable non-Aryan Manipuris, with whom all the Western world became acquainted some sixteen years ago, are the authentic descendants of Arjuna. Indeed, as anyone,

who reads Mr. E. A. Gait's delightful and suggestive *History of Assam* may learn, we have borrowed many legends from other parts of India, and have given them a local habitation in our midst.

In the case of Sitakunda we have an ample and excellent excuse. It is curious that here, at the extreme eastern limit of Hinduism, are burning springs similar to those at Baku, which is said by some to have been at one time the extreme western limit of what is now a purely Indian religion.

But let me try to describe what the pilgrim sees when he visits our beautiful and romantic shrine, fitly named after Rama's lovely and virtuous Queen. When you alight from the train you find yourself in a little thatched village between the gleaming blue sea to the west and the soaring forest clad peak of Chandra-Sekhar to the east. The inhabitants of the village are nearly all connected with the temples, and most of them keep licensed lodging-houses for the pilgrims who, on certain sacred days, flock here in tens of thousands at a time. Leaving the village and its yellow-robed 'pandas' behind us, we mount a slight ascent over grassy mounds to the entrance to the holy area where the various shrines stand. Here, alas, is the great four square two-storied modern brick palace of the hereditary high priest of the shrine, and here the timid pilgrims (many of them bevyes of gentle white-robed women cooing and crowded together like a flock of doves) are waylaid by the stalwart upcountry door-keepers of Kishore Ban Mahanta, himself a tall beetle-browed immigrant from the West. Local Hindu opinion admits that the exaction of tolls at this point is a grievance, and the European Magistrate who is told off to keep order at pilgrimage time uses his influence with the Mohanta to reduce the amount demanded. Once you pass the toll gate you are in holy land. You are certainly in one of the prettiest places in India or any other country. A gently rising path between beautifully wooded hillocks leads you to *Jyotirmaya* a bank of crumbling shale from which emerge, in close proximity, a crystal clear and icy cold spring and a stream of inflammable gas usually kept alight by the priests of the neighbouring temple. Above this, a moss-grown flight of stone steps leads to the temple of Swayambhu Nath, the "Self-Existent," not, of course (for we are in Eastern Bengal), the Brahma to whom the title is usually applied, but a phallic emblem of the Destroyer. On the platform surrounding this temple are many smaller buildings erected to commemorate the cremation of wealthy Hindus of the vicinity. From "Samhbunath,"

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as it is locally called, the path clammers up a very steep ascent, and is broken here and there by flights of steps. The next halt is at the little temple of Birupaksha, from which there is a lovely view over the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal, flocked with the white sails of fishermen's boats. Birupaksha is divided from Chandra-Sekhar, the highest peak of all, by a gloomy gorge, always save at highest noon, buried in deep shade, and this is known as Patalapuri. Close to this valley bubbles the pretty spring of the little Mandakini stream. Properly speaking, there is only one Mandakini, and that, according to the Scriptures, flows in the Hindu Heaven ; but many earthly streams have borrowed the name, and one of the prettiest and most venerated is our Chittagong rivulet. The noble view from the temple-crowned peak of Chandra-Sekhar is probably the widest and most beautiful in Eastern India. To the west spread the blue waters of the Bay, bounded on the misty horizon by the low-lying alluvial islands of Sandwip and Hattiya. To the east is the rich valley of the Halda river, on the wooded slopes of which—a somewhat picturesque reminder of a commercial age—are a dozen trimly planted tea-gardens, the homes of European planters who have hitherto lived on excellent terms with their Hindu, Mussalman, and Buddhist neighbours. Beyond the Halda Valley soar in rolling blue masses, ridge rising above ridge, the mountains of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Lushai Hills. The fore-ground is as picturesque as the distant view, being covered with a wonderful variety of jungle vegetation, from the towering buttressed stems of the "gajjan" tree to the lovely dwarf bamboos, and the quaintly barrelled forms of the "cycades," a botanical speciality of these hills. From Chandrasekhar the descent to Sambhunath is made by long flights of steps, some winding in the shade of huge bluffs of creeper-clothed rock, some descending straight and giddy with no protecting balustrade for a hundred feet or more. A year or two ago a pilgrim slipped and was killed in sight of his wife and child. He was, local superstition holds, happy in the opportunity of his death but it behoves those whose lives are valuable to themselves or others to be careful in this part of their pilgrimage.

It will be noticed that in all this tail of springs and shrines there is no mention of the Sitakunda itself. It must be admitted, alas ! that it exists only in name. There are some incredulous beings who hold that there never was any spring of Sita. But there is a dim local tradition that there once existed at Sitakunda for the possession of which the followers of Vishnu and Siva fought, and thus

disturbed the King's peace. In the easy-going magisterial fashion of simpler days, one Kali Charan Roy, the dewan of the then Collector of Chittagong, was ordered to compose the dispute. Now this Kali Charan was a masterful man, whose doings as a landlord and an official fill many pages in Sir Henry Cotton's admirable "Revenue History of Chittagong." He was not, it seems, a man to stand any nonsense, and local tradition says that he removed the "fons ret origo" of the quarrel by destroying the spring! The sceptic will enquire why there was no quarrel about the other springs and will urge that a living burning spring is as about as easily bottled up as original sin. But I tell the tale as it was told to me, and can at all events assert from personal experience that there is no Sitakunda in our own time.

Close to the "tirtha khettra"—the holy ground—of Sitakunda are several other interesting and beautiful places of pilgrimage. There is, for instance, the Barabakunda, the most picturesque of all the burning springs, of which Lord Teignmouth writes as follows: "The burning well is situated about twenty-two miles from Chatigan (sic) at the termination of a valley surrounded by hills. I visited it in 1778." He then proceeds to give an account from memory of the spring and its surroundings, which is still fairly correct, though he forgets to mention the beetling cliff, 600 feet high, behind the shrine, and its remarkable echo. Further north is the curious saline spring called Labanaksha, close to which is the singularly beautiful waterfall known as Sahasra Dhara. Babu Adhar Lal Sen, who has written a delightful little guide-book to the shrines, rightly says that this waterfall is "by far the most picturesque and romantic of all the various and wonderful sights of Sitakunda. It is customary for pilgrims to stand under it. It is said that on pronouncing the words 'bom bom' (which are peculiar to Siva), the water falls with gradually increasing force."

Linked with Sitakunda in the reverence of local Hindus is the island shrine of Maskhal, which is the scene of a charming little Bengali novel named "Bhanumati," from the pen of the poet Navin Chandra Sen, the well-known author of the "Battle of Plassey." This temple stands on a rock hill on the seashore, and is probably one of the most picturesquely situated shrine in the Hindu world. It is literally the most advanced outpost of Hinduism, for beyond it is Buddhist Arracan, the abode of smiling Burmese folk who have little in common with the dusky Hindus, Mahomedans, and Portuguese Christians of Chittagong proper.

There is no more beautiful place in Eastern India than the

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wooded slopes of Chandra-Sekhar, no more lovely view than the wide expanse of sea, mountain, and estuary that there spreads before the pious pilgrim. There, as in mediæval Christianity, simple souls have felt that natural beauty is not less helpful to the religious emotion, the sense of awe and mystery, than the solemn aisles and vaults of ancient temples and cathedrals. This, at least, is a sentiment which all can share and commend. In the modern life of great European cities, we are so surrounded by evidences of human mastery over the powers of Nature that we are to forget that in India the rustic still looks to the mountains and the sky with a sense of wistful awe, and knows that his health and prosperity depend upon mysterious causes over which neither he or his rulers have any influence. It is barely ten years since a disastrous cyclone and storm-wave swept over the sea coast on which the shrine of Chandra-Sekhar looks down. In a few minutes, in the black darkness of midnight, some ten thousand men, women, and children were drowned, the houses and crops were swept away, the whole coast was a scene of apparently hopeless destruction such as no invader, however cruel, has ever inflicted on a subjugated territory. The terror and ruin of that awful night—the night of the Kali Puja of 1897—is vividly described in a masterful chapter entitled “Ranakhettra”—“the battle-field”—in the novel of Navin Chandra Sen above cited. The poet thinks of the storm as the gay exultation of the Goddess of Destruction, followed by the awful contrast of the smiling sunshine and peace of the following day, when sun and breeze returned only to a land seemingly devastated beyond power of repair. But Nature is very powerful in the tropics, and there is little now to show how much havoc was wrought in that one awful night. To destruction has succeeded re-creation, and the simple Hindu rustic believes that the goddess who wrought the harm has also brought the remedy, and is still his mother,—the source and origin of all human happiness and prosperity. The pilgrimages still continue, and the long flights of steps to Chandra-Sekhar are still crowded with white-clad flocks of gentle Hindu women, who believe that Death and Birth are alike mysterious and beautiful, and the work of the inscrutable wills and whims of the gods of old time. They are pious to a degree which materialised Westerners can hardly understand, since, where the former struggle and resist, the Orientals humbly acquiesce, or at most, pray that the powers may be favourable at least in this their time. No doubt a change is coming over the spirit of Hinduism, and in politics the Hindu is bracing himself to resist the Western domination. But his creed

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and his climate tend to acquiescence and humility, and before the democratic ideal can be grasped by minds so trained, the Indian life and character must undergo many changes. To those who have a sympathy with the kindlier manifestations of the Hindu character, the outcome of conformity with their natural surroundings, it seems desirable that the inevitable change may not be too rapid or too complete, and that rustic India will still retain something of its homely charm.—R. S. in the *Indian Magazine*.

SOME LESSONS FROM HISTORY ON THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Owing to the haste with which this paper was prepared, some important lessons of history have been, I fear, omitted. Among these are the following: the comparative unimportance of local *emperors*, unless aggravated by outside political complications; the advisability of governing a people through its aristocracy; the importance of making the administration as cheap as is consistent with efficient government; and the connected lesson of keeping up the prestige of the governing body. Prestige saves many battalions and their cost. There is an important lesson from the Roman administrative policy—that of suiting every kind of progress and development with corresponding privileges.

The settlement of Gaul by Augustus seems to have been the model for our cadastral survey and land revenue assessment policy in India. The Gaulish settlement was too high, and seems to have had some share in the revolts of the early first century. Tiberius showed his appreciation of the first of the above lessons in his suppression of this risings. There is a possible lesson from ancient Indian history (and, of course, innumerable ones in the medieval and modern periods) if we could find out whether India was really happy under her "grand-motherly" Emperor Asoka. We seem to have learnt one bad lesson from Roman judicial policy—the conduct of preliminary inquiries into criminal cases by the police. With these remarks I will proceed.

If we are to bring to the solution of any administrative problem that calm and statesmanlike deliberation which alone can render the solution satisfactory, certain preliminary processes seem necessary. It is not sufficient to enter on our task with a mind free from partisanship, extremism and onesidedness; it is also necessary to

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undergo a kind of preparatory training. The most important part of this training will be supplied by a study of the past. We shall then approach our subject in the light derived from that comprehensive whole of which it forms a part. Of course, even the philosophic historian cannot claim the gift of political prophecy; he could not do this even if circumstances were precisely similar, which can never be the case. But the general lines on which action should be taken, the general principles which should be safeguarded, are surely to be sought in the records of the past. I propose, in this paper, to examine those records with the view of discovering what light they throw on our administrative difficulties in the East.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a single paper, to go further than the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. The medieval and modern period, covering such important divisions of the subject as the lessons given us by the Arab and the Turk, the attempts at Empire building by the Crusaders, and the actual beginnings of oversea colonization, would require separate treatment. So also, it may be permissible to remark, would the achievements of such men as Swettenham and Lugard, who have gone far towards solving the problem with which we have to deal.

The division of the subject (too vast for anything but piecemeal treatment) to which I invite your attention is not inferior to these more modern ones, in its application to our present difficulties. I will pass rapidly over earlier periods of history during which more advanced nations seem to have been successful in the government of others, either retrograde or in inferior stages of development, and concentrate attention on the provincial administration of the Romans under the Early Empire.

A POSSIBLE LESSON FROM CHINA

We begin by a glance at the oldest and most continuous Empire of the world—China. At an epoch impossible to date accurately, but probably about the third millennium B. C., occurs that remarkable golden age of the Chinese Empire which is associated with the names of the great Emperors Yao, Chun and Yu. The connexion here with our subject is that the people seem to have been supremely happy, and that all problems of administration were apparently either non-existent or solved. One point (if not falling exactly within the range of practical politics) is at least highly interesting. The principal feature of those “halcyon days” in China seems to have been that the man who was to succeed the ruler for the time being was before the

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public, and in charge of important branches of the administration during the major portion of his predecessor's reign.

As during the Roman golden age of the Antonines, the successor was chosen, not for dynastic reasons, but because he was universally acknowledged to be the best man in the State. The parallel, therefore, with the British administration of India is faulty for other reasons than because this Chinese Empire is only a domestic one, and the word "Empire" is perhaps scarcely applicable to it. But it is impossible to avoid the remark that two of the most enlightened members of the Indian aristocracy, both of them leaders of their respective faiths in their native land, have recently proposed as a remedy for the increasing difficulties of Indian administration, that the Governor-General should be a member of the English Royal Family.

Could we consult the feelings of the Indians alone, there is no doubt as to which of the Royal Princes they would prefer. Had they learnt to know the Heir-Apparent as Viceroy they would cherish feelings of the most enthusiastic loyalty to him as King-Emperor. This would be, to a certain extent, an imitation of the Chinese system.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPANSION

We pass on to take a glance at Egypt. In the second millennium B. C., with a tremendous rebound from centuries of foreign domination, we find the great House of Thotmes establishing what has been somewhat inaccurately termed the first Empire of antiquity. We have no reliable records of the foreign domination, which might have deserved the imperial title equally with the expansion of the great Kings of the Egyptian Restoration ; and if we had, it is not likely that the period would throw much light upon our problems.

But from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, the most notable contribution of the nineteenth century to the *Records of the Past*, we do get information from which we can glean something very like a lesson. The foreign Administration of the great Kings of the eighteenth dynasty was carried on by local chiefs ; and this system was continued by the Assyrians when their turn for Empire-building came round.

Some speculators have expressed the opinion that the strength of these Empires was directly due to this system of decentralization. Applied to India the "lesson," if one can use the term, clearly indicates the solution of our difficulties by gradually enlarging the Native States.

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But here we are at once pulled up by the consideration—would the interests of the masses be safeguarded by such a process? This might be the case if, following the lesson from China, we insisted upon the ruler-designate being before the public for a term of years previous to his actual accession.

It might be possible to throw some light on this question by local inquiries where British provinces march with those of semi-independent Feudatories. This is of course, a subject in itself, which it is impossible to treat adequately as part of another. But the success or failure of the administration which is now being carried on in such States as Mysore and Baroda must throw light on the question. Attentive scrutiny of results in these microcosmic imitations of British India is surely a duty incumbent on those responsible for guiding the ship of State through the rocks ahead.

THE GREAT CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATIONS

We now come to a total change. One of the greatest administrators the East—indeed, the world—has ever seen inaugurates the perfected system of centralization of the Persian Empire. It would almost seem as if our own congeries of local administrations, controlled by a supreme viceregal court, were modelled to some extent on the institutions of Darius the Great.

Alexander, a master of compromise, as of every other subject to which he directed his mighty genius, may be held to have combined the new system with the old feudalism—at least to a certain extent. Materials for constitutional history are, of course, terribly scanty in these early times, but one of the central facts of the world's history is the vast network of municipalities, as we should call them, planted by the great Macedonian all over the hellenized world. Each of these must be regarded as having a kind of charter, written or unwritten, and the basis of the famous "freedom of the Greeks" and of self-government was always to be found in these cities, standing out like rocks of constitutional liberty, so to speak, in an ocean of despotism.

Here is a lesson of history derived from an antiquity almost hoary, for the Phoenicians were probably the predecessors of the Greeks in starting these city States, and perhaps we may go still further back to Babylon for the idea. The continuous teaching of the past seems to tell us that municipal freedom and self-government has always been a source of strength rather than of weakness to an Empire, and surely we have here a most useful hint for the solution of the Indian problem.

Let the new principle of Indian nationality try its "prentice

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hand" at municipal self-government—let us have more Bombays, if we can create them, and in them let the rising civilization expand. Let us hope that commerce, that art, that literature will develop in our Indian cities, for these things mark the greatness of a nation and when it advances in these directions, political advancement cannot be long in following.

THE MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRE

We come now to our principal subject. In the year 216 B.C. Rome was trembling for her very existence. Half a century later she was the practical mistress of the world. She had not the remotest idea how to govern it, and that ignorance led more than anything else to the civil wars. The Republic died, and the Empire had its birth in a deluge of blood, and at one time oriental autocracy in the person of Mithridates Eupator had wrenched away the Eastern provinces from the reign of law. That loss was recovered by the genius of the oligarch Sulla, who was the first practical Emperor of Rome. When the demagogue Cæsar had supplied the deficiencies of his predecessor's system, and the opportunist Augustus had combined all that the world wanted of the three different systems of government, the most marvellous progress had been made in statesmanship. Decentralization finds its representatives in the client Kings, and central rule in the government of the Imperial legates.

But what compels the attention of the student of statecraft more than anything else is the astonishing difference in the condition of the provinces. Groaning in misery under the late Republic, they were so happy under the early Empire, that even the dark days of the Roman Terror produced no disturbance of provincial peace. The result must be pregnant with lessons for the Indian administrator—even down to such apparently trivial details as transport and supplies to camps he could find invaluable hints as to how to combine the satisfaction of the demands of the State with a minimum of popular discontent.

GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE

It must occur to the most superficial observer to compare the Roman government of Greece and the British government of India. It is to be feared that Greece, having taken the wrong side in the Cæsaro-Pompeian War, was largely depopulated during that struggle. But this does not prevent our parallel being a striking one.

A general and earnest appreciation of the Hellenic genius had set in at Rome, and the bureaucracy which administered Hellas

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was probably distinguished by a knowledge of the Greek language and customs. The miseries of Greece under her early Roman governors should emphasize the importance of a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars of India in all concerned in her administration.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

Among the causes of the present unrest, according to the indigenous Press, deficient knowledge of Indian languages among the younger members of the Civil Service finds a conspicuous place. As far as I remember, when I was in India the encouragement of the study of Oriental languages and literature by the High Proficiency and Honour Examinations was not sufficient to attract more than a sprinkling of men—those who would naturally have availed themselves of such opportunities from temperament and predilection. There was no widespread recognition of the political importance of the matter.

But surely a knowledge of the art, literature, and philosophy of India is the surest step of all others towards that sympathy which the Prince of Wales has declared to be so necessary for the efficient government of our great dependency. Just as the best of the Romans assimilated the Hellenic culture, and diffused it all over Europe, so, surely, ought we to be the bearers to the West of the great message which the East has still to give. In working together with the cultivated Indian at the task of making available for Western comprehension that spiritual world in which India is so supreme, and a knowledge of which is so necessary in our materialistic age—in unfolding some of those treasures of art, literature, and philosophy which force can destroy but never utilize—the Englishman will almost find the whole social problem solved. Co-operation in this great task will bind him closer to his Eastern brother than anything else. I shall never forget the impression made upon me by noticing a young Prussian just arrived from Berlin to study the *Sankhya* philosophy, and able to converse at once with the Benares Brahmins in Sanskrit.

From such co-operation we may, perhaps, expect that scholarly history of the Great Peninsula, for which we are all waiting—one which will do for India what Mommsen's History has done for Rome. Among the lessons in administration which crowd upon and bewilder us in observing the internal condition of the Mediterranean Empire, none is more important than the curious juxtaposition of Emperor-worship and the redress of popular grievances. The cult of the Emperor started almost as soon as the Empire

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itself. We may regard it as scarcely personal, but representing a kind of popular gratitude for the blessings of the *Pax Romana*.

Would that we could develop feelings of a similar character for the *Pax Britannica* in India ! At all events, the deification of the office and its results explains the connexion between two matters apparently wide apart. It appears that the curious kind of "associations cultuelles" which exercised this double function were first started on the soil of Asiatic Greece. The idea was to give some sort of official recognition to that "Freedom of the Greeks" which was the ostensible pretext for the Roman Conquest, and also to that pan-hellenism which did not always happily combine with liberty.

THE ROMANIZATION OF GAUL

From Greece the cult of the Emperor spread to Gaul, and its development there is of peculiar interest to our subject. If the conclusions of the great historian of French institutions, M. Fustel de Coulanges, be correct, Gaul adopted Roman civilization and customs with the utmost alacrity, and the parallel between it and India is in the highest degree instructive. The representative bodies responsible for the due performance of the ceremonies connected with the Imperial cult could represent direct to the Emperor any popular grievances. They had bound themselves to the Empire by those sacrifices offered on the "altar of the three Gauls" at Lyons, the capital of Roman France, and by that very act they became a power in the land before which the provincial governors themselves quailed. A judicious distribution of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of the leaders of the people to high administrative posts, completed the identification of the new province with the Empire. Is not that famous assembly at Rheims an object-lesson of the highest importance for the Indian administrator ?

While the storms of the post-Neronic upheaval were beating over the Roman world, and Rome itself was all but in the hands of barbarians, the Gaulish chieftains, assembled in solemn conclave, deliberately decided to remain faithful to their quondam conquerors. In one respect there was a great difference, as compared with both Greece and India, which largely facilitated the task of the Romans. No city state, no institutions deriving force and sanctity from an almost limitless past, raised a dividing wall which kept the Gauls from full appreciation of Roman civilization. But in other respects the parallel is not only close, but startling.

It was, perhaps, largely the work of one man. The eagerness with which the Gaulish chieftains welcomed admission into the

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Julian clan shows what her great soldier statesman was to Gaul—what, we may almost say he was to the embryonic European state system—to modern France. Does not this illustrate the enormous importance of selecting the right man for high office in India?

Julius Cæsar seems to have been qualified to deal with the Celtic character as no other man before or since. The Gauls had the most passionate admiration for his attractive personality (in which were judiciously blended sternness and sympathy), his mighty genius, and his uniform success. Great scions of the Imperial Family continued the work of Julius at Lyons, the "Calcutta of Gaul," substituted for the original native capital of Vienna, when that city revolted on hearing of the tragedy of the Ides of March. Gaulish soldiers had helped to conquer the Roman world for their hero, and they, at least, would not pass by the crime or blunder of the so-called liberators without effective protest. How close a parallel we have here with the history of the Punjab! The Sikhs, newly conquered themselves, helped us to hold the Empire which he had endangered more than anything else, perhaps, by preserving the insignia of the old dynasty at Delhi.

The whole subject is pregnant with lessons, among which may be instanced that one so efficiently pointed out by Mr. Mitra in his remarkable article in the *Nineteenth Century* for last July—viz., the danger of exaggerating the cleavage between the rival faiths of India as a factor in the political situation.

We may finish our review by a glance at events in the new capital which the Romans so astutely substituted for Cæsar's Vienna. Drusus and Germanicus were worthy successors to Julius, and there was born Gaul's Imperial champion, Claudius, who was ridiculed at Rome for his Gaulish proclivities, and who reversed the policy of the cautious Augustus, and conferred citizenship broadcast on the province.

This policy completed the Romanization of Gaul, and loyalty was fostered by a light taxation, preserving the old Gallic institutions as far as possible and identifying the province with the Empire. When the Roman ship of state was almost engulfed in the storms of the third century, a miniature Roman Empire grew up on Gallic soil. Though it is unnecessary to draw attention to the lessons we may derive from the Roman treatment of Gaul, it may be well in conclusion to recapitulate what we seem to have learnt as a whole. The ideas derived from the semi-mythical history of China, the selection of rulers and their probationary appointment

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to high offices of State before their final recognition, do not seem to fall within the sphere of practical politics, though they may be commended to the attention of that philosopher of administration for whose appearance we are all anxiously waiting.

Somewhat similar remarks apply to the theory of statecraft which might be derived from a study of the Egyptian and Assyrian feudalism. From the centralized monarchies, or rather from that of Alexander the Great, we do obtain a most important lesson, confirmed by the teachings of medieval and modern history, concerning the importance of municipalities as affecting the growth of nations.

When we come to the absorption by Rome of Alexander's hellenized world, we are in contact with a whole crop of ideas applicable not only to the administration of India but to the task of the statesman all over the world. In utilizing these ideas for the solution of Indian problems we seem conscious of a universality which should give us courage in surrendering conventions which, however time-honoured they may be, may often amount to prejudice. The first "lesson" from the Roman Government of Greece is the absolute necessity for a thorough knowledge of the language and institutions of a people in those called upon to govern it. A reform in the internal administration of India which has been suggested by a recent writer on the subject would bring about the desired result, and at the same time compass a number of other objects of importance. This reform is the decentralization of Indian administration by parcelling out the country into a number of chief commissionerships. The desirable results which might be expected to flow from this measure are as follows :

1. A *corps d'elite* for the highest administrative appointments in India would naturally grow up, which would attract all the best talent of England.
2. The Indian people would come into contact, at least in the higher grades of the service, with only the best class of Europeans.
3. The persons selected for the above appointments might make India their home, but would always have one or more "under-studies," trained personally by themselves, with whom they could safely leave their charges when on a visit to England.
4. Among the advantages which such a continuity of administration would entail the principal one would be the satisfactory selection of persons really fitted to be members of an Imperial Council of Notables.
5. From consultation with such a council all other needful

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reforms in Indian administration could be ascertained and put into practice.

Notwithstanding the somewhat optimistic conclusions reached above, I should like to close this paper by a few remarks on the "lessons from Gaul," in which country the Roman administration gives the closest parallel with that of British India. In the first place, the Gaulish chieftains recognize what I fear the leaders of the "forward" party in India do not sufficiently recognize, how much they needed the Imperial protection, how much more military glory they could gain in the Imperial armies than in their own petty inter-tribal wars. For Gaul the one great enemy was Germany, but India is a rich prey which would invite marauders from all parts of the world. One of the most difficult of all our problems is how to identify the military chivalry of India with the Empire, by giving it a career which may attract it, as service with the Rhenish Legions did the warriors of the new Roman province. Another speciality about the Roman treatment of Gaul was the way in which national institutions, always excepting Druidism and the discredited kingship, were encouraged, and official interference reduced to a minimum. This policy undoubtedly tended to the contentment of the province, and we could do a great deal towards a similar result in India almost by a stroke of the pen. We could minimize the pernicious interference of the venal subordinate in the villages by reviving the *Panchayat* system.

I have already referred to the Council of Notables who had charge of the Augustan cult in Gaul. It was a veritable Advisory Board, and in this capacity exercised a double function. Not only did it represent the grievances of the people, it was the official recipient of orders from Rome, and a medium of communication between rulers and ruled of an invaluable efficacy.

It is amusing to see this institution characterized as a new idea. Were it not that it is at least 2,000 years old, I might remark that I myself advocated its introduction in a published work at least thirty years ago. Another institution which did much to accomplish the speedy absorption of Gaul in the Empire was the conferring of Roman citizenship. It might be possible for our reformers to think out a system of bestowing a kind of *jus civitatis* on all Indians who had proved themselves worthy of the boon.

The situation in India is so difficult and delicate that one is tempted sometimes to think that the avoidance of injudicious action is almost more important than the adoption of any positive measures. Whatever we do we should always remember that we have

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to consider two sections of the community whose interests are not always identical—the educated Indian and the illiterate masses. The only solution of the difficulty is suggested by the single word "compromise." It has an ugly sound, but is considered by many to be almost synonymous with statesmanship.

Perhaps I may be permitted to suggest a new definition of compromise—ability to see things from opposite points of view. If it was always advisable for Europeans and Asiatics to try and see things from each other's points of view, it is more than ever so at the present juncture. In a noble and statesmanlike speech the present Viceroy has proclaimed that sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of Indians is to be the keynote of British policy. But something more than this is required : we want more of that keen insight which will tell us that certain concomitants of our civilization which seem desirable and indispensable to us may be absolutely abhorrent to the Indian mind.

Perhaps we might say, *en revanche*, that the Indian should see that it is impossible for us to approach the questions awaiting solution from any but the Imperial point of view, and admit that some of us, at least, do so because we sincerely believe this to be the best for Indian interests. May we not add, too, that the point of view of the ignorant masses should receive attention ?

Working together on these lines, we may not move fast enough for the impatient idealist, but there is no problem of Indian statesmanship which should prove too difficult for us to solve.—Mr. C. W. Whish in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

1. BHISHAGRATNA, K. L.—The Sushruta Samhita (An Original Translation : Wilkins Press, Calcutta).
2. DESAI, S. A.—A Study of the Indian Philosophy. 5s.
3. DREWITT, F. D.—Bombay in the Days of George IV, Being the Memoirs of Sir Edward West.
4. HORRWITZ, E.—A Short History of Indian Literature. (With an Introduction by Professor Rhys Davids : Fisher Unwin, London.)
5. LYALL, SIR ALFRED—Poems (Revised & Enlarged) 1/12 as.
6. REES, J. D., M.P.—The Real India (Methuen & Co.) 10s. 6d.
7. RISLEY, SIR HERBERT—People of India. (With Reproductions of Plates from Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*. Messrs Thacker Spink & Co., Rs. 15).
8. SAINSBURY, E. B.—A Calendar of the Court Minutes &c. of the East India Company (1635—1639).
9. SMITH, VINCENT A.—The Early History of India (A New & Enlarged Edition : Clarendon Press.)
10. TRANSFORMED HINDUISM—The Monotheistic Religion of India (2 vols., 4/6 as.)
11. WEBB, HON. M. DE P.—India and the Empire (A Consideration of the Tariff Problem) Crown 8 vo., 3/6 d.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The Indian Secretary in a new Role

In the shuffling of the ministerial cards under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's successor, Mr. Morley has been kicked upstairs. Whether the House of Lords will suit Mr. Morley's new temperament or Indian interests will be better looked into when he is kept out from 'the heckling of turbid members,' future events alone can say. The political 'fur-coat' used in the lower House may not be taken in the Gilded Chamber, but contemporary history has, in the meantime, found out Mr. Morley to be a turncoat.

Indian Mutiny Veterans

The Secretary for War informs Mr. Watt, in a Parliamentary printed reply to a question, that every Indian Mutiny veteran who is over seventy years of age, and has been awarded the medal, is eligible for a pension of 1s. a day, provided that he is in necessitous circumstances, and was not discharged for ignominy or as a worthless and incorrigible character. It is just possible, adds Mr. Haldane, that there may be a few men who are eligible and have not made any application for the pension.

Dangers to Life in India

India is the only country that makes deaths by the attacks of serpents and wild beasts a feature of its annual statistics. That it has good reason for doing so is shown by the impressive figures of last year's mortality—eleven hundred and thirty-three deaths from snake bites and two hundred and ninety-one people killed by tigers and other wild animals. Although India is one of the most densely populated countries on the globe, the increase of human inhabitants does not have the effect of decreasing the number of wild beasts, as it does elsewhere, because the religion of the natives—or a great proportion of them—forbids them to take the life even of dangerous beasts and serpents; hence they let these destroyers thrive and multiply in the midst of their communities. One of the best works of the British in India is their reduction of the number of wild beasts, and especially tigers, as a result of their passion for hunting big game.

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Increase of British Troops

Mr. Morley has issued some interesting figures respecting the strength of the British army in India. A Royal Commission appointed immediately following the Mutiny advised that 80,000 British troops were required. There was little wonder at such advice being given when the horrors of the Revolt were fresh in the public mind, and as early as 1862 the figure was nearly reached with an aggregate of 78,174 officers and men. Saner counsels prevailed as the country settled down, and, according to Lord Lawrence, at the instance of the Indian Government reductions were made until, in 1871, the number of British troops employed was less than 57,000. During the next 26 years a steady increase brought the strength to 76,376, to be reduced by the necessities of the war in South Africa to 59,500. During the last five years increases have taken place, until now there are between 75,000 and 76,000 British troops charged to the Indian revenues.

The Indian Civil Procedure Code

The Bill amending and consolidating the Indian Civil Procedure Code was read a third time and passed at a meeting of the Viceregal Legislature on March 13. This measure has been under consideration for a number of years, and it is only after exhaustive discussion of every important point that it has been adopted in its present shape. As was shown in *The Times* of October 12 last, the changes made in procedure aim at simplification, decentralization, and provincial flexibility. Mr. Earle Richards, the Legal Member of Council, in moving the third reading, acknowledged the work of his two immediate predecessors and of such jurists as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose in shaping the measure. It might be regretted that the ideal of uniformity was being given up; but uniformity in matters of legal principle could be combined with elasticity in matters of detail, and he was confident that the High Courts would use the discretionary powers now given them with wisdom and care.

An Indian Mystery Solved

There are few personal incidents connected with the Viceroyalty of India that have given rise to more gossip than the refusal of the post by the late Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, when it was offered by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1893. Norman was Acting-Governor of Queensland, and a successor was required to relieve Lord Lansdowne in Calcutta before the end of the year. When Lord Kimberley's telegram was received, Norman spoke of

it as a "most extraordinary 'offer.'" After a few days' delay he accepted it; then, a fortnight later, withdrew his acceptance. Rumour in India alleged that, in addition to a private obstacle which would have made his position in Anglo-India almost impossible, Normam was influenced by the advice of his friends, who warned him that the native Press had taken up a hostile attitude as soon as the fact of the appointment was made known. This is denied in plain terms by Sir William Lee-Warner, whose life of Sir Henry Norman has just been published. Quoting from Norman's private diary, the biographer shows that the old soldier—he was then 67—was beset by misgivings. He confessed to feeling "very much depressed" at the prospect, and finally records his decision: "I cannot face the Viceroyship, and, after much anxiety and doubt, have telegraphed to Lord Kimberley I feel I am not equal to five years of arduous work, and I should probably break down."

The Return of the Decentralisation Commission

The return of the Decentralisation Commission from India a fortnight earlier than was intended has excited some comment. Since Mr. Hobhouse at an early sitting suggested that it might be advisable "to scrap antiquated and therefore useless machinery," the Commission has been in little favour with the higher officials, and there has been not a little since then to flutter the bureaucracy. Mr. Morley, in the debate on the Address, made a speech in which the inspiration of the India Office was, in the words of a Calcutta daily, "less conspicuous than in some of his earlier pronouncements," and as the Simla "reform" scheme, ripened by Indian experience, is now on its way home, it is probable that the Secretary of State is anxious to have Mr. Hobhouse's first-hand impressions before the question is discussed by the Council of India. Though it is impossible to expect a reversal of the partition of Bengal, there is a feeling that a way out may be found which will satisfy Bengalee sentiments while saving the face of the officials, especially as it is understood that the Commission has been at pains to elicit privately the views of prominent Bengal leaders on the question. Mr. Morley is again to be approached with a request to appoint a Commission to submit a scheme for modification of the partition, with special reference to the appointment of a Governor and Council in accordance with the intention of the Act of 1833, chapter 95.

Report of the Imperial Bacteriologist

This report, as has always been the case, shows an immense amount of work accomplished by Dr. A. Lingard at the Imperial

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Laboratory at Muktesar. His labours have consisted in the preparation of the different sera and other prophylactics which occupied the attention of himself and his subordinates throughout the year. In addition—experiments were conducted with a view to test the potency of haemorrhagic septicæmic serum and also the efficacy of atoxyl in destroying the trypanosomata of surra and dourine. Experiments with the object of determining whether Indian elephants are susceptible to the trypanosoma Evansi from an equine source were carried out and observations were continued with regard to trypanosomiasis in camels. Further, four Australian horses were immunised and hyper-immunised for the preparation of tetanus antitoxin. Apart from that investigation, officers of the Civil Veterinary and of the Army Veterinary Corps attended the theoretical and practical classes, whilst 49 veterinary assistants were trained at Muktesar and Bareilly. Amongst the results obtained from the above investigations the Indian elephant was proved to be insusceptible to rinderpest ; spirochaetosis was met with during the year under review in hill and plain cattle affected with rinderpest (this form of disease had not previously been recognised in this country) ; and another interesting section gives the effect of different doses of atoxyl in equines the subject of spontaneous equine trypanosomiasis. Unfortunately for India this is the last report that will be submitted by Dr. Lingard, for this hardworking and able officer has now retired from the Civil Veterinary Department after 17 years of unremitting toil. It is at least satisfactory to note that the Government of India desires to place on record its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to veterinary science during the period in which he has held the office of Imperial bacteriologist.

Lord Curzon and Education of Chiefs

Lord Curzon presided at a recent meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, when a paper was read by Sir David W. K. Barr dealing with the progress in the native States of India during the past 40 years. Lord Curzon said there were a great many things in India about which people in this country were very ignorant. But if there was a part of India or a section of the problem about which the ignorance mostly prevailed it was the native States. How many people of those who talked about India as a great dark territory ruled by a handful of Englishmen were aware that quite one-third of the whole area and more than one-fifth of the entire population were ruled by chiefs of native blood, of native sympathies, and native character ? The native State of the old type might almost be described as a paradise of contrast

—perhaps almost a paradox. There was in those States the most strange and interesting blend of the old and the new. They might attend a combat of wild beasts in the morning and play a game of polo or golf in the afternoon. But the most characteristic feature was that these things were dear to the people of the country and they were dear to them because they were "racy of the soil." Mad, indeed, would be the man who would propose to change the state of things. One big advantage was that there was more scope for the employment of native intellect. The great turning point in the history of native States occurred after the close of the Mutiny, when they were for the first time brought into direct relations with the Crown. The result had been that, although many of the States were still, it must be admitted, in a very backward condition, yet, on the whole, there had been a very great forward and upward movement in the standard of administration. Lord Curzon paid a compliment to political officers, to whom also was due a large portion of the credit. The one problem upon which he looked with intense anxiety was the question of the education of the chiefs. The whole stability of the native States did not depend upon artificial conditions, but upon the character of the training which they gave to those men or assisted them to obtain for themselves. Referring to the bringing of the young men to England and giving them an English public school education, Lord Curzon, while not deprecating such an education, said it would be unwise to do anything which might hereafter in the slightest degree alienate those men from the country in which their lot was cast or the people over whom they might have to rule. It would be a fatal thing if they turned a most promising man into so much of an Englishman that he became too little of an Indian. The native States, he thought, would not merely survive but would grow year by year, and if any emergency ever arose England might rely with the utmost confidence upon their loyalty and devotion.

Political Organization of the Indian Mahomedans

At a special general conference of the All-India Moslem League, held at Aligarh towards the end of March, the Aga Khan was elected president of the League, and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami secretary. It was unanimously resolved that the League should co-operate with the committee founded in London under the presidency of Mr. Ameer Ali, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court. A committee was appointed to formulate a detailed opinion on the scheme of advisory councils and enlarged legislatures now under consideration. A resolution was passed declaring that in view of

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the stage of administrative progress reached in India, it is desirable that, so far as may be, judicial functions should be separated from executive functions, the combination of the two tending to defeat the ends of justice. The resolution suggested that the experiments in this direction to be made in Eastern Bengal and Assam should be extended, with due regard to local circumstances, to other provinces. Resolutions were also adopted praying for the appointment of a Mahomedan Judge for each of the High Courts and chief Courts of the country, where such appointments have not already been made, calling attention to the need for giving Mahomedans their share of appointments in the public service, declaring it to be of vital importance that the community should have adequate and distinct representation upon the legislative councils and local self-governing bodies and asking for the safeguard of Musulman educational interests by the due representation of the community on the syndicates and senates of the several Indian Universities and on text-book committees.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Jute and Irrigation

It is possible that the extensive irrigation schemes which are in course of development in the Central Provinces may have the important effect of introducing jute cultivation into parts of the Provinces as a profitable venture. At Raipur jute has lately been cultivated as an irrigated crop, and is officially reported to have done extremely well.

Manufacture of Celluloid

We note with very great pleasure that Mr. Satis Chandra Das-Gupta, B.A., of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, has devised an easy and perfect method of manufacturing celluloid in India. Celluloid is a most useful article which is already in very great demand by several departments of the trade, particularly the one in umbrella. Its manufacture is bound to be a profitable business, and, as such, should be taken up by some one of our patriotic capitalists. The minimum amount with which a small business can be floated has been estimated at ten thousand rupees.

The Ellichpore Match Factory

An interesting development of the modern industrial spirit among Indians is to be found in the Berar Match Manufacturing Company Ltd., Ellichpur. The capital is Rs. 1,05,000 and was subscribed by local capitalists, mostly pleaders and owners of gins;

a further sum of Rs. 65,000 is to be raised on debentures. The manufactory is not yet making a profit, but the company seem to have got over their original difficulties and should now do well. The materials used are salai wood (*Boswellia serrata*) for match splints and outside boxes, and maharuk (*Ailanthus excelsus*) for inside boxes. The salai and waste timber are used as fuel. The salai is obtained from the Government forests of the Melghat on concession rates. The plant of the company can prepare 80,000 boxes in a day of ten hours; but their frame-filling machinery is inadequate and can do only 43,000 a day. They are not yet working up even to this latter figure, but hope to do so almost immediately. They have raised their output to four boxes of 50 gross each, and hope to get it up to six boxes.

Discovery of Wolframite in India

Mr. Kellerschorn, an American mining engineer, some time ago obtained from the Central Provinces Government a concession of part of the village of Agargaon, situated some 25 miles south-east of Nagpur, with a view to discovering manganese. The Allahabad *Pioneer* reports that, while digging in a band of mica schist rock, his *employes* discovered a number of lumps of heavy mineral which, on being examined by the Geological Survey in Calcutta, were found to consist of wolframite, a valuable tungstate of iron and manganese chiefly used in the making of high-speed steel material and for hardening the outside of armour plates. The mica schist rock contains a considerable number of quartz stringers, and it is in these that the wolframite is found. The wolframite differs in appearance and constitution from the best known specimens, but on analysis it yields 64.5 per cent. of tungstic acid, which is equal to that obtained in the best ores of Colorado. The annual world's supply of wolframite is stated to be not much over 1,000 tons, and the price of the commodity is over £120 per ton. In Agargaon its existence has been proved in numerous stringers at intervals extending over a length of 1,490ft., and it has been found at opposite ends of the mica schist rock ten miles apart from each other. Should the mineral be as persistent at a great depth as in Colorado, the deposit will considerably enlarge the world's supply of a mineral the use of which has so far been greatly checked by its scarcity.

German Enterprise to Capture Indian Trade

There is no place in Great Britain where a manufacturing exporter may easily get first-hand information regarding the requirements, tastes, and prejudices of the Indian people. The British exporter does not understand why his marrow spoons are refused and those

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"made in Germany" find a ready market in India. The answer is simple. The English marrow spoon is too thick for the bones of Indian sheep. The German manufacturer makes the marrow-spoons suit the bones of Indian sheep. The egg-cup that the British exporter sends to India is too large for the eggs of the Indian hen. The German manufacturer measures the egg and then makes the egg-cup for the Indian market. The Birmingham merchant thinks he has a grievance because German scissors of the same price find a better market in India than his own make. He does not know that the secret of Germany's success in scissors is due to the fact that the village tailor has a superstitious regard for his thumb, which he wants to keep in more comfort than his index finger. He therefore prefers a pair of scissors which has a larger hole for the thumb than for the index finger. The orthodox manufacturer of Birmingham does not, or will not, study the convenience of the Indian villagers. What he ignores or neglects as mere prejudices is profitably turned to account by his German rival. The secret of the German trader's success is that he never tries to impose his own judgment on his Indian customers. He understands that the habits of thousands of years cannot change in a day. His ability to adapt himself to the ways of the people of India is entirely due to the fact that he possesses better and firsthand information about his customers' tastes and prejudices from the two Indian gentlemen in Berlin who are associated with the German Commercial Bureau. The Germans are excellent students of Blue-books, but they know that Blue-book figures, without practical knowledge of the people, is like reading geography without a map. Such study conveys very little to the mind.

The Indian Pearl Trade

The heavy fall in the price of pearls in India has affected not only the merchant, but also shroffs and bankers who have made advances against consignments. Of recent years the trade has passed through many vicissitudes. At the time of the Paris Exhibition the value of pearls rose nearly a hundred per cent., and many shrewd business men took advantage of the situation to secure large profits. But these high prices were not maintained. The Paris market by no means fulfilled expectation and pearls fell in value, though not to any very great extent, as merchants refused to part at the prices offered. Little business was in consequence done, and by holding up their goods the pearl merchants succeeded in checking the slump until the Coronation of the King-Emperor and the Durbar at Delhi created a fresh demand for pearls and sent up prices again.

That these were maintained long after the historic event had ceased to exercise any influence on the market was in a great measure due to the formation of a powerful syndicate at Surat which made advances to merchants against the security of pearls. By these means, although prices in Europe fell rapidly, the Indian market was maintained at a fairly good level. But recent failures in America and the stringency of the money market in Europe have produced a situation that cannot be modified by any local organisation. Last year, Americans ceased buying pearls, and the Paris dealers, who were already overstocked, found themselves compelled to sell first at thirty per cent., under cost, and latterly at little more than half-price. So far, Indian merchants have refused to sell, with the inevitable result that the market is at a standstill, and no business is done in pearls in Bombay.

The Progress of Irrigation in India

An official statement made on the recent introduction of the Budget indicates the long way by which Government projects of irrigation have outstripped the work of execution. At the end of last month there were in existence in India 56,882 miles of canals and distributaries, constructed to command 50,195,000 acres of culturable land. The previous year's total was 55,928 miles, commanding 50 million acres of land. Surveys of irrigation possibilities in the different provinces have been actively pushed on, and the programmes are now approaching completion. In Sind the surveys include a barrage across the Indus at Sukkur to supply water for the Right and Left Bank Canals, and to improve the supply and extend the irrigation on the Eastern Nara effluent of the Indus. It is expected that the preparation of these projects, which will increase the area commanded by irrigation by about 2½ million acres, will be completed during 1908-1909. In the Deccan extensive surveys for protective works have been in hand to determine the possibilities of irrigation from all the great rivers fed from the Western Ghats. Estimates for two schemes have been sanctioned, and the surveys for most of the others are well advanced. The aggregate area irrigable from these works is estimated at 1,886,000 acres and the probable cost at Rs. 16,52,00,000. In addition to the canals actually in operation, there are altogether 42 projects which are either under construction or awaiting sanction, or being examined by the professional advisers of the Government. Of these, 15 are productive, and 24 are of the protective class.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEW

PERILOUS CIVILISATION

Syed Amir Ali, formerly a puisne judge of the Calcutta High Court, contributes an excellent article to the April number of the *Nineteenth Century* in the course of which he characterises the *Anomalies of Civilisation* as being perilous to progress in India. What might elsewhere be welcomed as signs of progress is labelled 'unrest' in India ; what is 'patriotism' in Europe becomes 'fanaticism' in Asia and Africa ; and the desire for progress and development is said to be based upon 'restlessness' in Eastern lands.

The writer cites the interesting illustration of *Spread-Eagleism* to show the influence which is exercised by mere names on the destinies of human race. In the Middle Ages religion furnished the pretext for the spoliation and enslavement of alien races. In the fifteenth century the Pope divided the world beyond Christendom between the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Spanish ferocity caused the destruction of three brilliant civilisations so widely apart as the Moorish, the Aztec and the Peruvian. Spain set up more crosses in more lands, beneath more skies, and under them butchered more people than all the nations on earth combined. To-day other shibboleths have taken the place of older ones ; religion has made room for what is called 'Western Civilisation.' The 'white man's burden' has elbowed out the Gospel, whilst trade has become more important than 'evangelisation.' The Indians are thus face to face with a peculiar situation. The Christian Empire of Great Britain cannot secure considerate treatment for its 'provincials' in its own Colonies. South Africa presents at this moment an extra-ordinary spectacle of what a mixture of high altruistic pretensions and rank selfishness can produce in the name of civilisation. The higher races of India have attained a place in the scale of development which compares favourably with many nationalities ordinarily regarded as civilised. The general diffusion of modern education has brought many of them into line with the foremost ranks of culture in the Western world. The spirit of enterprise has never been lacking among the people of India, and the process of unification which is in progress has given it an extra-ordinary impetus. Under its impulse many Indians, relying on their status as British subjects, betake

themselves to British Colonies. They are well-conducted, sober, thrifty, law-abiding people; not a few are highly educated. Civilisation meets them at the threshold, brands them as members of an inferior race, and puts them to all conceivable forms of indignity. This colonial attitude towards the Indians carries one back to the days of the first Hindu law-giver, Manu, who would brand a *Sudra* with hot iron if he had the temerity to sit on the same bench with a *Brahmin*! Mr. Amir Ali considers it anomalous that whilst Levantines, Jews, Greeks, Maltese and others are welcomed into the colonial bosom, the clean, sober, honest Moslem is alone classified as an undesirable Asiatic and subjected to all sorts of humiliating and degrading restrictions. What, according to the writer, is more than anomalous is that the subjects of a common Sovereign should be denied the ordinary privileges of fair, generous and considerate treatment. The treatment to which Indians in Africa are being subjected shocks even exclusionists. Nothing can be more inhuman than the fact that from mere accident of birth in one continent, the Indians are refused permission to 'abide on the soil of a British Colony.' Mr. Amir Ali considers in this connection that the ill-treatment accorded to Indians in the Transvaal supplies to the advocates of *Self-Government on Colonial Lines* another powerful argument. At present the Indians cannot make an effective retort on the insults and humiliations to which they are subjected by the Colonials; nor can they obtain legitimate protection from the Imperial Government. Self-government of the kind enjoyed by the Colonials would enable them to demand and perhaps secure reciprocity of fair treatment.

Referring to the suggestion that the 30,000 Asiatics in South Africa should be turned out in favour of European settlers, Mr. Amir Ali observes that 'a more extra-ordinary claim has never been advanced in the name of civilisation.' The ostensible reason for this exclusion is that the European settler cannot compete with the thrifty Asiatic in the struggle for existence. All subjects of the same Sovereign might be presumed to possess an inherent right to move from one part of his dominions to another without molestation or hindrance. But modern 'civilisation' does not seem to acquiesce in the equitable treatment of all races with which it has civilised dealings and from which it expects civilised treatment. If the European settler should be allowed to flourish in new possessions which did not belong to them, might not the British Indian ask with equal show of justice that

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the undesirable Eurasians should be prevented from entering his country?

Another anomaly of 'Western civilisation' is that in its dealings with the weak, it makes its own interests the standard of the gospel it preaches to the world. If the Asiatics were more advanced, we should probably hear less of the humourous assertion that the 'Europeans are the trustees for the black races.' Although civilisation eschews the word 'slavery,' it requires that the conditions of slavery should be more or less perpetuated for its benefit. Referring to the much-talked-of 'white-man's burden,' Mr. Amir Ali justly remarks that 'the burden is only nominally on his shoulders, in reality the weight is transferred to those whose labours are exploited for his enrichment and comfort.' Civilisation has driven the red Indians into reservations where they are fast disappearing. One is sometimes shocked to hear the pious hope that the black races will, in course of time, disappear under the same process, leaving their possessions as assets to 'civilisation.' At no period in the world's history, says the writer, has there been so much talk about international peace with such ill-disguised preparation for war; so many protestations about, and yet such unashamed contempt for, the rights of weaker nations; such high appreciation of 'civilised' morals with such flagrant disregard for the dictates of ordinary morality.

In the next place, Mr. Amir Ali cites some specific instances, such as those of polyandry, baby-farms and foundling-hospitals, in order to show that some of the social conditions of Occidentals are more abnormal than those of Orientals. The ordinary Western mind has rather a vague conception of the varied creeds and divers cultures of the East. The difference in the stand-points of Europe and Asia makes it essential that, in endeavouring to introduce Western civilisation among Eastern communities, their ethical standards should be raised and not lowered. But the writer regrets that the tendency has been in the contrary direction.

Mr. Amir Ali then enters into an elaborate discussion of the state of affairs in several parts of the globe and observes that these reflections help to expose the hollowness of the claims to superior morality advanced on behalf of modern civilisation. In the eighteenth century the same game was played in India; and the more skilful, perhaps more honest, player won the day. The hundred and fifty years since the fall of Dupleix and Lally have made little difference in national conscience or national methods.

Neither the tactics nor the protestations of altruism have undergone much change ; only in the present instance the chess-board is nearer and the circle of onlookers larger, and the dexterous player has this advantage, that his adversary has no outside backing—the game is more or less in his hands. Every lover of humanity must recognise the blessings which modern civilisation has brought to the world ; but it would be sheer self-deception to shut one's eyes to the ills to which it has given birth or which it has intensified, to the hypocrisy of a great part of modern life, to the relegation of national and individual duties to the back-ground in favour of hollow shows and pretensions, and above all, to the apotheosis of money and power.

INDIAN WOMEN

Mr. T. S. Ramasastri depicts a very faithful picture of the position of our women in the course of an article published in the March number of the *Malabar Quarterly Review*. According to the writer, the Hindu wife is nothing more than a house-hold drudge, a daughter of superstition nursed on the lap of ignorance. The wife and husband in a Hindu family live in two distinct and separate intellectual spheres. The former is altogether uneducated, while the latter has reaped most of the benefits of English education. They are therefore rarely fit companions to each other. They have no common aims and aspirations and their interests not unfrequently clash. The wife drags one way and the husband quite another, and their life is like a country cart yoked to a bullock and a buffalo, the former dragging it into the sun and the latter running into the shade. When talking to his wife the husband has to place, for the time being, his knowledge on the shelf, and avoid all such things that might require the exercise of reason. He discusses with her purely domestic matters and eschews such questions as would require an informed mind to appreciate.

The writer next gives some details regarding the nature of the daily duties of a Hindu woman. The Hindu woman rises early in the morning and milks her cows. Curd is churned and butter prepared. The kitchen is then swept and cleansed with cow-dung water. After bathing she attends to her daily *Puja* which she performs either about the family *Tulasi* plant or at the feet of her idol. She then goes to the tank and brings water. Afterwards the children of the family are fed and sent to school. It will now be time for her to go to the kitchen and prepare food. Breakfast over, she cleans

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the kitchen and cooking utensils and retires for an hour's rest. But many duties still await her. The servants of the house are given some work and need superintending. Sometimes her growing daughters are to be looked after and dressed. She has also to attend to the wants of her old and sick mother-in-law, if she unfortunately has one. She prepares tiffin and sends it to her husband. When the evening comes and the approaches night another set of duties presents before her. She has to prepare dinner and arrange beds for the various members of the family. After meals she cleans the kitchen and vessels once more and retires to sleep. Her husband is perhaps a government official and returns home fully 'done up' by the drudgery at the desk. And can she cheer or console him? Her conversation, with all her teeming love or devotion, is never for a moment interesting or edifying. It is generally frivolous and is emblematic of the emptiness of her mind. The usual recreation of our women is knitting and stitching. Hindu women are mostly their own tailors. They wear only *sarees* and simple bodices and their dress is simple. What the Western women lavish on clothes, our women sometimes do on jewels.

The condition of a young wife in a Hindu family is peculiarly embarrassing. She can never, except in the bed-chamber, speak freely to her husband. She acts always under restraint and is often snubbed and held back. She is naturally coy and bashful and the presence of a grown up man or woman in the house is a special restraint on her free will. "A man makes himself ridiculous," observes Mr. R. C. Dutt, 'if he speaks to his wife affectionately before a third person, and the wife is considered shameless who responds to such a familiarity. Young married people are brought together only at night and parted again in the morning as if their meeting were a clandestine one.' The difficulties of a young woman as a daughter-in-law are many. The following Indian wifely lecture as published in the *Madras Times* last year may be of interest :

" But, by the bye, I have a story to tell you, can you listen to it now? I know it is imprudent on my part to complain to you against your own mother. But how long am I to suffer like this? This house is rendered too hot for me. I am overworked. I am more than vexed. Can there be a worse fate than that of a Hindu daughter-in-law? Why, your mother is more a devil than a human being. Old age seems to have deprived her of all good feelings. She is devoid of all sympathy. Can't you do anything to save your poor wife from the clutches of an ill-tempered, unsympathetic, old woman? Why not send me to my parental abode for a couple of months for a change? She has entirely forgotten she was once a daughter-in-law. But it is natural that the priest should forget his days of clerksip. I have become an unfortunate target whereat she aims all her keen shafts of foul abuse. If I comb my hair and dress properly, your mother comes to me and asks in all seriousness if I intend going to the theatre to become an actress. If I don't, she scolds me as an ill-favoured wretch, who is lazy enough not to care even for the daily toilette. If I wear my jewels, she complains I am showy. If I don't, she questions me if they were given

me to be for ever hidden in a chest 'under lock and key. If I answer to her questions, she jumps and stamps her feet on the floor and calls me impertinent and disobedient. If I keep myself silent, she calls me a dumb ass. Any way, I am at fault always. If I walk to the front there is a pit ; if I walk behind there is a well. To add to my misfortune I have another enemy in your sister. She always complains to your mother against me for nothing. She calls all sorts of names, and her only pleasure seems to be that I should be tortured. Surely, the sister-in-law is an "abridged edition" of the mother-in-law, and both try to fill the cup of the daughter-in-law's misery to the brim."

We think the above picture is a little overdrawn and that the old order has changed yielding place to the new. The Hindu wife loves her husband passionately. Her love is sometimes returned and therein she finds her complete happiness. Hindus marry their children while quite young. The younger the couple the greater the pleasure derived by the parents. One peculiar and noticeable trait with the Hindus is that they love them whom they have been married to, unlike the Europeans who marry those whom they have loved. Of the sweetness of Love's young dream the Hindu wife has no experience. "The elements of romance which in European countries may idealise the nuptials of the humblest do not enter into her life." The advocates of early marriage are of opinion that it lays the foundation of mutual love which will grow every day stronger and finally unites the man and woman into one. The writer does not deny that it does so in some cases, but in a majority of them it is a failure. Early marriage means marriage at a time when the parties do not understand each other or know what marriage is except that it is a big *tamasha*. And it is possible that when the parties grow up they may not quite like each other. They may not in after-life find each other quite companionable and a want of true companionship between the husband and the wife is sure to blight the life of both. The evils of early marriage are too numerous to be slightly passed over. If the husband dies before the wife attains puberty, the virgin widow is condemned to perpetual celibacy. Looked at from a physiological point of view, infant betrothal is objectionable because too early consummation of marriage is encouraged thereby.

Again, here in India, youngmen whose minds have received new influences and whose intellects have been widened by the study of a new literature, science, philosophy and religion find themselves confronted, when they go home after finishing their University courses, with dense walls of female illiteracy and superstition. A man wants a real companion in his wife, and an illiterate wife can hardly satisfy an educated man's desire for intellectual companionship. The life of a husband and wife whose mental centres do not lie in the same plane can not but be sad.

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The custom of early marriage in India explains to some extent why the *nautch* institution, condemned by so many people as a standing menace to morals, still lives with so much vitality.

Education of women alone can, in the opinion of the writer, alter this wretched state of things in India. Our homes are now said to be blank pictures of female ignorance and superstition. Our institutions have become "levers without fulcrums." The question of social reform in India is half-solved when all women are freely and liberally educated. There has of late been a slump in politics, but the writer is strongly of opinion that our leaders should try and put in order our tottering homes before they can aspire to build a nation.

BURMA

Professor J. Nelson Fraser contributes an able paper entitled "Madras and Burma" to the April number of the *Hindusthan Review*. This interesting article deals mostly with the province of Burma, an abstract account of which we are tempted to give below for the edification of our readers.

The climate of Burma is not unlike that of India. Rangoon is hot and moist, Mandalay hot and dry. In Upper Burma the winter season is disagreeably cold. The scenery also resembles that of India. The green fields of the south are like rice fields everywhere ; the forests are like the jungles of Malabar. There are the same mountains, the same panorama of noble trees. The teak forests can be seen up the Salwin where civilisation has not advanced its flag. One is naturally tempted to make the tour of the Irawaddy. It is a novelty ; the steamers are so large and comfortable, there is the prospect of interesting company on board and "riverside-life" visible. The steamer becomes inevitable.

The prettiest place the writer saw in Burma was Moulmein. The ugliest but most curious spot was near Minbu—the mud volcanoes. These craters are unique in Asia. They are connected somehow with the petroleum springs. There are perhaps a dozen of these volcanoes all together ; their colour is a bluish grey. Nothing grows on them ; they keep each other's company on the road outside Minbu, and like giant tortoises pay no heed to the lapse of time. The soil throughout Lower Burma is sandy, having all at some time or other formed part of the river bed. Trees embedded in this sand are sometimes petrified, particles of sand replacing those of wood. The result is very curious ; every wrinkle and every line of the original wood survives.

Rangoon lies some way up the river, it is well not to judge it at first sight. The river-side arrangements are all crude and ugly. It is a new town built in the East after Western ideas. The streets are all wide enough for traffic ; there is no architecture, but there will be room for it when the day comes. The hinterland is already beautiful. Roads have been made, swamps reclaimed and the water collected in lakes. The climate favours the growth of trees and grass, and Dalhousie Park is the finest in Asia. Bungalows abound, well-built and surrounded by gardens, residences fit for the country and much envied by the wretched pilgrim from Bombay. What can be had in Bombay, Rangoon may or will some day possess,—fine city buildings.

The chief sight of Rangoon is the industrial elephants in the timber yards. They will soon cease to be visible, for machinery is going to be found cheaper than elephants, but a few old stagers are still at work. They are best seen in the Chinaman's yard, where they are made more useful than elsewhere. Mandalay is far inland, and can be reached by rail or river. The approach by river is fine. The city itself is found to be a great straggling waste of little houses, unattractive and unbearably hot in summer.

The Fort is a square enclosure of a mile each way, with a battlemented wall and a moat all round it. In the centre is a palace, or rather a group of palaces, that belonged to the kings and queens of Burma. Their date is modern ; their style nondescript. There is nothing that can be called architecture about them. Nevertheless the halls of audience are striking scenes. They are built, as all Burmese houses are built, entirely of wood. Hiram's cedars could not have surpassed them, nor the deodars of Cashmere. Had the Moghal architects reached Burma, the mosques of Mandalay would have lowered the pride of Srinagar. As it is, they have nothing to boast of but materials ; the want of style is supplied by gilding. Every inch of these vast interiors is gilt, for gilding was the privilege of royalty and religion. The Burmese court is not long vanished, and everyone knows what it was like. No king was more absolute than the Burmese king ; no court more splendid than his, none where dress and ceremony were more studied or better regulated. The very language of the court was its own, it possessed a whole vocabulary that common people could neither use nor understand.

The sights of Mandalay are not ended with the palace. There is a monastery worth visiting, for its wood-carving ; and there are the four hundred and fifty pagodas. Here under

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appropriate canopies the whole of the Buddhist law is visible, inscribed on slabs of stone. This was done by Theebaw's uncle who was anxious that everybody should know exactly what the sacred text contained. The motive was alike creditable and characteristic of a good Buddhist. The pagodas form a conspicuous object from Mandalay hill, a height from which Mandalay may conveniently be viewed.

The most cheerful place in the town is the Zegyo Bazaar. Every town has, of course, its bazaar, and often one with a roof to it ; the Zegyo Bazaar is the largest in Burma. Meat, fish, vegetables, grain, all sorts of domestic articles and silks ; these are the contents of the stalls ; and they are not without interest. But the buyers and sellers are more interesting still. Visitors are struck by the extreme cleanliness of everything, and the absence of smells, even in the meat market. A little bargaining, of course, goes on, but never noisily, and rarely a dispute can be heard. The visitor's eyes will be charmed by the neat figures, the smiles and the bright dresses of the Burmese women all around the bazaar.

There are two leper asylums at Mandalay, Catholic and Protestant. Mr. Fraser visited the Catholic one. It was founded by the exertions of an Austrian priest, Father Wehinger ; the present buildings cost three lakhs of rupees. About three hundred lepers are maintained there, included some of European extraction, and they are ministered to by a band of twenty-two nuns. Visitors are welcomed, and, as all languages are represented among the nuns, all visitors find themselves at home. The lepers are treated with great kindness,—washed anointed, and amused and given a little pocket-money. They are thus saved from losing themselves altogether ; yet such is their horror of being mere inmates of a home that many of them leave it. It is a pity the Burmese, with all their charity and all their generosity, do not support the Lepers' Asylum.

From Mandalay the writer moved on to Mogok. Here are the ruby mines, almost the only ruby mines in the world. They lie in a little basin high up among the hills, surrounded by noble forests. Here nature, in a mood of unaccountable generosity, has turned alumina into rubies. How or when no body knows, but there in the gravel at the bottom of the basin not only rubies but sapphires and other gems abound. Mines there are none : only pits where Chinese coolies fill little trucks with gravel. Ruby mining on a grand scale is fairly a safe industry, it pays a quiet dividend to investors. On a small scale it is a speculation, and one hears wonderful tales of lucky coolies. So too in Rangoon

MR. MORLEY'S ESTIMATE OF INDIA

one hears similar tales of men in higher circles. For Rangoon is quite American in its gambling fevers ; there is one company there whose Rs. 50 shares were sold at 1300 not long ago.

The bazaar at Mogok produces specimens of many interesting people. Shans of all sorts, Palaungs, Padaungs, Lishiaws and others, all exhibit themselves in their quaint and beautiful dresses, making their purchases or selling their little products to the townspeople. Fine, healthy-looking people they were—many of them, recalling the breezes of their uplands. The outer world has made itself known among them by the spread of syphilis. Their dresses are usually of blue cloth, with red trimmings, or of black velvet. They are both handsome and practical.

MR. MORLEY'S ESTIMATE OF INDIA

Mr. Morley has always been known to be under the impression that 'all is best in the happy land of India and that it is only sedition-mongers who object to the beneficent rule of the India Office, and that all expressions of discontent must be crushed down with a firm foot.' But things in India are not what they seem to the Indian Secretary to be, as will be evident from a characteristic article headed '*Is Mr. Morley Right About India?*' contributed to a March number of the *New Age* by Dr. Josiah Oldfield.

The writer refers to his first interview with the Right Hon'ble Jesse Collings in connection with their first visit to India and states that according to Mr. Collings the "Indians are an affectionate and faithful people. They are certainly a most deferential people and one might almost be a king by the respect they show." With regard to this, Dr. Oldfield seems to think that the Indian's perpetual *saluams* to the white man are due not to the justice and uprightness of the latter, but to the fact that he is looked upon as the child of Satan, the powerful destroyer !

The writer then explains the autocratic methods of the India Office but we regret to find that he takes a very ungenerous view of Mr. Keir Hardie's interest in Indian matters. However that may be, the writer observes that the heavy burden of taxation in India upon the poor is largely owing to the inherent rapacity of the tax gatherer. The close connexion between 'publicans' and 'sinners' exists to day in India as it existed in Palestine in the time of Augustus. The chief evil about the taxation, says the writer, is not the incidence of it, but its cast-iron rigidity. A Rajah in a Native State is the father of his people, and when they suffer, he

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suffers with them and by lessening his own expenses wins the warm devotion of an affectionate race. In a British State, the chief authority is only a cog wheel in a machine. While this great machine is unwinding its red tape, the poor peasants are suffering, and may be dying, but their taxes must be forthcoming !

To them, their Rajah and their old-time Mahomedan conquerors might be cruel, ruthless fathers, but they were *fathers*, and there was always the hope for an imaginative people moving their bowels to compassion—but the British Raj is a machine, a just machine—possessing the same justice as every other machine which grinds out flour but having no heart or soul or kinship with the people.

In the time of the old East India Company, India was more happily though more harshly governed. The British Nabobs settled down and married and became overlords of the people. India was their home, and to India's people they were attached—but to-day the English are a temporary and alien class. Their home is England. Their hearts are in England. They are always looking for a furlough or a retirement to England, and steamboats and cheap postage have brought India so close to England that there is no need for English officials to be dependent on India for anything except sport and salary ! The English officials are, therefore, autocratic without being sympathetic ; supercilious without being wise ; authoritative before becoming experienced ; and take no pains to conceal their views that they are in India but not of India, and that Indians are their inferiors socially, intellectually, and morally !

The secret of India's unhappiness and discontent lies in the fact that she is governed by an unsympathetic machine instead of by a father and a king. This system demands mediocrity in the governed people, and no aspiring race can tolerate being doomed to national mediocrity !

Dr. Oldfield then cites the following words which were spoken to him by an eminent person in the Punjab during the former's tour in that province : "When Akbar, the Mahomedan conqueror, ruled India, he appointed a Hindu as his Prime Minister, in spite of the fanaticism of his religion, so that we Hindus felt that the highest offices were within our power, but the British Raj keeps all the best posts for young English fellows, and thinks that the brains and statesmanship of cultured Indians are well rewarded by a few subordinate posts grudgingly doled. British administration sets a premium on mediocrity, and the cult of mediocrity never made an Empire or satisfied a progressive nation !"

HINDU CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Another Indian gentleman of recognised ability, a man who holds a judgeship, after discussing with Dr. Oldfield the hopelessness of the best men of India about obtaining the ear of the English people, through the blank wall of Anglo-Indian misrepresentation and insolence, begged him not to give any clue to his identity if ever he published his views, for, "India has its Siberia as well as Russia, and there are worse knouts than the thongs of the Cossacks." The pervading assertion of the writer throughout the entire length of the article is that Mr. (now Lord) Morley has failed to grasp the real state of affairs in India and this is mainly due to his not having visited this country at all.

HINDU CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Prof. Yogesa Chandra Sastri of the Doveton College has a learned paper entitled *History as conceived by the Ancient Hindu and other Nations* in the current quarterly number of the *Calcutta Review*. We would discuss the leading statements of the writer so far as the Hindu section of History is concerned.

Difference in nationality, says the writer, carries with it a difference in the modes of literary composition of all kinds. Accordingly, the method of writing history also differs with different nations. Illiterate and aboriginal tribes commemorate the important events in their tribal life by composing a few ballads on them in default of their capacity for doing anything better. As a matter of fact, it is this sort of poetry which forms the foundation of history, properly so called, of every country. These historical ballads grow maturer as a nation advances and the genius of the nation finds a vivid expression in them.

In those districts of India that were inhabited or overrun by the Tartars, for instance Assam, Nepal and Cashmere, they used to chronicle events which might go by the name of calender histories. The Sanskrit work *Rajatarangini* which hails from Cashmere might be taken to have been compiled from some work of this description. Even in the historical works of Mahomedan authors that are written in Arabic, the means of ascertaining the causal connection of events is nothing other than the mere circumstance that their places are assigned in chronological order. In fact, no trace of causal connection is discernible in such narrations of events. Mahomedan authors regarded it as improper to attribute events to any cause other than the direct will of one God manifested in all things.

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The adage "where there is virtue there is victory" constitutes also the fundamental principle of the history of the Hindus, but the method in which it is worked out is different. In their preception of the causal connection of events the Hindu authors are more skilful than the chroniclers of other nations of the world. They realise fully that the circumstance of a certain event immediately preceding another is only a superficial index of a causal connection between them, and that a surer way of establishing such a relation between them is by showing that the one could have been brought about by the other and by no other events. In fact they penetrate deeper into this connection, and having traced all causes to an ultimate one, come to be convinced of the omnipresent and eternal nature of providential power. It is in such a religious basis that the Hindu history known as the *Puranas* has been built up.

The conceptions borrowed from natural phenomena are very powerful in a poet's mind, especially in the mind of a Hindu poet. It is for this reason that the associations of natural phenomena are invariably present in the poetic histories of the Hindus. All earthly objects and events, according to Mr. Sastri, are so constituted that all of them are present in each one of them. So, whichever event offers itself to the poet, the idea which is uppermost in his mind is likely to be mixed up with the facts in its treatment. It is a mistake, we are told, to regard the *Puranas* as poetry based only on fiction. They are poetry no doubt, but historical poetry. Among the Hindus, the composition of poetic histories did not come to an end with the Buddhistic age; but they appear to have become somewhat looser in structure. The mode of composition however, has all along been the same. The framework of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* does not differ from that of the *Brihatkatha*.

In fact the poetry, history and philosophy of all nations betray their peculiar national characteristics. It would be unreasonable, in the opinion of the writer, to assert that the Hindus have no history because their historical works are not written on the lines of those of the Europeans. Hence the statement that the lack of history argues the want of a national character connot be applicable to the Hindus. They have a history entirely conformable to their national character, although there is no mention of dates.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Bombay

The veritable deadlock produced in the conduct of our Dhulia Conference affords an object-lesson to those well-meaning patriots who preach the gospel of unity in Congress affairs at any price. It would be idle to deny that radical differences of ideals, principles and methods have unperceptably evolved between the political schools who are now claiming ascendancy in the councils of the nation. Bold and visionary, indeed, must be the man who would still endeavour to reconcile these conflicting forces of thought and action. Such an attempt was made by the Reception Committee of the Dhulia Conference. They began with an honest endeavour to hold the scales even between the two political parties, by framing a programme of non-contentious character, selecting a chairman in the Hon. Mr. Khare, and by fixing a date which struck the mean between the periods proposed by the contending parties. Soon the scales began to lean on one side and the nationalist wire-pullers were briskly at work, and the Committee began to play the game of dragging the Moderate Party the whole length of Extremism. The programme of resolutions published recently includes resolutions entirely coinciding with the attitude Mr. Tilak and his party intended to press upon the Congress at Surat last Christmas. The cat was out of the bag. The Bombay Presidency Association was not slow to perceive the game, and took precaution in time refusing to elect delegates to the Conference. Guzerat has taken the cue and Sind follows suit. The result is that the Provincial Conference will be reduced to the narrow proportions of only a district Conference confined to the Deccan, which is notorious for its Extremism in politics. Such is the *impasse* to which events have drifted by following the shibboleth of unity and concord.

The appointment of Mr. Basil Scott as the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court has taken none by surprise. Our Chief Justice. Those who had the advantage of watching the career of Mr. Scott at the bar have long felt that he would grace the Bench with eminent fitness. A sound knowledge of law, quick comprehension, equitable temper, genuine courtesy, sweet amiableness, a sincere desire to dig deep to the bottom in quest

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of truth—these qualities which proclaimed him as an excellent puisne-Judge will now shine to greater advantage as head of the Judiciary. There are those amongst us who believe that an entire stranger hailing from England would have been a more desirable selection, bringing, as he would do, new traditions and ideas making for progress all round, while, one nurtured in the system which he is now called upon to work, would keep matters stationary, owing to the influence of the dull edge of routine. There are dangers in either view and, for our part, we prefer to wait and see how the leader of the Bar conducts the judicial administration as its responsible head.

The rapid growth of commerce and industry has converted the city of Bombay from a small fishing village into the "urbs prima in Indis." For some years now, Expansion of Bom-
bay.

it is keenly felt that a further expansion is absolutely needed in order to provide the large influx of outside population which necessarily follows in the wake of commerce. The problem of housing the poor is a vexed question that has troubled the Municipality as well as the Improvement Trust. The unsystematic manner in which the latter body has, commenced its operations has only intensified the congestion and house-rents have been nearly doubled. The natural process of expansion in the suburbs has begun, only helped by the epidemic of plague which has increasingly accustomed the middle classes to suburban life. Bodies like the Municipality and the Improvement Trusts are now stimulated by the Government, presided by such an energetic head as H. E. Sir G. S. Clarke, into undertaking large plans for a larger expansion. The municipal limits of the city are proposed to be extended by five to six miles all round. The Mahim Woods and the Colaba strip and Trombay suburb will soon be brought under habitation and we may soon see the city of Bombay spreading over twice the superficial area which it now occupies, and containing much larger population than hitherto.

The High Court sessions are over. It was a very peculiar Parsi Trusts Case sessions this term. The appellate side was under-manned owing to the absence of Sir L. Jenkins, due to an accidental fall and resignation, and of Mr. Justice Chanderwarker, who has been laid up for some time now. The original side was fully working, but was practically monopolised by two monumental cases which occupied three Judges for nearly the whole term. It is now two months since what is known as the Parsi Trusts Case was commenced before a bench of two Judges,

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Justices Davar and Beaman by consent of parties. The entire Parsi community is intensely agitated over this case and almost every leading family is fighting either on one side or the other. It is an endeavour on the part of some families of a progressive views to put the large funds of the community on a proper basis. The main issue is however one of larger interest. A few years ago, Mr. R. D. Tata married a French lady while he was residing in France. Mrs. Tata embraced Zoroastrianism and otherwise conformed to all the customs of the Parsi faith. The trustees of the Panchayat Funds, who are still mostly of an orthodox turn of mind, prevented them from entering the fire temples and the Towers of Silence, where the worship and burial of the members of the community is performed. The question whether the Parsi religion admitted of conversion from another religion was discussed threadbare in the light of ancient learning and the verdict of the scriptures was in favour of admitting converts into the Parsi fold. The present suit is a further attempt to obtain the sanction of the law-courts in favour of the same view, thus throwing open the "atash beprams" and "dakhmas" to fresh converts. The case is still *sub-judice*; whatever the decision of the court on this important question may be it cannot be denied that the community has allowed non-parsees to be in-corporated into the community without let or hindrance. A small race like that of the Parsees, living for centuries in the midst of a heterogenous population, ubiquitous and adaptable to environments, could not have remained pure and unalloyed. It is now too late in the day, whatever may be its necessity or desirability, to stem the tide of advancing civilisation, by preventing the intermixture of foreign blood. The other suit relates to the large estate of H. H. The Aga Khan, and incidentally the history of the particular sect of Mahomedanism which he represents is brought out in all its interesting details.

The Temperance Crusade Poona is the mother of activity. Its latest sensation is the picketting by volunteers to prevent the customers from entering liquor-shops. The temperance movement has off and on memorialised the Government to shape its abkari policy in such a way as to discourage drink. The impression made upon the Government by these representations has been so little that it is often suspected, that the State does encourage the evil to swell its revenues. Since the Swadeshi movement, the preachers have combined temperance with their propaganda, and their persuasion with the people had so much effect that in some of the districts of the Deccan the evil is

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considerably diminished. The latest development is the regular crusade undertaken by leading gentlemen, helped by way man, who station themselves throughout the day near each liquor-shop and successfully prevent the poor people from the temptation. Some scuffles ensued in the streets and the police have taken the question in hand. A deputation consisting of Mr. Tilak, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and others including an European missionary waited upon the collector, to show that the conduct of the volunteers was quite legitimate. Meanwhile, a series of prosecutions have been started. One cannot say, where it will end. Let us hope, the authorities will be cautious and circumspect and prevent the repetitions of scenes witnessed in Tinnevelly recently.

D. G. D.

BENGAL

Last month the Calcutta University celebrated its Jubilee with great eclat. In the Convocation, which was the first of the functions of the Jubilee, honorary titles were conferred upon persons about the merits of most of whom there is no doubt. It is interesting to note however that Dr. J. C. Bose and Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh do not come in for any appreciation by the University which ought to look upon these gentlemen as some of its greatest *alumni*. And Sir Andrew Fraser, who has so far very successfully concealed any academic predilections whatsoever, has been decorated with a degree which the University does not possess, viz. the degree of Doctor of Literature. These are some of the diverting aspects of the function. For the rest it can be safely said that some of the recipients of the degrees were worthy of all that they got and a great deal more and others were men of whom, like Sydney Smith's Equator, you must not speak disrespectfully.

Some very good things were said by Mrs. Besant in a lecture at Calcutta while elaborating her project of a National University, and though the principles laid down by Mrs. Besant were very sound, the ideal set by her seems very hard to realise. At any rate, Mrs. Besant's speech was very highly appreciated and it certainly deserves the serious consideration of all men interested in the education of our fellow-men. The only solution of our educational problem lies in placing education under national control and with proper regard to the requirements of the nation which our own people are likely to know best. If this is

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conceded, Mrs. Besant's proposal is just the one that would seem to bear the richest promise of success. If Mrs. Besant can receive an unconditional charter from the King, of which she seems to be confident, and if the education is placed in the hands of those of our people who are best able to advise on it, we may expect all the benefits that may arise from institutions of the type of the National Council of Education in Calcutta while its success will be ensured by the Royal Charter granting sanction to its titles. In this view of the matter I accord cordial sympathy to Mrs. Besant's scheme.

Speaking of a national system of education, I am happy to refer to the last annual Convocation of the Bengal Council.
National Council of Education From the reports published it would appear that the college of the Council has been progressing very favourably and in the sphere of higher education it has put in a large amount of very creditable work. There seems to be no lack of ideas about education in the Council but it is handicapped by want of funds. There have been some very handsome donations made to it in the course of the last year but to cope with its expanding work a great deal more is necessary. In this connection I may point out to the authorities the suggestions with reference to the higher education and independent research made in the *Indian World* some time ago by Mr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta. It is much to be desired also that the Council should devote greater attention to the work of primary education—a sphere which is fully within the scope of the Council. The paucity of funds certainly stands in the way but, let us hope, a little more of active exertion to make up this difficulty would remove this complaint.

One need not be frantic over the prospects of immediate *swaraj* to congratulate Babu Bepin Chandra Pal on his release, which occasion was celebrated early last month with great rejoicings in many parts of Bengal. Babu Bepin Chandra is one of the few of our whole hearted, patriotic workers and no one doubts, whatever his politics is, that his notions are inspired by absolutely pure motives. No one can but rejoice that such a man is free once again to work for the country's cause according to his own lights. I therefore sincerely congratulate him on his release. He was convicted by the Court for contempt, and even if the offence was technically committed, the Magistrate's sentence on him, considering the explanation he gave, was much too severe. It showed an amount of vindictiveness which could not but rouse sympathy for the victim, even in those who did not view Bepin Babu's act eye to eye with

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him and it was this vindictiveness, no less than the personal esteem for the man, that was responsible for the tremendous ovation that this patriot received on his arrival at Calcutta. Bepin Babu must be understood not to have suffered for doing any acts for the good of the country. It is not suggested that his evidence would have incriminated Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh. But he stood upon a conscientious scruple, and the judiciary, as the hand-maid of the Executive, wreaked its vengeance on him by sentencing him to an absurdly long period of imprisonment. It was this that put up the back of people and though it was not for his acts of public good (of which many are to his credit) that he suffered, the people grew demonstrative in their respect for the suffering patriot.

A case to which more than usual interest attaches and round which a large amount of feeling was roused up has The Railway Assault Case had the finishing stroke given to its first stage by the High Court. The accused is an old gentleman of sixty who is a pleader in northern Bengal. The story for the prosecution is that this man got into a first-class carriage in which two European gentlemen were sleeping and it is alleged that he was on the point of dealing a blow with a *kukri* to one of the gentlemen when he was laid upon and tied up by the two, brought down to Calcutta and handed over to the police. The accused admits jumping up into the carriage as the train was moving. So soon as he was in, the shahibs asked him who he was and he explained that he was an intermediate class passenger and had got into the wrong carriage and would get down at the next station. At this the shahibs—two stalwart young men—made for him, and, fearing to be thrown out, the old man picked up a *kukri* which lay in the carriage and defended himself. Very soon however the Shahibs got the upper hand and he was tied up. In considering this case, we have to take into account the heaps of cock and bull stories about railway assaults started by the *Englishman*, which may have had a great deal to do with upsetting the nerves of the *Shahibs* when they saw a black man in the carriage and that misapprehension was obviously the only explanation of the whole affair. One would expect that so soon as the real nature of the case was understood it would be made up. But on the contrary not only were the complainants vindictive enough, but the government took up the case, took the trouble to engage an eminent Counsel to conduct it at Bogra and went so far as to oppose the application to transfer the case to a jury district. What we ask is, why should the Government be taking such a lot of interest in the matter? Perhaps,

the attitude of the *Englishman* might explain it. That journal tried to make capital out of the first information by connecting the *Swadeshi* agitators with this case and *ergo*, with every case of train robbery and murder. That theory gave the case a political colouring and that character still sticks to the case. In his trial before the Sessions Judge of Bogra, the accused was found not guilty by both the assessors but the Judge disagreed and convicted the accused. The barbarous sentence of five years' rigorous imprisonment was passed on this old man of sixty. The High Court has set aside this conviction and sentence, and ordered a retrial before the Sessions Judge of 24 Pergunnahs. Mr. Gregory, Counsel for the Crown, while admitting the irregularity of the procedure opposed the transfer under instructions from the government on the ground that 24 Pergunnahs was a jury district. The attitude of Counsel for the Crown which no doubt represents that of the Government of E. B. and A. is most reprehensible. Why should the Government be so anxious to secure the conviction of a man who has dealt some slight blows to two Europeans? Is it not because, as Mr. Gregory was always insisting, that it is a case of White *vs* Black? Mr. Gregory's addresses too clearly betray what has been passing in the mind of the Government. Meanwhile people are anxiously waiting for the issue of the trial before the Sessions Judge of Alipur.

The decision of the Convention Committee at Allahabad has not been taken in good part by the people of Bengal. It was certainly to be expected that the extremists would be ablaze at this decision and Babus Bepin Chandra Pal and Arabindo Ghose have already come out with open and specific threats of violence. "The Nationalists would enter the Congress by force and instead of one shoe thousands of shoes would be flung." This is the language which the great and 'the only patriot' Mr. Pal, is reported to have used. Comment is superfluous. But what strikes me as the most painful fact is that the Bengal Conventionists should be showing a short-sighted dissatisfaction with the decision of the Convention. Even veiled threats of secession are held out from quarters which ought to be more responsible. To these I commend the words of Mr. Pal for careful consideration. Personally I should have very much liked to see a practicable compromise arrived at. But without such a compromise and without any assurance or undertaking from the other side, I confess I do not see much wisdom in the proposal to resummon the

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adjourned Congress of Surat. That is to open the path to sure bloodshed of the most aggravating type. Now, in view of the fact that no proposals worth entertaining were received from the other party and no understanding could be arrived at with them, the course that the Convention took would seem to be the only possible one to take. But supposing that it was not wise, would Bengal Conventionists further any cause except that of personal vanity or personal malice by breaking off with their friends all over the country? Will they permit it to be said of them that they have not discipline enough to submit to the decision of the majority? And must they be credited with the shortsightedness not to feel that the only course open to them on seceding would be to join hands with men with whom, if past experience has any lessons, any co-operation is impossible and who, as Mr. Pal's speech amply shows, are not only prepared to willingly sacrifice all interests at the altar of personal vanity but when they disapprove of anything in public life cannot even restrain themselves to the language of the commonest prudence and gentlemanliness? I am unwilling to conceive that these gentlemen are so lily-livered as to be taken aback by threats like those of Mr. Pal. I am unwilling to believe that they consider that any real national interests would suffer by the decision of the Convention. If that is so there is no reason why in this case the leaders of the Convention should yield before the clamour of an unthinking people. If ever there was an occasion for real leadership, that occasion has arrived and I should entreat our leaders to stand firm, and bring round the people but in any case not to yield to clamour. Any step that they now take will have most important consequences on the future of Indian nationality.

The Telegraph Department has passed through a great crisis which gave some anxious moments to business men and the Government. Most of the men in the Telegraph offices in Calcutta acting in concert with the men of other Indian stations struck work as a protest against the new rules of work. The whole Department was paralysed and it was only because the strike was long a-coming that the Telegraph office could stand the strike at all. The strike has, however, been concluded by the Government of India promising enquiry and the men apologising and joining. But how far the grievances of the men will be redressed is yet unknown.

Geschnichtmacher

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Calcutta Review

The April Number of this Review opens as usual with some editorial notes on *The Quarter* just closed. These notes dwell upon (1) the Famine, (2) the Budget, (3) the Civil Procedure Code, (4) Calcutta University, (5) the Zakka Khel Expedition and (6) some changes in the Administration. Mr. Kiran Nath Dhur writes at some length on *Old Calcutta*. The article on *The Hindu Caste System* by Mr. Kanjilal betrays the skilful pen of one who knows his subject. It is sickening to note that Mr. S. C. Sanial's huge collection of official letters are still being published under the heading of the *History of Journalism in India* and occupies as many as 54 pages in the number under notice and is yet to be continued. An outline of Prof. Yogesa Chandra Sastri's able paper entitled *History as Conceived by the Ancient Hindu and other Nations* will be found elsewhere in these pages. A report of the proceedings of the Jubilee Convocation of our University is preceded by a learned paper on *Law as a Study and a Profession*.

Journal of the Moslem Institute

The above Review for the quarter ending March, 1908, has been lying on our table for sometime past but we regret very much to have to note that most of the articles published in it have no direct bearing upon matters Indian. Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, however, asserts on the authority of the Rigveda at the very outset of the opening article that "the Hindus of Ancient India were the first who had a right conception of the Supreme Being." Maulvie Atai Elahi quotes Malthus to show that fresh air, fresh water and plenty of edibles are the necessary conditions for the growth of population. "Eastern Bengal is interspersed with mighty rivers, and alluvial lands are being formed every year on account of the periodical overflowing of the rivers and their diluvion." The Mussalman peasants depending entirely on agriculture emigrate to these *chur* lands where they get fresh air, fresh water and plenty of edibles. To this fact is due what the writer puts as the heading of his article, *The Rapid Growth of Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal*.

The Hindustan Review

Mr. J. N. Farquhar of the London Mission delivered a lecture at Bangalore on the 7th November, 1907, on the trite subject of *The Influence of India on Japan*. This is reproduced as an article by our Allahabad contemporary and is given the place of honour in its April number. Mr. S. Z. Ali follows with a suggestive paper dilating upon *The Need for an all-India Social Hague*. Prof. Shorab R. Davar takes up the next six pages for a common-place discussion of *The Commercial and Industrial Regeneration of India*. We regret Mr. Kailas Chandra Kanjilal's article on *Akbar and his Policy* does very scant justice to a very ambitious subject. The interesting account of Prof. J. Nelson Fraser's travels in *Madras and Burma* is summarised elsewhere. Mr. T. S. Ramasastri has a nice little paper on *The Future of Dress in India*. The Editorial Notes on the *Topics of the Day* deal ably among other things with the proceedings of the Pubna and Bankipur Conferences as well as the riots at Tinnevelly and Tuticorin.

The Malabar Quarterly Review

Mr. G. Raman Menon opens the March Number of the above quarterly Review with an expression of his views on *Religion and Morality*. Mr. T. Lakshmana Piilai contributes the second instalment of his serial paper on *Travancore Music*. Mr. T. S. Ramasastri's graphic account of *Our Women* is dealt with at length elsewhere. *The Sacred Kural of Tiruvalluvar Nayana* by Mr. Frederic Pincott is followed by *The Story of a Recent Cult* which is an account, given by Mr. Paul Daniel, of the origin and progress of the religion of Muthukutti in Travancore. Among other papers of interest in the number under review the article on *The Arts and Industries of Travancore* by Mr. V. Nagamaiya deserves special notice. In the course of the editorial note on *India's Objective*, Mr. Sivarajan refers to the much-heard of remark that the Indians are not fit for self-government, because their ranks are divided into innumerable cells of caste and creed, and observes in reply that 'self-government has no causal *nexus* with the homogeneity or heterogeneity of a population.'

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH 1908

Date

1. Telegraph troubles in Calcutta.
2. The Indian Army question is discussed in the House of Commons.
5. Count Okuma states at Tokio that Japan must seek access to Indian markets for redressing the balance of trade.
6. A serious looting by Afridis takes place during *Jirga* at Peshwar.
7. The Government Treasury at Delhi and the Bank of Bonbay are robbed.
9. The Begum of Bahawalpore contributes Rs. 50,000 towards the construction of a new building in Lucknow in connection with Arabic education.
10. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea addresses a vast *Swadeshi* meeting at Ranchi.
11. H. E. Sir Arthur Lawley distributes prizes in connection with the All-India Weaving Competition. The entire Indian section of workmen of the Royal Marine Dockyard goes out on strike.
12. Mr. Morley states in the Commons that the Indian Budget would be presented in Parliament early in May.
A destructive fire breaks out in the Henzada district of Burma.
13. Serious riots take place at Tinnevelly and Tuticorin.
The Civil Procedure Code Bill is passed into Law at a meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council.
14. The Jubilee Convocation of the Calcutta University takes place at the Calcutta Senate House.
17. A Public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta, convened by the Sheriff, is held at the Town Hall, under the presidency of H. E. Lord Minto, to organise a Famine Relief Fund.
18. The subject of leave for Indian Governors is discussed at length in the House of Lords.
19. In the House of Commons, Sir H. Cotton with Messrs Hart Davies, Haldane and Rees takes part in a heated debate over the Army in India.
20. The Canadian Labour Agent points out to Lord Elgin and Mr. Morley that the wholesale emigration of Indians is largely due to private agencies.
21. The Hon'ble Mr. Oldham presents the Bengal Budget in a meeting of the Legislative Council at Calcutta.
22. Plague and famine are reported from several parts of the Punjab.
23. Indians in Canada send telegraphic protests to Mr. Morley against their deportation and exclusion.
24. A large number of respectable gentlemen are arrested at Tinnevelly in connection with the recent riots there.
25. The E. B. and Assam Budget is presented in a meeting of the Legislative Council at Dacca.
27. The Indian Budget is discussed in the Supreme Legislative Council.
28. The whole of the Telegraph peons in Bombay strike work.
29. A severe shock of earthquake occurs at Rangoon.
30. A serious fighting takes place between the Mahomedans and Chinese shop-keepers at Rangoon.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

**Mr. SURENDRA
NATH BANER-
JEA AND THE
CONVENTION**

"The Congress is dead : long live the Congress." These were the first public words uttered, after the disruption of the last Congress, by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bengal's greatest patriot and the maker of New India. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea is perhaps the one patriot in India who, by his unexampled devotion to the public cause and by his love for the motherland, has done more to bring the Indian National Congress into existence than any other Indian now living. For Mr. Banerjea now to appear in the role of a provincial patriot and give up a wide and common Indian platform is perhaps one of the gravest situations that our generation has ever been confronted with.

For several days Mr. Banerjea has sounded the note of alarm in the *Bengalee* (for we take its editorial leaders to reflect the opinions of Mr. Banerjea alone) that, if the Indian Convention Committee does not resummon the adjourned 23rd Congress, Bengal may be obliged to hold aloof from the organisation which the Convention Committee may arrange in its place. Mr. Banerjea seems to think that he and his compatriots can only join the adjourned Congress of Surat, and that any new session of the Congress or of a new assembly will be only a sectarian movement, and, as such, shall fail to command the confidence and esteem of the educated community in India. This appears to us to be anything but the right view of the situation.

Unfortunately, party spirit is running so high amongst us and the moderates and the extremists have travelled so far away from each other, both in their aims and objects and methods of work, that to think of a reconciliation or of a united platform just at this time looks ridiculously absurd. However strenuously Mr. Banerjea may advocate the cause of a reunited platform, he must know as a sound politician that the doctrines of political life that he subscribes to differ in *toto* from the principles of life enunciated and pursued by Messrs Arabinda Ghose, Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Chidambaran Pillai and Friends. Nor is it unknown to Mr. Banerjea that the so-called Nationalist Party has not much faith in him or in his methods of work to warrant the continuance of a mutual coalescence for any length of time. If there had not been so wide a gulf of difference between what is called the 'Nationalist faith' and the principles of an average

Congressman, if personal bitterness and private antipathy had not reached the acute stage we now find ourselves in, if private ambition had not in some cases got the better of patriotic impulses and politics had not degenerated into vulgar personal abuse and ungenerous recrimination,—things could have been mended and a compromise arrived at. It is, however, too early in the day to think of a compromise with the wounds gaping wide on each side and the combatants still anxious to fly at each other's throats. If the time should ever come when each side would forget its wounds and sores, its bitternesses and antipathies, and accept a reasonable basis of work and reasonable rules of procedure and order, a united Congress would then of course be possible. But the time is not yet, and it looks that it is not even within the range of another half a dozen of years.

The more one looks deeply into the present condition of things in India, particularly in the Deccan and Bengal, the more hopeless one becomes of seeing in the near future any joint platform for political work in India. In Bengal, some of the best of the lot of the so-called Nationalist patriots have gone so far in the way of recrimination that they have openly threatened the 'flinging of thousand shoes' if things will not be done in their way in the next Congress. In the Deccan, some of their ilk have warned the public against rivers of blood being flown if Mr. Tilak's ways are not approved. Under these circumstances, Mr. Banerjea must be considered to be a very bold patriot to ask his colleagues in the Convention to face the risks of a disturbed Congress and the violence of an angry mob. No public man has the right to invite or create a situation in which there is at least some chance of the breaking of human heads and limbs. No public man has the right to ask his countrymen to take the consequences of the disruption by violence of another session of the Congress.

Now we shall discuss Mr. Banerjea's position as regards the decision of the Convention on the subject of the next meeting of the Congress. It is now no longer a secret that the Convention Committee had three definite proposals put before it by Messrs A. Chaudhuri, Deep Narain Singh and Daji Abaji Khare. Mr. A. Chaudhuri's proposal consisted in re-summoning the adjourned Congress in the name of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. To this motion Mr. Deep Narain proposed an amendment which nearly ran to the following effect: "That Dr. Rash Behari Ghose be requested to resummon the adjourned Congress and such delegates be invited to attend it as will signify their acceptance in writing of the aims

and objects of the Congress as formulated in the new constitution." Mr. Daji Abaji Khare came forward with an amendment which requested the President to arrange for a new session of the Congress in consultation with the provincial committees of the Convention and in accordance with the new Constitution. The President of the Convention Committee, after allowing a very lengthy discussion on the subject, put Mr. Deep Narain's amendment to the vote first, and, most curiously, all the Bengal members of the Committee with one exception voted solidly for it. But it was lost by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Deep Narain's amendment having been lost, Mr. Khare's amendment was then put to the vote and had the support of 33 members and was declared duly carried. Consequently Mr. Chaudhuri's substantive proposition did not even have the opportunity of being put to the vote, thanks to the supporters of Messrs. Khare and Deep Narain's amendments. Now, we beg to ask Mr. Banerjea if he considers Mr. Deep Narain's amendment running on all fours with the spirit of the Pubna Conference or in consonance with the general wishes of the people of Bengal? Mr. Banerjea can have no doubts as to the substantial difference between Mr. A. Chaudhuri's proposition and Mr. Deep Narain's amendment, and his voting for the latter makes his whole position in the matter impossible and untenable. We can quite appreciate the position taken up by Mr. A. Chaudhuri when he proposed Dr. Ghose to resummon the adjourned Congress *without* any conditions. But we can not appreciate the vote of Mr. Banerjea for Mr. Deep Narain's amendment which distinctly proposed to resummon the Congress with such delegates as would signify in writing their acceptance of the aims and methods of the Congress as formulated by the Convention. Why should Mr. Banerjea impose a new condition upon the delegates of the twenty-third session of the Congress and why should those delegates submit themselves to the condition imposed upon them by such a body as the Convention is more than we can understand. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Deep Narain's amendment, however reasonable it may have been, did not run on the lines or on the spirit of the resolution of the Pubna Conference, and as such it must be regarded as a new proposition which Bengal had not previously discussed or decided upon. Bengal, as we can feel the pulse of her people, can no more accept Mr. Deep Narain's amendment than it can Mr. Khare's. Nor, having taken up the cause of a united Congress, was it very proper or constitutional or fair for Mr. Banerjea to try to impose

upon the Congress a constitution that was passed from outside. It is easy to understand Mr. Chaudhuri's position and Mr. Khare's, for both of them are logical and brave a gloomy situation. But we do not see much rhyme or logic in resummoning the 23rd Congress with its delegates subscribing to new conditions, no matter what these conditions are. Does Mr. Banerjea think that the simple resummoning of the twenty-third Congress is all that is worth fighting for and will meet with the wishes of all such patriots in the country who now condemn the Convention? Does he seem to think that the delegates who attended at Surat would submit to his wishes and come to the next adjourned session of the Congress after subscribing to the principles which he prescribes for it in an independent Committee? People of Bengal may go a long way with Mr. Banerjea but we are afraid will not go the whole hog with him. So Mr. Banerjea's position must be given up as hopeless and impracticable. It appears to us that, under the circumstances, Mr. Khare's amendment, which practically proposes to begin writing on a clean slate and commence proceedings *de novo*, was the most practicable and prudent one, and the Convention did well by accepting it by a large majority. We hope and trust Mr. Banerjea will bow down to the decision of the majority of the Convention and make public life possible in India.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea is under the impression that, as a true and faithful representative of the people, his duty is only to loyally act up to their wishes and reflect their opinions when necessary. We submit that Mr. Banerjea's function in public life is not only to prove a representative, but also a leader, of the people. He should not only represent the views of his countrymen but also lead them into right path and guide them when necessary. If things go wrong or the people misunderstand or misconstrue a thing, it is the function of a leader to set matters right. While we are anxious to give Mr. Banerjea credit for trying to be a faithful representative of the people, we are sorry to find him disinclined to give them a lead when they so badly want it. Instead of disparaging the decision of the Convention Committee, Mr. Banerjea should come forward to set the Convention right with the people of Bengal, to tell them why so many stalwart champions of the Congress thought the resummoning of its 23rd session a most risky step, and to explain to them that there is nothing unreasonable or exclusive in the principles and drift of the new Constitution of the Congress. If Mr. Banerjea would only use his powerful tongue and pen to popularise the principles accepted by the Convention and the

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methods of work it has decided to follow, and disabuse the public mind of Bengal of the false impressions that have been created by designing and malicious people about the objects and intentions of the Convention, he will not take a long time in bringing all right-thinking men in the country under the standard of the Convention. If, however, Mr. Banerjea secedes from the Convention, not only will he take up a most illogical position but will break up United India which he has, for the best part of his life, done so much to foster and develop. We hope Mr. Banerjea will permit us to remind him of the Irish dissensions and of the splintering of the force of Irish opinion into a thousand atoms. Mr. Banerjea at present occupies a position in India which Mr. Parnell used to do in the Irish Party in the eighties of the last century, and we hope the constitutional party in India will not be broken up as hopelessly by him as was the Irish Party broken up by Mr. Parnell at a meeting of the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament in Committee Room No. 15 in November, 1900.

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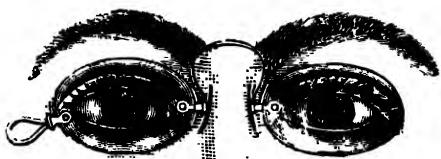
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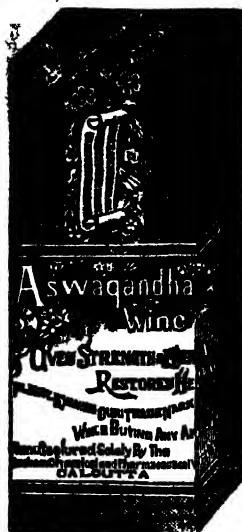
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Vol. VII

May—1908

No. 38

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VII]

MAY, 1908

[No. 38

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Who can love India and not be concerned about the present development of the national movement and its consequences? I do not speak of its political but of its moral aspect, not of where we are to day, but where we shall be tomorrow. The India of the coming generation, of those who are now young men,—that is what troubles my mind. It is a deep sense of our responsibility to these young men and the country whose leaders they shall be, and a growing consciousness that this duty must be common to all earnest religious men, that leads me to speak.

Let us look at the facts of the case; let us try to find the underlying laws and, in applying these, see what conclusion we may reach.

THE FACTS OF THE CASE

(1) We all rejoice in the national movement; it signifies so distinctly the beginning of a new day for India; the awakening of the individual and national self-consciousness, the throwing off of hopeless resignation, the energy and hopefulness, the willingness to serve and to sacrifice which it has already shown, are all promising signs of still greater things to come. Yet it must be admitted with deep regret that one of the most outstanding facts of the movement is its complete lack of any religious principle. We need not stop to discuss why and how this has come to be; the British Government, the National Congress, the Western education, the present leaders may each have to bear their part of the blame; the fact remains. We all feel it especially in our dealings with the young men; many of India's best sons feel themselves estranged from the movement by the fact, and the consequences fill our hearts with anxious forebodings for the time to come.

(2) Together with this religious indifference, we find a distinctly growing lack of discipline in Colleges and Schools, which is

THE INDIAN WORLD

most threatening from a pedagogical point of view and indirectly or directly is connected with a tendency to disturbances of public peace and order, political or otherwise.

(3) The movement is not altogether without religious connection. On the positive side we notice the strong preference and predominance given to the old national religion, its heroes and customs, very clearly expressed in such events as the taking of the Swadeshi vow at Kalighat, the funeral of the late Brahmapur Upadhyaya, the ceremonies at Bepin Chandra Pal's procession, etc. All this is no doubt perfectly sincere on the part of many of the followers, unthinking and undeveloped minds, but it can hardly be recommended on the part of the educated leaders who thus submit their personal convictions to political opportunism.

The same must be said about the negative expression, the un-called-for opposition to Christianity as a foreign religion on the sole basis of hatred to all that is British, a principle in itself neither noble nor fruitful.

(4) We further find that the all-absorbing political agitation seems to have thrown the interest in social and moral reform in the back-ground. Not that the national movement is opposed to these efforts, but in their enthusiasm the leaders do not seem to need them and rather appeal to and seek their support from the traditional conservatism and its defenders.

It is not a continuation or natural growth of the national movement of the last century which began with Ram Mohan Roy and was marked by names as Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and others. With this distinctly progressive and spiritual movement the present one has little or nothing to do ; and while much interest is shewn in national education and industrial training for the educated classes, little is said and less done to spread the light of knowledge and morality among the masses, to make them share the benefits of the progress.

These are, however, not all the facts ; there are others not directly connected with the national movement, but concomitant with it and of significance for its true valuation.

(5) In a recent public lecture in Calcutta, Mrs. Annie Besant claimed for the Theosophical Society the honour of having aroused and fostered the national consciousness of the last ten years. This assertion may be disputed ; it is, to say the least, somewhat exaggerated ; nevertheless the rapid growth of this organization during this period and its increasing influence among the educated classes

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

in all parts of the country is a noteworthy fact, and there is no doubt that it will make itself still more felt in the future. Mrs. Besant's personal leadership, inaugurated by the establishment of the new order of service, evidently means the utilizing of the society in the interest of definite social reform.

(6) Another fact is the undisputed change that has taken place in the conception of God, generally accepted by the educated men now-a-days. It was said the other day by a man of many years' experience that it was hardly possible to find any bonafide idolater among the educated classes in our days ; this may be to say too much, but no one will deny the tendency to spiritualize and symbolise the old conceptions and presentations of religious truth ; a single fact like Babu Norendra Nath Sen's opening prayer at the National Congress in Calcutta a year ago is in itself an indication of the change privately acknowledged by most, publicly confessed by few.

(7) While the efforts of reformed Hinduism to find a modernised expression for the old faith seem to be less vigorous than ten years ago, the formation and activity of the *Sri Bharata Muhadharma Mandal*, the enormous attendance at the *Kumbha Mela* at Allahabad a few years ago, and on a smaller scale of the *Ardhodaya Yoga* in Calcutta this year, clearly show that religion has not died out among us, and looked upon as reactionary movements, they at least indicate that the progressive action has reached a point where the irritation is sufficient to produce a reaction.

(8) In this connection it is well not to overlook the growing tendency towards independence, self-propagating and self-supporting activity among the Indian Christians that has found expression in many ways during the same ten years, and latterly in the formation of the National Missionary Society. A parallel movement may also be found in the Ram Krishna Mission, the collections to the famine stricken districts last year, the splendid help the national volunteers rendered at the *Ardhodaya Yoga* and several other similar expressions of public spirit.

We have then two parallel lines of facts. Is there any connection between them, and if so, what is their mutual relation ? We come here to the theological problem.

THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

This is truly a theological problem, as it deals with religious life in one of its most important aspects. But it belongs perhaps to the theology of the future rather than of the present. Theology is constantly changing, not in substance but in form, influenced by, and suited to, the needs of the changing times. This is true of

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Christian as of all other theology ; in India as elsewhere theology must follow the current of the times and adopt the experimental method, studying the facts under our observation to find the underlying laws and working forces. Necessarily this gives more prominence to the religious life in its individual and social manifestation than to philosophical speculation, but it does not mean and must not mean that the objective side of all religious life, the divine revelation on which it is based, should therefore be neglected or denied. There may be a dangerous tendency in that direction against which we have to guard, but this must not prevent us from making the best use of the new development.

The study of psychology, which has often been abused to deny the existence of supernatural religion altogether, is now gradually leading to a recognition of religious psychology as a special department with its own laws and processes, and also to a scientific acknowledgment of the fact that in this sphere we have to do with spiritual forces of whose ultimate origin and power science as yet has no means to judge. Further than this, the acknowledgment of the limit of religious thought, we cannot expect science to go, not even theological science. For the religious interest it is, however, sufficient, in that it opens the door for the recognition of the divine revelation as a real fact, which to the believer is the foundation and source of religious life, while the experimental science only explains its working and laws.

What has been experienced in the sphere of psychology will, we may be sure, also be found true when the theological studies are carried into the sociological sphere. As we have come to look upon the connection of sciences now-a-days from the standpoint of universal evolution, we understand that science must follow nature in its development from the lower to the higher. Biology, psychology, sociology are only different stages of the same evolution following the same laws, only modified by the simpler or more complex forms of organized life. When we look upon social life, not as a chance result of conflicting individual wills, nor as the materialistic product of unchangeable forces and laws, but as a living organism with its own inherent purpose and vital principle by which it is actuated and controlled, theology at once gets an interest in it. Corresponding to the principle of physical life in biology, and in psychology the principle of self-consciousness in its mysterious connection with the unseen forces of the spiritual world, we shall expect to find a similar principle in the social realm no less real, no less important. This is the religious element in social life.

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Theology has too long been exclusively occupied with the individual and his religious life ; it has perhaps been an inevitable consequence of the individualistic evolution of the last four or five centuries ; now the current has changed, and we have come to see that society is above the individual, that a social life is a higher organism than individual life. This is true also in religion, and will have to be recognised by theology. We may have to readjust many of our conceptions to bring our views of the individual into right proportion to the whole structure of life ; we may have to apply a new, at least a modified, standard to our valuation of human life and its meaning. This will, however, lead us too far ; we have here only to do with the relation between the religious and the social evolution of the race.

It has at times appeared as if the interests of religion and social progress were opposed to each other. In last century's fierce struggle in the West, the progressive social parties have often denounced the church as their worst enemy because of its conservative alliances, while earnest religious men have been led to oppose social reforms, because their spokesmen also represented anti-religious views. We find similar constellations in India to-day. Here, as there, the opposition is but apparent, due to outward causes, not an inherent contrast between the two movements. They develop on parallel lines ; they often seem to compete for the first place but in themselves they are not opposed but indispensable to each other. Religion demands and stimulates social evolution ; social evolution without religion leads to degeneration.

One of the points brought out strongly by modern science of religion, especially in its comparative researches, is the prominent part which social structure plays in religious life. Within their own sphere the ecclesiastical systems do not only reflect the influence of the secular environment though this has always been strong, but also, and not less markedly, the divergent religious principles on which the committees have been based. From the low forms where the individual priests and prophets apparently only are bound by the unwritten law of tradition, through the hereditary family priesthood, to the full organized system of hierarchy we find an ascending evolution and, in almost parallel proportion with this, an increasing influence on the structure and efficiency of the social organism of which it forms a part. The form of ecclesiastical system and the religious influence on the surrounding social life can, I believe, be traced back to the form of man's conception of God and of the final purpose of human life.

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I have neither time nor knowledge to prove in detail what may seem to some a mere assertion ; I must be content with indicating a few points.

All social life is based on authority, the recognition of some outside power, sufficiently strong to counteract the inevitable tendency of the individual to seek his own interest and pleasure at the cost of the community. This authority may be represented by doctrines or persons, by written laws or unwritten customs, in most cases by all or several of these. But in all cases there will be found at its basis a religious belief giving a supernatural and ultra-rational sanction to such conduct as is indispensable for securing the preservation and enforcement of the social interest at the cost of the individual. The vitality, the living efficiency of the social organism to successfully resist the destructive forces from outside and the decaying forces from inside, depends on the strength and character of this ultra-rational authority. It may be connected with the most varying doctrines and ceremonies, but it invariably brings man's social conduct in direct relation to man's future destiny, subordinating the temporal interests to the eternal. In the earlier forms of human society social and religious organisms are identical ; it is only in the higher forms that they can be distinguished and their mutual relations defined. What does History teach us about the four main religions and their influence on the social organisms in which they have been rooted ?

India's history supplies us with splendid material ; in her soil Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have successively taken root. They have each left their mark on its social structure ; India of today and still more India of tomorrow is the result of their combined influences. We shall however not limit our observations to our own country, but by comparisons with other nations where the same religious forces have been at work, try to find their characteristic effects.

Buddhism presents us with an interesting problem. The happy uncritical unity of social and religious interests in the Vedic times had come to an end in the priesthood and ceremonialism of the Brahmanic period. As one of many protests against this system and its false other-worldliness, Buddhism came into existence as a religion of works, based on the "middle way" of human goodness in relieving suffering and self-complacent peace in realizing the illusion of personal life. Few religions can boast of higher moral principles or point to nobler efforts to practise its teaching. Hospitals and roadside inns speak of the care for man and beast,

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the sick and needy were looked after, the children were taught by the monks—all testifies to the great heart of the master and the powerful influence for good he has wielded in social life. Nevertheless we cannot close our eyes to the fact that wherever Buddhism has held its sway as the ruling religion the people have never been able to grow into a strong self-developing social organism. Can we not find a rational cause for this apparently disintegrating influence of truly humanitarian principles?

How can the influence of a supernatural authority in practical life be of much importance where the existence of such an authority is doubtful, where a personal relation to it in any case is impossible, and where the ultimate purpose of human life is the extinction of individuality, of this very existence, as only illusion? With such premises we cannot wonder at the conclusion drawn by History that Buddhism leads to a disintegration of social life because its religious principles counteract the true social interests. A Buddha may be a ruler of the world ; he is not fit to be the ruler of an earthly kingdom. Asoka's glorious reign, with its attempt to socialise Buddha's high moral principles, marks the beginning of Buddhism's decay in India, and when five centuries later we see Kaniskha open a new era of unparalleled success and rich development also in social life, we find that the old principles have become modified, the supernatural element again found its place in the people's life and with it the needed controlling and stimulating social motive. Burma only too clearly shows the lack of a strong constructive principle in its social life ; in Tibet, Gautama's spiritual religion has degenerated into hierarchical ceremonialism and the people's social life is undeveloped ; in Japan, it is not to Buddhism that the present revival is due, but to the old national religion, centred in absolute loyalty to the monarch as divine.

Islam presents the opposite extreme. When the rational conclusion of Buddha's humane principles leads to distinct weakening of the social organism by depriving it of the indispensable super-rational element, Islam's strength lies in its uncompromising emphasis of the absolute authority, and it is not difficult to see the result in the social evolution. All interest is here concentrated in the one personal God, whose will is the paramount power in all human relations, by whose decree all events are fore-ordained. What wonderful social constructive power is hidden in this principle the history of Islam clearly shows. The social and religious life becomes identified in the absolute subordination of the individual interests to those of the society, the result is a strong government,

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power of extension, a great faculty of assimilation of lower races and unavoidable stagnation because of lack of stimulus to individual efforts and strong temptation to abuse of the autocratic power. The brilliant days of Harun-al-Rashid of Bagdad, the rule of the Abassides in Spain, the splendour of Akbar's court at Delhi, clearly show that the stagnation of social life is not owing to any lack of intellectual development, but has its root in a deeper deficiency. Mahommed and his first successors no doubt aimed at a world-wide theocracy, an empire with the political and religious power centred in one hand ; at present three-fourths of the Moslem population of the world are under non-Moslem rule. Progress in literature and art, philosophy and poetry does not necessarily prove social efficiency. A new motive power, not inherent in Islam, is needed to invigorate and revive the social growth. Therefore any attempt at reform in the Mahomedan world invariably comes in conflict with the religious conservatism. Is this not exactly what we might expect in accordance with the religious principles of Islam ? Mahommed, the prophet and political ruler in one person, is the embodiment of God's supreme authority in all relationships ; where his spirit rules, there is a real harmony^{*} between the religious and social interests, but both can only develop to a certain point. Despotism is the natural and ideal form of government ; freedom impossible under the fatalism of predestination. A Mahomedan republic would be as irrational as a liberal Mahomedan theology. The personality of the individual and its free development has no basis and no aim in Islam ; the religious foundation is one-sided ; the social structure based upon it cannot but suffer from it.

In *Hinduism*, no one doubts the influence of religion on the social organism ; all will agree that the strength of the caste system lies in its religious connection, in its alleged divine authorisation and *vice versa*, that the same system is the most powerful stronghold of the Hindu religion and the main support of the Brahmanical authority. It may not be so easy to show the direct connection between the fundamental religious principles and the structure of Indian social life. From Vedic times to our days the Hindu religion has undergone a series of changes and modifications, both in form and spirit, and in its unequalled, all-embracing power of assimilation it includes the most varying elements and absolutely contradictory views, which makes it almost impossible to define what Hinduism is. At the same time the social evolution presents us with a picture of almost equally unparalleled historical continuity in a

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social system, carried down through thousands of years shaping and moulding private, family and public life after the same type, among different nations, generation after generation. It has proved its social efficiency by preserving the social organism during centuries of unceasing wars and invasions that no doubt would have unsettled, if not altogether destroyed, most other civilizations. India was not defended by any Chinese wall ; even Himalaya's giant peaks could not keep the enemies out, the secret of her strength must be found at the root of her social system. Has religion anything to do with it ? If so, how ?

Independent of all the changes in the religious life, the social structure nevertheless is deeply rooted in Hinduism. It is found wherever Hinduism predominates ; it extends even where old doctrines and customs are left untouched, it stands unshaken by the violent attacks of Mohammedan and European invasion. It is not dead ; it continues to grow in minute specialization but is without social efficiency to develop new resources and new life. It is in its divine authorization that this marvellous structure has its strength and support. The historical continuity and conservating force, both in the social and religious development, lies in the hands of the Brahmans, not as individuals or because of their personal qualifications—even the worst corruption does not deprive them of their authority,—but in their existence as a class, embodying, as it were, the one fundamental principle in all Hinduism, preserved through all changes, that of God's immanence as an impersonal principle in the illusionary earthly life. This conception of God puts its divine stamp of authority on all human relations making every change a sin and takes away all stimulus to progress. It conserves that which is regardless of outward changes ; it pervades every new form, while Buddhism is essentially disintegrating, Hinduism is essentially conserving. There is no interest in social development because the individual's only aim is self-realization ; the value of the social organism independent of the individuals has not been recognized and is not included in the divine self-realization or self-manifestation.

Are we not justified in drawing the connecting lines between cause and effect where the chief features are so strongly in favour of the conclusion, even though the historical evolution in its varied manifestations makes it difficult to trace the connection in detail ?

With *Christianity* the case is different. It has from the beginning proved itself a social factor of rank ; in its essence it is socializing and socialistic. This is seen as well in its inner life

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as in its influence on the surrounding social organisms. In Christianity, doctrines and forms of life are changing as in other religions, yet with a stability not to be denied, as expressed in the one Bible, not subject to any esoteric interpretations, open to all and adaptable to all conditions. Correspondingly we find in the nations subject to Christian influence, a constant progress of social life after a definite type, with many deviations and as yet very imperfectly realized. The process is constantly progressing except where the religious continuity is broken as in the Eastern countries by the power of Islam or where for other reasons decay sets in as in many Roman Catholic countries. What is then the principle underlying this process? We have here a living personal God, almighty and yet dealing with man as one free moral agent with another on the basis of personal responsibility, personal guilt and personal salvation. At the same time His final purpose and the aim of human life is not only the individual's but man's salvation through the establishment and realization of the Kingdom of God. This is one of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion not always properly understood. From Abraham's calling to be a father of a people through the Mosaic establishment of a chosen nation, organised in all its details by divine laws and for a divine purpose, it grows into the spiritual realization of Christ. Jesus does not mean to do away with the historical realization of the Kingdom as promised by the prophets but he lays a deeper foundation in the relation of the individual to God as his father, while he introduces the strongest motive for subordinating the selfish interest to the altruistic by the law of love as at once socially and religiously binding. We cannot here trace the historical development of the process in detail. From its anticipated realisation in the earliest Christian community it was slowly developed under the Roman hierarchy which also here manifested its consering and stagnating influence, until the disintegrating forces of the individualistic principles of the Reformation opened the way for a fuller personal and national life than had hitherto been known. In our days this has reached its climax, and the demands of the social organism as such are being more and more recognized in the altruistic principles of the so-called socialism and other related phenomena. We have still far ahead, but we are at least moving in the right direction, and we may begin to see that true natural selection does not mean the preservation of the intellectually best fitted or even of the strongest characters but of those who contribute most to the efficiency of the social organism, in itself the living unit to be pre-

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served through the closest approximation to the highest altruistic type. This can only be done through obedience to the divine will, whose revelation supplies the indispensable ultra-rational authority for all truly social conduct. Authority and freedom, priority of social interests and stimulus to individual development, are here conjointly and equally based on the religious principles of God as our father and the purpose of human life as the individual's training for citizenship in the social organism through which God's love is to be perfectly realised.

I must try to draw some kind of conclusion from these rough outlines of thoughts which are still growing in my mind. Impartiality has at least been aimed at, though there may be room for many objections. The value of the enquiry does not depend on the correctness of the details, but on the truth of the principle itself. As faith, the religious life of the individual undoubtedly influences not only a man's actions but his moral and spiritual vitality ; we may well expect that the religious principles, generally acknowledged in a community, will also effect its social efficiency. It is not primarily a question of material strength ; economic wealth and military power are not identical with social efficiency though closely connected with it. The use of Sandow's developer does not necessarily make a better man, and the victory of the Japanese army in the last war is not in itself a proof of social vitality. Neither is it directly a question of social morals ; that these are influenced by the ruling religious ideas no one will deny, but the development is here very slow, much slower than in individual life. The Christian type of social organism is still in its infancy, while the individual character is much more definitely developed. This is a simple consequence of the fact that the social organism belongs to a higher, more complex sphere of life. It is therefore with purpose that all reference to the direct moral results of the different religions and the moral condition of the nations has been avoided as likely to confuse the main issue. This lies in the influence of the fundamental religious ideas on the social vitality, that is on the inherent power of a community to adapt itself to its environment by counteracting all destructive influences from outside or inside, and developing the beneficial altruistic tendencies that strengthen the growth and fruitful development of the social organism. What I have tried to show and believe to be true is that at the root of every social organism there is to be found as its vital principle and constructive type a religious idea expressive of that ultra-rational authority without which no society can live, and decisive for its

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social efficiency by its conception of God, His relation to man and the purpose of human life.

If now we return to our starting point and try to apply this principle to the present national movement we shall be able to understand why it is that this national self-consciousness, so strong and hopeful in itself, has come to be identified with a lack of discipline, a lack of interest in the real progress of the society and a lack of brotherly feeling to other nations and races. It is because it is not based on any religious principle ; it is the nation's self-assertion, bound together by the tie of abstract love to the mother country but not by the true altruistic feeling willing to sacrifice the individual interest for the whole. Looking to the beginning of the movement, we find without surprise that it took root and developed at a period when as a consequence of Western education the faith of the educated classes in their old religion had been upset and agnosticism was the rule of the day. The time has changed, but we are still suffering under its baneful consequences and will have to suffer for ~~some~~ time until the next generation has grown up. How this will be we are responsible for, jointly and individually.

Further, if we do not limit our observation to this particular movement but include the other phenomena mentioned above, the outlook is decidedly brighter, yet calling for serious attention. There are religious forces at work among us, but are these all directed for the best purpose, led into the best channels? Is too much force not being spent in self-defence and selfish efforts to win and retain the individuals, while we do not have the interest of the social organism, the nation as a whole, at heart as much as we should. Without giving up the work for and among the individuals, can we not do more for the whole people? I do not recommend any false compromise for united action, but I do feel very strongly that as religious men we have a common interest and should be able to help each other in our efforts to help the people. We should not underrate the disintegrating influence of the individualistic elements in the national movement ; they are indispensable for breaking down prejudices and preparing the way for a deeper social consciousness, but we cannot remind ourselves too often that unless the movement gets a deeper foundation and the leaders as well as the followers come to recognise that their political aspirations cannot have any prospect of real success, unless brought into much closer connection with the social and religious progress of the people, unless this is done, the whole movement,—may God forbid that it should ever be—result in the degeneration instead of regeneration of the people of India.

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What then is our duty ? We are not here to take any kind of united action but to find the right view—point for a true estimate of the religious and social conditions of the present time. If we can agree in the view indicated above, may we not also agree that it becomes a duty of all religious men who love the Indian people, not only their own class or their own province, to lay particular stress on those religious principles specially lacking in the present movement, viz, the reality of God's absolute authority and the supreme demand for brotherly love as the indispensable condition and aim of true social progress ; further, to do all that we can, both personally and through influencing others, to promote such social reforms as are conducive to the real welfare of the society ; and last, not least, to carry on an active propaganda for awakening the inherent religious spirit, now latent among our young men, not by mutual opposition but by positive efforts for bringing our young men into a personal relation to God and His will. A number of questions are involved in these propositions such as : The Relation of the Individual to the Race ; Religion and Nationality ; Religious Education in our Schools and Colleges ; The Possibility of a Common Religious Platform, etc. I shall not consider and discuss these subjects in this paper and shall now conclude by summing up in the following theses all that I have tried to explain above :—

(1) The national movement is not an isolated fact, and expresses but one side of the evolution of social progress in our days, seen in conjunction with other concomitant phenomena its negative religious aspect is understood to be due to a lack of religious principle in its origin and aim.

(2) Past and present history teaches us that at the root of every social organism, as its vital principle and constructive type, is always to be found a religious idea, expressive of the ultra-rational authority, without which no social organism can live, and decisive for its social efficiency by its conception of God, His relation to man and the ultimate purpose of human life.

(3) The application of this principle to the "present national movement urgently calls for energetic and as far as possible united efforts from all spiritually minded patriots to promote the religious life, the altruistic feeling and all good social reforms, in order to provide the religious basis without which the national movement can never secure any lasting progress for the people.

F. W. Steinthal

THE BIRTH OF TILLOTTAMA

(Continued from the March Number.)

Through sylvan shades soft doth she wend;
High o'er head golden creepers bend;
Wreath'd round each giant trunk they hung,
In rev'rence as she moves along.
Round her, trees like a warrior band,
Deckt in gay uniform, thus stand—
The *Deodors*(a) high their heads do rear
Nigh into the ethereal air.
And *Bodoricks*(b) beneath whose shade:
His lofty rhyme *Daipain*(c) made
(The isle-born sage whose deathless,
The *Mohavarat* doth proclaim fame.
The *Mowas* with their honey'd sap.
Lure the bees to their lethean lap.
The *Kadamas* breathe sweet perfumes.
(As new-wed bride's breath assumes):
And blossoms shap'd like *Rati*'s breast
Bear on each branch, above the rest
The *Bunyans* spread their shadows broad.
With pendent shoots like the dread God(d),
With clust'ring locks entwin'd with snakes.
And pow'der'd white like snowy flakes.
The *Rasals*(e) fam'd for dainty fruit
(*Hanman* from *Lanka* did recruit)
And *Asokes* bearing ruby flow'rs
Like eyes inflam'd with briny tears.
Ah me ! for *Baidshi*(f) of old
Held captive in a dungeon-hold).
The *Simul* gorgeous as a bride
Or wounded warrior flush'd with pride,
The *Inguds* bred in solitude
Oft in the too close neighbourhood
Of holy haunt—or hermitage
Perchance of some meek saint or sage.

(a) The Indian Fir-tree.
(b) A species of tree.
(c) *Vyasa* the compiler of the *Mohavarat*.
(d) *Mukhadev*.
(e) Mangoe tree.
(f) *Sita* the spouse of *Rama*.

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The *Salmanis*(a) and sombre *Sauls*(a)
And stately rows of warrior—talls—
(The waving palms with feath'ry bows
And balmy juice dull souls to rouse) ;
And *gobaks*(a) bearing golden nuts
And dark *Jams*(a) yielding sweet *spervants*.

With swan-soft steps the goddess glides ;
The tuneful *konkons* on all sides
Wake echoes wild of music sweet
At ev'ry fall of velvet feet.
To her as to the Queen of spring
The trees their flow'ry tributes bring.
The carnival the *Koels* Sing
In *Madon*'s honour, and loud wring
The rocks around with jocund clang—
As if the spring, all sudden, sprang
Lo ! at her silk-steps lilies grow
What ruly foot-prints flaming glow !

She spies a gilded throne ahead
With many a bright gem inlaid
O'er which the encircling branches meet
With blooms aflame—a sweet retreat,
As myriad hoods of *Vâsuki*
Held high ajewell'd canopy
O'er the head of the *Narayan*(b)
Wrapt in trance ere creation ran.

The eye feasts on the flaming flow'rs
Exhaling sweet essential pow'rs.
The *Ketuki* (as the *Kinsuk*)
Cam's dire darts forms with the stalk.
The fam'd *Keshore*, fair to the sight,
Blooms in *Cam*'s hands (as soft as bright)
—Like to a golden sceptre flashing flames
—And, shot from his bow, souls inflames
The *Patali* filling his quivers full
Soft, velvet his least potent tool
The *Madhovica* with madd'ning scent
Woo'd by the air on amours bent

(a) A species of Indian trees.

(b) Brahma hatching the mundane egg.

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Mild *Mallica* lending to the wood
By its sweet smell a mirthful mood
And *Gondhoraj* rich in odorous gold
And *Gandhomadon* nurs'd in heavenly mould

Half-hidden there among the flowers
As it were lo ! in golden bow'rs
A band of mountain-nymphs she spies
Of budding beauties, and bright eyes
Like lilies blown or mountain-roes,
Around they stand in golden rows.
In flaming robes of lilies red
With lily cor'nals on the head
Ay like to the old *Lily-Maid*
Churn'd out of ancient ocean bed.
Aglow with lilies' tinted glow
These golden dolls glide, graceful slow,
Toward *Sachi* with glowing gifts.
One high sweet-scented incense lifts
With blended fumes of *Kunduroo*
And sense-beguiling *Agaroo*—
Imparting to the woodland fair
A madd'ning scent, a fragrance rare.
Was *Dhovola*, lord of the earth
Engag'd in holy rites of *Vruth* ?
On golden tray another fetcht
The mystic symbols for high guest—
Thus flow'rs, grains and grass evergreen
And musk and saffron there had been
Nor sandal ground on crystal stone
Among these was miss'd or unshown.
In diamond cups full to the brim
Was fetcht what nectcar-like did seem.
Another tripp'd along with bowls
Of limpid liquid cool to soles—
Drawn from the sacred *Mandakini*
To love the feet of *Indrani*.
A nymph wove her of twincing stars
A garland fairer than *Purandar's*.
A thousand blended notes were heard
Of *Vinas* that the gods preferr'd,
And *tambour's* sound that did inspire

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The dull sense with its living fire
And *Violins*, soul-entralling strain
That, round her, nectar sweet did rain.
And louder rising above the rest,
Tambour's wild notes were heard the best—
Like a cloud rumbling, as it sails,
Unfurling peacocks' painted tails.
The youthful nymphs their fingers flung
O'er the strings as they sweetly sung
Their woodland ditties for the queen
And fir'd her with love's ardours keen.

The mountain spirits round her trace
A circle wide with measured pace
And as they dance their mystic rounds
The ground beneath their feet resounds ;
So rend heav'n an admiring throng
With music, dance, and welcome song.
What time, ye *Aswin* ! season bly the
Blest of the months, from *Kailash*'s height,
Call'st *Uma* to *Himalayn* hand,
Queen *Menoka* with joy ov'r come,
Clasps to her heart her daughter dear
With many a kiss and sweet tear—
E'en so all the nymphs form a ring
Around *Sachi* and welcome sing—

“ Hail Queen of the ethereal reign
Hail to this mountain with thy train !
Hail, all hail to thee ! Hark, around,
—The woodland fills with jocund sound !
The hills once felt the thunder's edge
Hurl'd by thy Lord in mighty rage.
But equals ever with equals fight
Nor, foil'd, nurse a mean wrath and spite
Thus el'phants with themselves engage
And lions e'er with lions rage.
Trip it then Queen ! and as free roam
As daughters in paternal home,
Or warbling birds in arbour'd pow'r
While thunder roars and thick falls show'r.
Is it thy Lord thou seekest, Queen ?
Behold him yonder, *Indrain* !

The lily-robed nymphs grew all mute

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(Like music flown out of the flute !)
She spied ahead on golden throne
As in *Nandan*,—but sad and lone—
Her Lord, and raising sweet alarm
Flew to him with extended arm ;
As mountain-streams swollen with the rain
Burst all bands and break through the glen
To mix their torrents with the main,
Hoarse roaring over sunlit plain,—
No more love flowing from above
But in one mingl'd tide of love.

As jewell'd cobras lift their hoods
Rous'd by *Vina* to milder moods,
So did *Vasov* spring to his feet
Rous'd by the *konkons* rhythmic beat.
Familiar too well to his ear—
He heard the steps of *Sachi* near
And fix'd his thousand eyes of love
Upon the goddess—as above.
The lilies in *Manus'* lake born
Gaze on the Sun in rosy morn—
Or as the myriad starry eyes
Look down on *Night* from highest skies,
While she draws over hill and dale
With dewy finger dusky veil.
Vasov clasp'd the Queen to his heart
(And felt her bosom like *Cam*'s dart)
So Ocean draws to bring bed
The bridal Moon ere the dawn's red
What time the flow'rs their dew rings wear
For sweet-heart bees on sparkling ear.

“ Ah dear ” ! (and tears bedew'd her face
At the thought of lost happiness !)
“ Ah dear ! *Tridiva*'s crystal tow'rs
Lie crumbling round her desert bow'rs.
Why work your will, ye cruel Fate
Against the gods immaculate !
Ah, but what boots it to bemoan
Our lost state or joys for e'er flown ?
Where thou art Lord, there my head blooms,
Naught are beside thee forest glooms,
What's to thy kiss beguiling sense,

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Or thine encircling arms immense—
The whilom happiness of heav'n ?
To me is given the primal leav'n
Which leaveneth each celestial soul—
To thee *Love* holds my heart in thral.
The mantling green of stagnant ponds
May stifle, yet *Nolin* responds
To the love of the new-born sun ;
Nor ceaseth e'er her orison
Till sear'd by sultry summer's blast,
She droops and dies and dies at last.

And as she spoke, the trickling tear
Bedimm'd the eyes of the goddess fair.
Vasv wip'd it with loving lips
As zephyr anent pearl jaws sips
Off lily lips in vernal morn !
He cheer'd her, fir'd with hope re-born.

“ What reck I of heav'n when Heavn's Queen
Beams on me with a smiling mien ? ”
Forgot were all his grief and spleen
At the sight of sweet *Indrain*.
E'en as a lion in his den
Spies his mate, roars and rears his main—
So his joy, uncontroll'd, he show'd
By ev'ry word and deed ; while glow'd
His bosom with love's hallow'd fire
His absent spouse now did inspire.
He asked her of the gods that fled—
Of *Vasun*, *Pavan*, *Saman* dread,
Of *Karttic* fond of peacocks gay
And *Kuver* sung in golden lay
And other chiefs of heavenly bands
Of various ranks, names and commands.
“ How knewest dear ; ” he ask'd surpris'd,
“ I laid here ah ! my head despis'd ? ”

The large-ey'd goddess, *Poulama*
With pink lips that shám'd the *bimma*,
And pointed creasts that rhythmic beat
Thus made reply in accents sweet ;
“ I spied *Swapna* in upper air
Lone wand'ring, throu' lone *Pushuker*
(Like silver lining to the cloud)

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I heard the flap of her wings loud
The joyous news she did impart
And thus raise my slow sinking heart.
"The gods assembl'd in *Brahma's* hall
A Council call and thee recall.
Haste thee, Lord, haste along with me
To the court of *Brahma-puri*."
The instant *Indra* him bethought
Of will-propell'd car—fast as thought
Down from high heav'n *Monorotha* came
Around, the grove glow'd with its flame
Aloft it rose fast with the pair
Back into the ethereal air—
So *Vaineta* his burthen bore
Of *Amrit* flaming red like gore
Out of the primal Ocean home
What time *Mundar* churn'd virgin foam.

Nagendralal Mukherjee

PROPOSED COUNCIL REFORMS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Educated India has for the last eight months given its most anxious consideration to the scheme of reform promulgated by the Government of India in its circular letter of August 24 last. The general feeling is one of profound disappointment ; but there are, however, some who still think that we have no reason to be disappointed, that we still have reason to hope for the best and that a large share of administration of the Government of the country may be given to the Indians not yet mentioned in the despatch of the Government of India. Sir Herbert Risley has been placed by the Government of India on special duty to give a shape to the proposals and suggestions of the local Governments, and it is expected that the views of the Government of India will be embodied in a despatch very soon for transmission to England.

It is my purpose in these few pages to state how far the proposals as contained in the despatch of the Government of India dated the 24th August last will satisfy the aspirations of the people in having a legitimate share in the government of the country and what would be the nett result of the introduction of the proposed reforms. It is also my purpose to make a few suggestions for the better administration of the country.

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The scheme as propounded in the Government despatch about the existing Councils may briefly be summarised as follows :—

(1) The enlargement of the existing Provincial Councils and the Imperial Council ;

(2) The establishment of an Imperial Advisory Council and Provincial Advisory Councils ;

(3) The powers to be vested to each of these bodies.

The chief features of the first proposal are the following :—

The increase in the number of Councillors in the Provincial Councils. In the words of the despatch the local Government shall determine how many seats are to be filled by elected representatives of the most important classes into which the population of the province is divided by race, caste, or religion and shall allot these seats to the several classes.

As in the case of Provincial Councils, the number of Councillors in the Imperial Council is to be increased as well.

Having pointed out the defect in the existing mode of election of members to the Councils and how the results have not justified the expectations formed, how the District Boards in particular have conspicuously failed to fulfil the expectation that they would represent the landed interest, the despatch goes on to suggest how the members are to be elected, making special provision for class representation. It goes on to say that "as the constitution of the Provincial Councils must largely depend upon the Municipal and Local Boards, it is suggested that the Local Governments should introduce into their suggestions of elections and nominations for these Boards the principle for assigning for a fixed population as divided by race, caste or religion and permitting the members of that class to elect its own representatives. . . . In the case of District and Local Boards it might perhaps be possible to distribute the seats to be filled by election among occupational groups such as landholders, cultivators, traders and professional men and to select certain castes as representing each group. The literate member of those castes who paid a certain sum in taxes or possess certain property qualification might then be empowered to elect one of their own members to represent the occupational group on the Board. The census statistics supplemented by local enquiries would afford the means of determining what castes should be selected for electing a member for each of these groups and only literate persons belonging to those castes and bearing certain property qualifications would be entitled to vote in the electoral group to which their caste had been assigned,

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and to elect a representative possessing similar qualifications from one of the castes assigned."

With reference to the Legislative Council of India which will also have a larger number of members, viz : 54 members including the Viceroy, the same principle is to be followed: there should be according to the Government despatch representation of all interests. The number of members to be made up thus : (a) ex officio, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or of the Punjab when the Council assembles in Simla), the Commander-in-Chief and the members of the Executive Council (7) ; (b) additional officials to be nominated not exceeding 20 ; (c) a Ruling Chief to be nominated by the Viceroy (1) ; (d) elected members by the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma (7), by the nobles and great land-owners of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces (7) ; by Mahomedans (2) ; non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interest not less than two to be Mahomedans (b) ; experts to be nominated by the Viceroy when necessary for special purposes to total 53, or including His Excellency, 54.

It is further proposed to give the right to elect a member for the Legislative Council of India to the Punjab, Burma, and Eastern Bengal and Assam, just as Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay have the right at present.

Such then is the brief outline of the proposed reforms. Such is the scheme which the Government think will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people for Self-Government. Such is the scheme which is considered to be the safeguard for the admitted unrest which is to be found from one end of the country to the other. Government might have been actuated by the very best of motives to make provisions for class representation or to make such plans by which the voting power might be distributed over a wider circle than at present—to make special provision for the Mahomedans and to take as little note as possible of the cultured and educated classes. I have no quarrel about that, if the thing which is proposed to be given had been a real thing—a genuine substance. What does it matter to the country or to the people if interpellations are made by 10 instead of 5 members or if set speeches are made during the passing of the budget by a larger number of members than at present ?

By Statute Victoria 55 and 56, Vict C. 14. (The Indian Councils

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Act of 1892, Sec. 2). "The Governors in Council of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively, and the Lieutenant-Governor of any province to which the provision of the Indian Councils Act 1869, touching the making of laws and regulations, have been or are hereafter extended or made applicable, may from time to time make rules for authorizing at any meeting of their respective Councils for the purpose of making laws and regulations, the discussion of the annual financial statement of their respective local governments, and the asking of questions, but under such conditions and restrictions as to subject or otherwise, as shall in the said rules applicable to such Councils respectively be prescribed or declared. But no member at any such meeting of any Council shall have power to submit or propose any such financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked under the authority of this Act, or the rules made under this Act. Provided that any rule made under this Act by a Governor in Council, or by a Lieutenant-Governor, shall be submitted for and subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and any rule made under this Act by the Governor-General in Council shall be submitted for and shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council: Provided also that the rules made under this Act shall not be subject to alteration or amendment at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations."

By the proposed reforms we are told that the "Government of India entirely recognize the defect of the practice which prevails under the existing Regulations and they are anxious to introduce such changes as will make the debates (in the budget) less unreal and will bring them into closer relation with the financial policy and administrative decisions of the Government. To this end they proposed that the Budget should be discussed in the first instance by separate heads, or groups of heads, which would be explained severally by the member in administrative charge, this discussion being followed by a general debate in which the members would enjoy the same freedom as at present of criticising the administration." This change is considered to be 'tentative.'

. We ask, what would be the nett result of the above reform? Is this after all really a reform? It may be a reform in the procedure of discussing the budget, but can it be said by any stretch of language that by the introduction of this procedure the Councils will be improved or that the aspirations of the people if you consider them just and legitimate will be satisfied? Reforms, no doubt must proceed slowly but they should be substantial in their

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character. The proposed reforms cannot be said by any manner of means to be a step in furtherance of Self-Government in the country. By the proposed reforms a larger number of representatives of the people may have the satisfaction of ventilating their grievances or expressing in well-chosen phrases their views on any particular subject or pointing out in strong language the defects in the administration, but as regards any reforms likely to be effective—likely even to produce an impression in the minds of the people that they have some sort of voice in the administration of the country, that theirs is not a cry in the wilderness—where are they? Long and patiently the people of India have been waiting for substantial voice in the administration of the country, but unfortunately up to now they have received no proportionate share in the administrative work of their country.

That there has been a legitimate longing on the part of the educated classes in India to have a share in the government of the country and that some form of self-government should be accorded to the people are facts admitted even by the most conservative among Englishmen, except perhaps by Lord Curzon. The Oriental mind might have been at one time incapable of appreciating the importance of popular forms of Government, but such is not the case *now*. English education and English culture have within the last quarter of a century inculcated upon us those principles of liberty and progress which have done such splendid work in Europe and America. We believe the introduction of a popular form of Government would not result in anarchy or disorder in India. The strong conservative instincts of the nation would keep it true to itself and loyal to the English Government.

As regards the Imperial Council, it will be seen that such important provinces as Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay, which have even now the right each to elect only one member, will have no longer representation under the proposed reform.. It is not proper to ascribe motive to government, but when we see that though the number of elected and nominated members for the Imperial Council is to be increased to more than double its present number and that though Government admits in the despatch that "it may be mentioned that within the last 20 years the number of scholars studying English has risen from 298,000 to 505,000 whilst the number of students passing the annual matriculation examination of the Indian Universities has increased from 4,286 in 1886 to 8,211 in 1905, and the number of Bachelors of Arts from 708 in the former year to 1,570 in the latter" and that

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" during this period higher education has penetrated to circles which a generation ago had hardly been affected by its influence " and that though admittedly Bengal, Madras and Bombay contain a very large number of educated people—men of light and leading and who would do credit to any Council—Government have thought it proper not to advance one step further—not even to allow one more additional member to be elected by any of these provinces. We are therefore constrained to say that Government have not probably done the right thing in keeping to the old number of elected members from Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces to the Legislative Council of India, while the total strength of the Congress has been proposed to be doubted. Why should Government do an act which has evidently the appearance of injustice about it is more than we know.

I have already said that I have no objection to class representation and that Government being not a party government should take particular step to see that all classes and interests are properly represented. But in this connection there is a very important matter to be taken into consideration. Is it not a fact that in all countries it is the educated middle-class which have taken the lead in all matters—and among the educated, the lawyers above all others ? You may take good care to shut them out from the arena of politics—from taking any important part in the administration of the country but—you will certainly find that the proposed class representation is either a farce or that the representatives elected by such classes are slavishly following the lead of the educated members of the council and specially of the lawyer-members. When the Bengal Tenancy Act was presented before the Legislative Council of India about the year 1884, the British Indian Association, the premier Association in Bengal representing the landed interest of the country, was asked by Government to send a representation to the Legislative Council of India to represent the interests of the Zemindars of Bengal. Whom did the Association elect as its representative ? They elected a gentleman, or rather they had to elect a gentleman, who did not pay a pice as Government revenue and who did not possess a single acre of land governed by the Bengal Tenancy Act—I mean the late Rai Krista Das Pal Bahadur. Why is it that the landed aristocracy of the country elected him to the Council—a man sprung from the ranks ? The answer is simple. In all ages and in all countries people do and have to pay due respect to education, ability and culture. It is the middle class which have specially in

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this country a monopoly of the same as, generally speaking, the landholding classes have not taken kindly to education and intellectual culture. A Duke of Devonshire as a second Wrangler or Smith's prizeman or a Lord Salisbury in a Chemical Laboratory would be a phenomenon in this country.

That great political philosopher, Aristotle, says, in discussing the question of the best polity and the best life for the great majority of States and persons, that "the best political constitution is one which is in the hands of the middle class, i.e. in which the middle class is stronger than both the other classes (the very rich and the very poor) or at least than either of them. None is so free from political disturbances. It is the importance of the middle class which affords stability to large States as compared with small, and to Democracies as compared with Oligarchies. Perhaps the fact that many of the best legislators have belonged to the middle class may be taken to be an evidence of its political superiority."

We do not understand why the Indian bureaucrats should look with disfavour upon the lawyers and try to curb their power. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane are both lawyers, and if they had chosen, would have been Lord Chancellors of England. Did not Sir William Harcourt wield an influence second only to Mr. Gladstone in British politics? Have not Mr. Asquith, the present Prime Minister, and Mr. Haldane, the Secretary of State for War, greater influence than all the "belted Knight, Marquis, Duke and a' that" among the Liberal party in England? It is useless to try to stay the wave of influence of the middle classes which is sure to carry all before it despite artificial dams and barriers. No reform is real reform which attempts to put ability and education in the background. I think it is a mistake on the part of government to suppose that in India the wealthy classes are alone the natural leaders of the people.

The Government of India complain that at present the qualifications required both for electors and for candidates either to Provincial or Imperial Council are extraordinarily low and that one who pays only Rs. 1-8-0 as Municipal tax can get himself elected. There is, however, a mistake in the government despatch. It is no doubt a fact that any one who pays Re. 1-8-0 per annum as Municipal tax has the necessary qualification of a voter in a mofussil municipality and that any voter can be elected as a Municipal Commissioner and any Municipal Commissioner can be elected to the Provincial Council and any Provincial Councillor can

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be elected to the Imperial Council. But as a matter of fact the Municipal Commissioners of a division have the right to elect any one they choose and that the only qualification which is considered to be necessary for a candidate is the qualification of being a "Resident" within the division—he may not have paid any taxes at all, he may not possess any holding of his own. In the case, however, of the Calcutta Municipality or the Calcutta University the rules as framed by the local government, so far as I remember lay down that the candidate should be either a member of the Calcutta Municipality or a Fellow of the University. There are no such restrictions in the case of mofussil municipalities or District Boards. There are some who may not agree with me but in my opinion the rules should be so framed as to empower the electors in mofussil municipalities or District Boards to elect only one among them and not anybody and every body, however remote his connexion with the municipal town or the District Board may be. I take it as granted that it is the desire of government to educate the people in self-government. If that be the case, why should those who have taken no interest in the affairs of a municipality or a District Board, a rank outsider be allowed to be elected to the exclusion of those who have toiled and laboured for the rate-payers and who have sacrificed their time and money for their welfare. It will not be a retrograde step but it will be a move towards real self-government—it will be one step further in the direction of administration of the country by the actual representatives of the people if the proposal put forward above is carried out.

The Government have shewn an anxious solicitude for the appointment of a large number of Mahomedans to the reformed Councils. I think the anxiety displayed and the measures intended to be taken for such representation are greater than the necessity of the case demands. We only hope that our Mahomedan brethren will work shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu, Sikh and Parsi brethren for their motherland, and that they may not think of proving themselves as useful in the Councils as Mr. Rees has proved himself in the House of Commons.

I shall now proceed to discuss the proposals regarding the Imperial Advisory Council, and the Provincial Advisory Councils. Whatever might be the opinion of some people with reference to the Imperial Advisory Council, I say with due deference that such a Council, if well constituted, is bound to be a very useful institution in the government of the country. So long back as 1st January 1877, during the administration of Lord Lytton, a 'Council of the Empire' was

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constituted. It consisted of 20 Princes, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and a few other persons of note. It was stated on that memorable occasion, it was the occasion of the first Imperial Assemblage at Delhi,—that the object of establishing the Imperial Council was to associate the Indian Princes with the Government of the Empire in a manner honourable to themselves and advantageous to the public interests. While steps have been taken to reform the army of the Indian Princes and to raise a portion of them to the status of Imperial Service troops, no steps whatever have been taken within the last 31 years to utilize the services of the Indian Princes or to associate them in an honourable way in the government of the country.

In the year 1888, I had occasion to comment in the introductory chapter of my *History of the Native States of India*, (Vol. I, Gwalior) on the attitude of Government as regards the Council of the Empire. I wrote then, "The Council has remained a paper Council ever since ; it has shared the fate of that other proposal which had for its object the entrusting of Native Princes with military commands. No Imperial Council has ever held its sittings, no new nominations have been made to fill the vacancies caused by the death or retirement of the original members, and Imperial affairs have been managed in the old stereotyped way without any help or hinderance from any Council."

That the relations between the Paramount Power and its great feudatories would be placed on an altogether better, nay, superior footing by the establishment of such a Council goes without saying. It is, I need hardly say, both the duty and the interest of the British Government to satisfy the honourable and patriotic ambition of the Indian Princes to have a voice in the Government of the Empire.

Let us now see what is likely to be the nature of the proposed Imperial Advisory Council.

The despatch of the Government of India states that "the establishment and recognition of a determinable body of advisors who, while requiring no legislative recognition, and possessing no powers of initiative, would be consulted individually by the Governor-General, and would occasionally be called together either in whole or in part for the purpose of collective deliberation and would be entitled when so summoned to offer their counsel on matters affecting the welfare of the people, would in the opinion of the Government of India, be a marked step in constitutional progress, it would maintain unimpaired the authority and responsibility of

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the Executive Government, and it would be in accordance with the best tradition of oriental polity.

“ For this purpose what appears to be needed is an Imperial Advisory Council of sufficient size and weight to represent the views of hereditary leaders of the people, both in British India and in the principal Native States, to be consulted by the Governor-General either individually or collectively, or by means of Committees appointed from among their number on questions of sufficient moment to call for their advice, and to be used by him not only to draw out opinion on measures in contemplation, but also what is hardly less important, as an agency for the diffusion of correct informations upon the acts, intentions and objects of the government.”

The constitution of the Advisory Council is proposed to be as follows :—

1. That a Council to be called the Imperial Advisory Council should be formed for purely consultative purposes.
2. That all the members should be appointed by the Viceroy and should receive the title of “ Imperial Councillors.”
3. That the Council should consist of about sixty members for the whole of India, including about 20 Ruling Chiefs and a suitable number of territorial magnates of every province where landholders of sufficient dignity and status are to be found.
4. That members should hold office for a substantial term, say, for five years, and should be eligible for re-appointment.
5. That the Council should receive no legislative recognition and should not be vested with formal powers of any sort.
6. That its functions should be purely advisory and it should deal only with such matters as might be specially referred to it from time to time.
7. That the proceedings of the Councils when called together for collective consultation should be as a rule private, informal and confidential and they would not be published, although government would be at liberty to make any use of them that it thought proper.

Now the constitution as proposed above gives no status to the Imperial Councillors. They may have the satisfaction of having the title of Imperial Councillor added to their names—but what more? The despatch formulates a constitution for the Imperial Advisory Council. In para 5 of the proposed constitution we are distinctly told that it will have no legislative recognition. A constitution without a legislative recognition is a paradox. We are further told that the Councillors would be consulted individually—not collectively, and would occasionally be called together either in

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whole or in part. Now if the Councillors are to be consulted individually why call this proposed Council a Council at all? The Governor-General can whenever he pleases ask the opinion of anybody he pleases regarding any measure. Public bodies and representative men are even now asked for their opinion on any measure affecting particular communities. They may as heretofore be consulted even now. The opinion of a Council must be the opinion of the majority of a constituted body and not of a particular individual. There can be no objection to the proceedings of the meeting being private and confidential. In this connection the opinion of the Hon'ble the Tikha Saeb of Nabha, himself the heir and representative of a well-known ruling dynasty in the Punjab and who probably is destined one day to become an Imperial Councillor, is worth quoting. In his speech in the last Budget debate in the Legislative Council of India in last March he said : "I think it would be much better to call the meeting of the Imperial Advisory Council regularly like the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council and that the Viceroy should graciously preside over them. . . . This will involve extra trouble but the object is worth the trouble and inconvenience. I fully agree with the observations that "the Government of India attach the highest importance to collective deliberation since the opinions thus obtained are different from and more valuable than those collected by individual consultation". "I am afraid", said he, "though they (the Imperial Councillors) might remain as ornaments to the Supreme and Local Governments, they would be of little or no use both to the public and to the government, and after some time the whole scheme might fall through and the object for which the Councils are now constituted would not be attained".

In the year 1888 I made the following suggestions in my *History of the Native States of India* as regards the aim and scope of the Imperial Council and the subjects to be discussed by the said Council :—

1. The formation of an Imperial army, and the means of giving it increased strength and cohesion, and perfecting its organization.
2. All matters in which the general interests of the Empire—as contradistinguished from the interests of particular provinces or states—are concerned. These matters may regard both the internal administration and the external relations of the Empire—for example, the introduction of any important social or economical reform affecting the whole Empire, or the policy to be pursued towards a foreign estate or sovereign power.

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3. The adjustment of the relations and the settlement of any difference between the Paramount Power and a Particular Native State.

It would no doubt be premature at this stage to say what particular topics should come within the scope of the proposed Imperial Advisory Council. Let such a Council be constituted having for its members Ruling Chiefs of education and culture, who have already made a name among their peers by a liberal and enlightened administration of their States. Let retired ministers of important Indian States, men of the type of the late Sir Madhava Rao, the late Sir Sashidhari Iyer be also selected. Let men like the late Maharaja of Durbhangha be also there. We do not say that all the powers to be vested in the Council should be vested at once ; gradual enlargement of the scope of work of the Council is all that is necessary.

As regards the formation of Provincial Advisory Councils, I would repeat that their opinion should be taken collectively in open council and not individually, for the opinion of a particular councillor on any question can not be expected to carry that weight which the collective opinion of the members is expected to carry. There cannot be any objection to these Advisory Councils being entirely distinct from and independent of the local Legislative Councils, but it is necessary that their scope and powers should be defined by Statute.

I have said what I had to say about the usefulness of the proposed reforms. Reforms as I have said to be real must be substantial. There must be a real attempt to give the people some sort of self-government—some control by them over their own affairs, something which will satisfy their laudable ambition and their just expectations.

To allow the people some sort of self-government would be an act of bare justice. I propose to formulate now what should be done in this direction, what I think may for the present satisfy the people.

In the Provincial Councils there ought to be a majority of elected members, the Lieutenant-Governor or the Governor having the power of veto in all matters, this power however to be exercised only during the passing of any legislative enactment or the passing of the Budget.

The municipalities and the District Boards in all the Provinces in India are to a great extent in the hands of the people, though under the control of the District Magistrate and the Divisional

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Commissioner. The education of the country is to some extent in the hands of the people,—I mean so far as the administration of educational institutions is concerned. Such being the case, it will be but meet and proper on the part of the Government now that there is this proposal to have the Councils reformed, as a next step towards practical reform to fill up one of the Secretaryships and at least one Under-Secretaryship in each of the local governments by the appointment of elected Councillors. The Secretaryship to the Municipal Department and the Under-Secretaryship to the Education Department which may be made into a separate department can very easily be filled up by government in that way. There may also be a select Council of the Councillors (something like a Cabinet Council) consisting of at least one third of the elected Councillors for the discussion of all important matters of State except political questions, the above officers, viz: the Municipal Secretary and Educational Secretary being in that select Council. I would also suggest that the municipalities in the capital cities such as those of Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, Madras, Lahore, Rangoon, Karachi, should have larger powers of control over municipal affairs, in fact they should have the same powers which the Calcutta Corporation had previous to the framing of the present Municipal Act. This would place the educational institutions and the municipal administration of the country in the hands of the people.

In order to give the people a larger measure of self-government it is necessary that the District Boards should have non-official Chairmen and that sufficient funds should be placed at their disposal to keep them a-going. People might say that it is all very well to make these suggestions in an off-hand manner but is it possible and wise to give the proposed control to irresponsible Councillors? To this my reply is—you have already placed in more important posts children of the soil and you had never any reason to regret your choice. Indians have already filled up such Judicial appointments as those of Chief Justiceship of High Courts and Advocate-Generalship, and in the executive line such appointments as those of membership and Secretaryship of the Board of Revenue, Commissionership of a division, and Under-Secretaryship to the Government of India in the Finance Department and Under-Secretaryships in the Financial and Municipal and Public Works Departments in local governments and Vice-Chancellorships of Universities, Vice-Chairmanship and Chairmanship of the Calcutta Corporation, even the post of Accountant-Generalship of a province and Deputy-Comptrollership of India with credit to themselves

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and satisfaction to the government. I need hardly say that an experiment can well be made in the direction suggested by me.

We have already in Bengal an Under-Secretary in the Financial and Municipal Department who is not a member of the Indian Civil Service. Why should not the experiment be made of appointing an Under-Secretary or a Secretary from among the elected Councillors ? It is superfluous to say that there will be found many among the Councillors quite competent to perform such duties. This would really be a step at giving self-government to the Indians. The increase in the number of members means nothing, if it does not carry with it an increase in the power of the members of Council—if some sort of executive and administrative control is not given to them.

The changes suggested above are not of a revolutionary—nay, not even of a radical character. The reforms suggested are such as would naturally follow from the good work already done by municipalities and District Boards and educational authorities and testified to by the Government.

In the three Universities of Calcutta, Allahabad and the Punjab we have three Indian Vice-Chancellors, those in the first and last being Bengali gentlemen who have justified their selection as will appear from the reappointment of one of them. I would therefore propose that in the Imperial Council at least one of the members of the Executive Council should be appointed from one of the elected members and that he should be entrusted if not with anything else at least with the Education port-folio and some of the duties now entrusted to the Home Member.

As in the Local Councils so also in the Imperial Council a mere increase in the number of members would mean nothing unless accompanied by substantial powers given to it. We have had enough of speeches. Mid-night oil enough has been consumed in the choice of apt quotations, elegant phrases and laboured oration by the members of the Imperial Council and Local councils. Government and the members ought equally to know that the Councils are not examination halls where gold and silver medals are awarded for the best or the longest speech.

I have been very modest in my demands ; I ask that they may be given tentatively (the whole scheme of the Government of India is tentative). If the Government after a few years of trial and experiment find it to be unsuccessful they may without incurring any unpopularity withdraw it. The people will also have not the face to claimour for larger rights.

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But if instead of giving any substantial rights you turn the Councils to so many talking machines in an enlarged scale, if you do not introduce any practical reforms, we say with all sincerity and earnestness that it is not necessary to make any further attempt at Council reform.

We have been still pursuing but not achieving. We have however learnt to labour and to wait. We have not given up all hope—hope, the charmer, lingers still behind. Those who give a garbled and distorted account of the true state of feeling in the country are not only the worst enemies of their country but also of Government. They are the true well-wishers of their country as well as their government who speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth and let Government know the true state of things. Government is probably not and ought not to be heedless of the new spirit now passing over the country. The spirit of nationality has not only caught hold of the educated classes but has also permeated the masses. A new life, material as well as spiritual, has dawned upon the country. A vast movement for uniting the various races and nationalities of this country is going on. English education and Western culture have proved themselves stronger than the bloody strife of centuries and is destined to exercise a far more potent influence on the destinies of the country than the violent convulsive struggles of the past.

I need hardly say that there is no danger however remote to British supremacy in India involved in the establishment of a nationality in India. Why, indeed, should united India sever a connection which has been of such inestimable boon to her? Her attachment and loyalty to England stand on a firm basis which nationality cannot shake. Indeed, a true spirit of nationality will only serve to give force to this feeling of loyalty, will purify it of the dross of self-interestedness and give it an almost religious fervour and sublimity.

Let there be no attempt on the part of Government by its unusually great anxiety for class representation to shut out the educated classes. They are the leaders and the mouthpiece of the masses, they represent the voices of the people. Let representative Indians and the cultured and the able among the Ruling Chiefs sit side by side in a common platform for the well-being of the Indian people.

Let the Indian Princes wake up to a sense of their duties and responsibilities. Let educated Indians, be they Extremists, Nationalists, Moderates, or Conservatives, be actuated by nothing but the duty they owe to their mother country and let the British

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Government prove true to its glorious traditions. Let England, the august mother of Freedom, fulfil the hopes, aspirations and ambitions she has awakened in the minds of the Indian people. She has nothing to fear in India and she is destined here to reap a harvest of glory such as has fallen to the lot of no other nation of whom history bears record. Empires have risen and fallen. But I venture to say that the British Empire so long as it continues in the path of righteousness and governs justly will last as long as the sun and the moon will endure. The memory of the noble work she has done in India and of the still greater and nobler work of regeneration which we hope she may see her way to do yet will always redound to her glory and excite the admiration of the world. It has been England's proud privilege to be the chosen instrument of God for raising a great nation from the lowest depths of misery and degradation up to the level of a civilised and progressive people, for creating, out of a boundless and formless chaos of social and moral anarchy, a realm of freedom, science, learning and art—and, above all, for welding the genius of the West with the genius of the East, knowledge with reverence, science with faith, strength with humility, justice with mercy ; and out of this auspicious union will come forth a new civilisation which will combine the best and finest elements of all past civilisations—a civilisation in which the highest ideals of the age will be realized and the present discord between heaven and earth will be hushed into the silence of peace and repose of reconciliation.

Surendra Nath Roy

SELECTIONS

THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF BUDDHISM

On an occasion like this, the first thought which strikes one, be he a Buddhist or a mere student of history, is the past and future of this great religion, which though bereft of much of its old glory, still counts more followers than any other religion in the world. It is a particular irony of fate that Buddhism which in the past constituted one of the chief elements of the progress of India, should now be an exiled religion from its native home. It is certainly owing to our neglecting the teachings of Lord Buddha—to our forgetting his sublime personality, that we, Indians, have fallen off from our ancient greatness. Lord Buddha clearly portrayed the future, when questioned by his disciple, Maha Kasyapa, who was afterwards called Anu Buddha, or the second Buddha, as to how the Buddhist Dharma would vanish, he said: "When the Bhikkus and the Bhikkunis, the Upasakas and the Upasikas, will neglect to honour the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha—(the Brotherhood of the Holy Ones)—neglect to observe the precepts and so live the Samadhi life, then will the religion disappear. This disappearance will not be caused by any cataclysms, such as earthquakes, floods or atmospheric disturbances, nor yet by conflagrations, but because foolishmen will arise. These will neglect to keep the Dharma pure, and that will be the cause of the disappearance of the doctrine." This prophecy, which is recorded in the "Kassyapa Samyutta," would appear to have been well borne in mind by the Buddhist apostles and teachers. Dipankara, the great Buddhist High Priest of Bengal, who went to Thibet upon an invitation of the Thibetans in the 11th century, said before his departure to that country that two causes would bring about the disappearance of Buddhism, *viz.*, the invasion of India by the Turakas (Mahomedans) the neglect of the Bhikkus to observe the precepts, and the introduction of the practice of the Tantras, Mantras, &c., amongst them. In the "Sangiti Sutra," it is mentioned that so long as the Brahmacarya life is observed, so long it will help the welfare of gods and men. The prophecy of the Lord has been fulfilled to the letter. For more than a thousand years, the light of the Holy Truth has been dimly burning in this land. Up to the

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10th century, A. D., Buddhism was the ruling religion of India. In the great Council of Siladitya held in the 7th century, there were present twenty-one tributary sovereigns, together with the most learned Buddhist monks and Brahmins of their kingdoms. From the 3rd to the 7th century A. D., Buddhism flourished in Southern India under the Pallava Dynasty. It was during this period that India attained the zenith of prosperity. The tide of Mahomedan conquest had not yet set in, and the whole country was governed by either Hindu or Buddhist sovereigns. The greatest Buddhists of the Mahayana school were born in Southern India, such as Nagarjuna, Aryadeb, Dygnag Dharmakirti, Darmapala, &c. Under the Pallava Dynasty, a great University was maintained at Conjeeveram (Kanchipore), which was then a noted seat of learning, besides being the capital of the Pallava Kings. Madras, Bengal and Cashmere (including the Punjab) were also great centres of Buddhism, the last two adopting the Buddhist faith at the same time. From the 7th to the 12th century A.D., Buddhism flourished in Bengal under the Pala Dynasty. The chief centres of Buddhism in Bengal were Maldah (Gour) and Vikram-pore (Vikramanipur), where there were offshoots of the Pala Dynasty who had embraced the Buddhist faith. Dipankar Shruti, otherwise called Srigarm Atisha, was appointed to be the head of the Vikramshila University in Behar in the 11th century A. D. His fame spread so much that he was invited to Thibet, as I have mentioned above. Jetani, the greatest Brahman Naya Pundit of his time, was educated at the Gour University. He was appointed gate-keeper of the Vikramshila University by a Pala King. The post of gate-keeper of a Buddhist University, it may be mentioned, was a great honour, corresponding in modern times with that of Prefect or Governor.

During the Buddhist period, the Bengalis received their education in Behar under the Buddha himself and his direct disciples. There were two famous Buddhist Universities in Behar, *viz.*, the Nalanda University (Burgaon in the Bear Sub-Division) and the Vikramshila University (near Sultangunge on the Ganges) in the Bhagalpore District. Attached to the Nalanda University there was a vast monastery where ten thousand monks and novices of the eighteen Buddhist schools studied theology, philosophy, law, science, especially medicine, and practised their devotions. Behar was the most active centre of the Buddhist propaganda, and, indeed, it owed its name to the word Vihara, meaning a Buddhist monastery. The great Chinese Pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang, when he

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visited India in the seventh century A. D., found Buddhism to be the State religion of the more powerful Dynasties, especially of the Vallabhi Kings, who ruled over Cutch, Malwa, and the north-western districts of Bombay. The Brahmins, however, were just then beginning to get the upper hand. The first of the Brahman Anti-Buddhists, Kumarila, began his preaching in the eighth century, A. D. He was a native of Behar, and probably had received his education from the Buddhist monks. According to a legend, he not only preached against Buddhism, but persuaded a King of Southern India to persecute all who professed the Buddhist faith. This Prince, it is said, "commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the young children of the Buddhists, from the southern-most point of India to the Snowy Mountain. Let him who slays not, be slain." Then followed a succession of the apostles of Brahmanism, generally hostile to the Buddhist faith, such as Sankaracharya, the famous disciple of Kumarila, who was born in Malabar ; Ramanuja, the Vishnuvite, who was born in Conjeeveram in Southern India about the middle of the 12th century A. D. ; Ramananda and Kabir, who followed him in apostolic succession ; Udayanacharya, who was born in Mithila (Durbhanga), and lastly Chaitanya Deva who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, spread the Vishnuvite doctrines, with the worship of Jagannath, throughout the deltas of Bengal and Orissa. Simultaneously with the revival of Brahmanism, there set in the tide of Mahomedan conquest which proved a grave menace to Buddhism. Vikramshila was destroyed by Bakhtiar Khilji in 1203 A. D., and thereafter many of the Buddhist Viharas were destroyed and replaced by *musjids* by the Mahomedan conquerors. The 15th century saw a great revival of Brahmanism in Bengal, notably in Nadia. The ceremonials and social practices which prevail in Bengal at the present time, commenced from that date. Vaishnavism under Chaitanya, Shruti under Raghunandan, Naya under Raghunath Shiromoni and Tantra under Krishnananda Agnibajrah completed the reconstruction of Brahmanism, and by the 16th century, it became once more the ruling religion in India. Thus, Hinduism of the present day is 300 or 350 years old. From that day, Buddhism was practically banished from India. The chief reason of Buddhism giving way to Brahmanism was the spiritual decay of the Hindus. The sensual and ease-loving generation found the exalted ethics of Buddhism too hard and abstruse for comprehension, and still harder to reduce into practice.

With all its vicissitudes, however, Buddhism has exercised the

greatest influence upon mankind. It has, from the first, been a missionary religion. The mission sent out by Asoka rapidly spread over Ceylon, the upper Himalayas and Afghanistan. By the second century A. D., Buddhism spread over the whole Chinese Empire. Through China, it went to Japan in the middle of the sixth century, and, indeed, it was Buddhism that started Japan on the path of civilisation. India, through Buddhism, exercised the most dominant influence over the people of Japan for many centuries. What India did for Japan, she did also for Siam, Cambodia, the Strait Settlements, Burma, Ceylon, Formosa and many other countries. Mr. B. Hall Chamberlain in his book *Things Japanese* says : "All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands. Buddhism introduced art and medicine, moulded the folklore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up." In Griff's *Japan*, we have the following : "From a literary point of view, the women of Japan did more to preserve and develop their native language than men, which proves firstly that Buddhism raised women to a high status, and, secondly, that the literature of Japan is based on Buddhist readings." Nicheren, the great Buddhist reformer of Japan, who lived in the 12th and 13th centuries A. D., said, Japan owed her prosperity wholly to Buddhism, that from Japan, Buddhism would again spread, and that some day missionaries in Japan would revive it in India. He used to tell the people that if the teachings of Sakya Muni were forgotten in Japan, Japan would decline. The archæological explorations which have been carried on in India under the auspices of the Government, have brought to light many wonderful relics of the early days of Buddhism. In the extreme north of Mysore, on the Bangalore-Harihar section of the Southern Mahratta Railway is the famous rock fortress of Chittaldoog, said to be the largest in India. Many old coins of lead inscribed with legends in ancient Pali characters have been found among the ruins of the ancient buildings. Mr. Sewell, a former Collector of Bellary, an antiquarian of repute, deciphered the legend on one of the largest of these coins as "Gautama Putra II." Another coin bore the device of a Buddhist altar, the Bo tree, the wheel of life and letters in Asoka characters. It is believed that Chittaldoog was the dwelling place of numerous Buddhist monks who followed the reigning dynasty of the Andhras who were followers of Gautama. Sravasti, the capital of the Kosala country, was one of the most famous

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towns of ancient India, and is mentioned in a Pali text among the six great cities which exist in the days of Buddha. The favourite abode of the Blessed One was Jetavana, a grove situated outside the city. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the great pioneer of Indian Archaeology, has fixed on Sahet-Mahet, situated on the border of the Bahraich and Gonda districts, in Oudh, as the site of Sravasti and the Jetavana. A considerable number of buildings have been unearthed and numerous antiquities, such as coins, sculptures in stone and terra-cotta, have come to light, both at Mahet and at Sahet. Pandit Daya Ram Sahani, of the Archaeological Department, discovered towards the close of the excavations a copper plate measuring 18 by 14 inches. It contained a long Sanscrit inscription recording a donation of six villages to "the community of Buddhist friars residing in the Great Convent of Holy Jetavana." The date inscribed is Samvat 1136, corresponding with A. D. 1129. The donor of the grant was Gopala Chandra, the King of Kanauj, who was a devout Hindu and bestowed his munificence on the Buddhist community of Jetavana, while proceeding on a pilgrimage to Benares. Sahet-Mahet, having been hallowed by the presence of the Lord, is as sacred a place to Buddhists as Buddha Gaya.

When Alexander poured with his hordes into India in 327 B. C., Buddhism was flourishing all over India under the descendants of Asoka. The University of Taxila (Rawalpindi), which was founded in the fourth century, B. C., was very much influenced by Greek learning. Buddhism has, indeed, encircled the whole habitable globe in the course of its rapid but peaceful progress. Five hundred millions of men, or forty per cent of the inhabitants of the world, still follow the teaching of Lord Buddha. Afghanistan, Nepal, Eastern Turkistan, Thibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, China, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, Siam, Burma, Ceylon and India—all contain precious relics of the peaceful conquests of Buddhism. Buddhist shrines and monasteries have stretched in a line from the boundaries of the Russian Empire to the islands of the Pacific. It seems strange, however, that Buddhism should have won greater triumphs in other countries than in the land of its birth. Out of the five hundred millions of men who profess Buddhism, about a lac and sixty-seven thousand are in British India, chiefly in the Bengal districts adjacent to Burma and in the remote valleys of the Himalayan ranges. In our past neglect of Buddhism lies, no doubt, the root-cause of our spiritual degeneration and our national downfall.

A wholesome reaction, however, is noticeable at the present

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day. There are signs of Buddhist revival all over the world. In Japan two Buddhist Universities have been established by the Eastern Hongwangi and the Western Hongwangi respectively. Besides these Universities, Buddhism is taught in all the temples of Japan, as in China, Siam, Burma, Ceylon and other Asiatic Buddhist countries. Although there is no Buddhist University in China, there is a large Society, which has its head-quarters in Pekin, where Buddhist texts are published in the Chinese language and characters and distributed all over the Empire. Confucianism and Shintoism, it may be mentioned, are not religions, but merely domestic, ethical systems. In Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, the Strait Settlements, Burma, Ceylon and Formosa, unusual activity is being displayed for the revival and propagation of Buddhism. In Hanoi, the capital of Cambodia, the French Government has started an Oriental College in which Buddhism and Oriental languages are taught.

The most remarkable circumstance is that Buddhism has begun to interest the best cultured minds of the West. There is a Society in London, called the Pali Text Society, of which Prof. Rhys Davids is the President. This Society publishes all Pali texts in Roman characters, and these texts are now being translated by a number of Professors of the Cambridge University. Professor Lanman of the Harvard University in America is translating the *Bisuddhi Marga* (the Encyclopædia of Buddhism) into English. Dr. Neuman of Vienna in Austria is translating the Pali texts into German. Leipzig, in Germany, is a strong centre of Buddhism, from which emanate many valuable Buddhist publications in the German language. In St. Petersburg, for the last ten years, Buddhist and Sanscrit texts have been published under the name of "Bibliothica Buddhica." The Buddhist scholars from all over Europe are engaged in editing these texts. In Denmark, Dr. Faussboll and other Oriental scholars are publishing many Pali texts with Latin translations and Sanskrit texts with Latin and English translations. In Holland, some scholars are engaged in recovering Buddhist books from Chinese sources. In Belgium, Dr. De la Vallee Pausson is making successful researches of Buddhism from Pali, Sanscrit, and Thibetan sources. In France the Imperial Museum of Paris is being filled with Buddhist relics from Java, Cambodia, Malay Peninsula and other Buddhist countries. In Paris, there are immense collections of Pali and Sanskrit books on Buddhism. In Austria, the *The Journal of the Oriental Academy* of Vienna is publishing the researches made there. In Sweden, the pupils of

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the late famous Dr. Wassiljew are continuing the researches of their teacher. In America, the Japanese Buddhists are active in building temples, opening schools, publishing journals, tracts, &c., and the same is the case in the Hawaian Islands. In addition to the Pali Text Society I have spoken of, there has been established in London the "Buddhist Society of Great Britain" of which also Prof. Rhys Davids is the President. This Society is affiliated to the "International Buddhist Society" of Rangoon, which latter was founded by Bhikku Ananda Maitreya. He has now gone to London in the company of about ten Burman ladies and gentlemen, among whom is Mrs. Hla Oung.

I have said that Buddhism has, of late, been making remarkable progress in Asia, and I have instanced some of the activities of China and Japan in this direction. Coming nearer to India, there is to be found in Mandalay the "Society for Promoting Buddhism" which has been started by some Burman gentlemen. The Society has opened some schools and is publishing a Buddhist journal. In Ceylon the Bhikkus in different places have started Oriental Seminaries for the study of Pali and Sanscrit. In India, the Maha Bodhi Society has been doing yeoman service to the cause of Buddhism since 1891. Its principal centres are Buddha Gaya, Benares, Madras and Calcutta, the parent Society being in Ceylon. In Madras there are two Budhist Societies.

Buddhists throughout the world have observed with keen interest the progress of the treaty between England and China, whereby the latter has obtained complete suzerainty over Thibet. It has been announced that the Dalai Lama and the Tashi Lama will both visit Pekin, with a view to the details of the future administration of Thibet being settled by the Chinese Government. You are aware that Buddhism in its purest form is still to be found amongst the highest initiates in Thibet. Formerly, Thibet only was open to the people of India, and now, with establishment of communication with China through Thibet, we may expect to see an increasing number of Buddhist pilgrims to India from the Far Eastern countries. I hope to see my educated countrymen visiting Thibet and other Buddhist countries—especially the Buddhist monasteries where rare manuscripts throwing a flood of light on Buddhism may be found. I like to say in this connection that it is desirable that educated Indians should cultivate the Pali language in which the Buddhist sacred books are generally written. The Buddhist literature in Pali is most interesting. Almost all the moral teachings are illustrated by anecdotes, and even the commentaries are enlivened

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by stories which make instruction exceedingly pleasant. It is gratifying that the Chittagong College, the Presidency College, and the National College of Education in Calcutta have opened Pali classes, and that the Calcutta University has lately adopted Pali as a subject for examination. Further activities tending to the revival and propagation of Buddhism are to be found in the Archæological investigations which are being carried on by Dr. Stein in Central Asia, by Dr. Sven Hedin and others, with or without the support of Government. The Buddhist community cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Government of India for its liberal encouragement of Buddhist antiquarian researches.

In the sketch I have given above of the rise, progress and decay of Buddhism, you will find that it is India, the birthplace and home of Buddhism, that is chiefly responsible for the sad neglect of the teachings of Lord Buddha. Never did India rise to such greatness as she did during the Buddhist period. It is strange that the light should have been kept burning in foreign lands. The Western mind has ever been captivated by the sublime ethical teachings of Buddhism. There has just arrived in India a Russian lady, Miss Sophis Egoroff, a talented artist who has undertaken her long journey in order to paint a series of pictures illustrating the life of Lord Buddha. Her large work which depicts Buddha abandoning his palace and entering into renunciation has been exhibited in European capitals, and may be on view later on at Simla where she is residing at present. I regard it as a most hopeful sign that our educated countrymen, belonging to other religious denominations, are appreciative of the great truths of the Tattagatha.

Friends, I need say little about Buddhism as a religion. Its ethical teachings are beyond question, the most sublime that have ever been presented to mankind. Was India ever greater than when Asoka sent forth missionaries to the utmost limits of the habitable globe, to mix equally with soldiers, Brahmans and beggars, with the degraded and the despised, with the rich and the poor, for the spread of the Holy Faith? There was then a State Department whose specific function was to watch over the purity and to promote instruction among women as well as the youth. The great royal sermons are still found graven upon pillars, caves and rocks throughout India. And, be it noted, that although Buddhism has from the beginning been an intensely missionary religion, it has never sought to effect conversion by force. Tolerance towards others has been its ruling characteristic.

Friends, I trace the national degeneration of India to the day

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when the words of the Lord, his sublime teachings and precepts, began to be neglected by the people of India. It is my firm belief—a belief which grows stronger and stronger every day—that the glory of India will be restored when Buddhism again becomes, as it will assuredly be, the dominant religion of the cultured classes of India. It is written in the Buddhist sacred books that as all the Buddhas were born in India, so they will be born again in this land. It is among the prophecies that the Maitreya Buddha, whose advent will herald the rise of Asia, will be born in Benares. The land watered by the Ganges and the Jumna has ever been associated with the doings of the holy sages of the past. May it be the incessant prayer of every Buddhist in and outside India that he may be vouchsafed the boon of being born in this land when the next Buddha appears.

Friends and Brothers, let us repeat, over and over every day, those beautiful lines of the Western Messenger of the Holy truth :—

‘ Ah ! Lover ! Brother ! Guide ! Lamp of the Law !
I take my refuge in Thy name and Thee !
I take my refuge in Thy Law of Good !
I take my refuge in Thy Order ! Om !
The dew is on the lotus ! Rise Great sun !
And lift my leaf and mix me with the wave.
Om Mani Padme Hum, the Sunrise comes !
The Dewdrop slips into the Shining Sea !

(From a Speech delivered by Mr. Narendranath Sen at the last annual Birthday Celebration of Lord Buddha in Calcutta.)

RECORDS OF BUDDHIST CIVILIZATION

The Sinhalese, among all Indian peoples, pre-eminently possessed the historical instinct ; their chronicles, extending over twenty centuries, “are authenticated,” according to Turnour, “by the concurrence of every evidence which contributes to verify the annals of any country.” But the long story of Buddhist civilization is not only written in the Mahawamsa and other Pali histories ; it is inscribed on numerous monoliths, stone slabs, rock temples, and metal plates scattered throughout the island, describing what Buddhism wrought in the day of its greatest culture ; and the evidence of these records is confirmed by the stupendous stupas and the magnificent remains that still survive in the ruined cities.

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of Ceylon. That these, moreover, form vast repositories of historical documents may be readily realized when we remember that they included sacred cities like Anuradhapura, which, in its prime ranked beside Nineveh and Babylon in its colossal proportions—its four walls, each 16 miles long, enclosed an area of 256 square miles—in the numbers of its inhabitants and in the splendour and magnitude of its shrines and public edifices, and which was the focus and head-centre of a religious system the influence of which is still a living factor in the East.

George Turnour, who rescued the *Mahawamsa* from oblivion, was also the medium of calling the attention of Oriental scholars to the Sinhalese lithic records, which, from about the second century B.C. to the first quarter of the nineteenth century A.D., trace the earlier type of Brahmalipi script, through all its varying forms, down to the rounded characters of the present day, and display the evolution of the language from its primitive origin as a Prakritic dialect to the later developments of modern Sinhalese prose. But no serious attempt was made accurately to transcribe and translate the lithic records till Sir William Gregory, in 1874, engaged the services of a specialist to prosecute systematic epigraphical research on behalf of the Ceylon Government. It was only in 1899, moreover, that the publication of these records was placed on a proper basis by the appointment as epigraphist of Don M. De Zilva Wickremasinghe, of the Indian Institute, a competent Oriental scholar, who has had considerable experience in archaeological and research work in Ceylon. We have before us the first fruits of his labours in the three parts of the "Epigraphia Zeylanica," issued by the Oxford University Press for the Ceylon Archæological Survey. In the first part appears a transcript of a series of inscriptions, among the oldest yet discovered, carved on the rock cells of the beautiful Vessagiri Vihara of Anuradhapura. The transcripts are accompanied by fine collotype views and plans of the Vessagiri rocks. "These cave records," writes the editor, "are briefer than those of India, and show the prevalence of the custom (then in vogue in Buddhist India) of the dedication of caves as places of shelter for the Buddhist monks as a body, irrespective of sectarian differences." Cut in the old Brahma-lipi character, these inscriptions are, on palæographic grounds, assigned approximately to the second century before Christ. The rest of the inscriptions show the power and influence of the Buddhist hierarchy, and how it dominated the ancient government and the national life of the country. The royal decrees, carved by successive rulers, illustrate the care with which

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the rights of the Church were safeguarded, the manner in which the vast temple revenues were secured against spoliation and embezzlement, and the attention paid to the purity of the order by the strict discipline enjoined on the monks. They furnish an insight into the tenure on which lands were held for the monasteries, the duties and services of the temple attendants, the extent of the right of sanctuary, and the penalties attached to the breach of these regulations, with details of the ritual and ceremonial, and sidelights on the legal machinery, both civil and criminal, and on the social life of the period. There is scarcely any among the documents published that contains strictly historical matter, though there are a few which embody incidental notices of the executive acts of certain Kings. An instance of this is the fine slab inscription of Kassapa V. (*circa* 929-39 A.D.). In an edict ascribed to Mahinda IV. (*circa* 975-91 A.D.) we find reference made to the Sinhalese palladium, the famous tooth-relic of Buddha, now enshrined at Kandy. This is perhaps the earliest decree we have relating to the most sacred relic of the Buddhist faith ; and it confirms tradition as to the identity of the beautiful stone temple, to the east of the Thuparama at Anuradhapura, with the shrine in which the tooth was first deposited, when brought over from Kalinga in the reign of King Kirti Sri Meghavarna (304-324 A.D.). It is to be regretted that a great portion of this inscription has been obliterated, but the manner in which the text has been edited leaves no room for criticism. We are glad to find that Mr. H. C. P. Bell's interesting note on the Dalada Maligawa has been included with the allusion in the Mahawamsa to the arrival of the tooth-relic from India, but we have looked in vain for any reference to the Daladawamsa, the history of the tooth relic, either in the notes or in the historical summary.

The gem of the whole collection is the record on the two stone tablets of Mahinda IV., on the summit of the sacred hill of Mihintale, "a mountain carved into a temple," where the Apostle of Buddhism resided, and where his ashes still rest (*circa* 253-205 B. C.). Although Mr. Wickremasinghe, with the caution of the critical scholar, while allowing the identification of ancient Missraka with Mihinlate, affirms with some hesitation its identity with Seygiri of the earlier chronicles, there is no reasonable doubt that the hill eight miles from Anuradhapura, with its numerous ruins, was the "lion rock" of the ancient Buddhist historians.

"Of all the countless lithic records of Ceylon," says Mr. Wickremasinghe with truth, "none, I believe, has attracted so much attention as these tablets. This is partly to the interesting account

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which they give of the administration and inner life of a well-endowed Buddhist monastery ; but more especially to the striking position which the tablets occupy on the sacred hill so frequently visited by pilgrims and sightseers."

Nothing better illustrates the thoroughness of Mr. Wickremasinghe's work than the manner in which he has translated and edited these inscriptions ; the notes are full and to the point, and the text is preceded by a valuable historical commentary. The tablets of Mahinda IV. furnish an interesting glimpse of the internal economy and administration of a great Buddhist monastery of the beginning of the eleventh century, "which, in many respects, affords an interesting comparison with similar instructions of medieval Europe," and, together with the Pepiliyana inscription of Sri Parakrama Babu VI. (1415-1467 A. D.), which contains regulations for the maintenance and government of a Buddhist ecclesiastical college, supply valuable materials to the historical student for reconstructing the picture of Buddhist monastic and wayfaring life in ancient India. The following extracts will illustrate the contents of Mahinda's tablets :—

(Thus) in respect of the great community of monks living in this vihāra, as well as in respect of the employees, the serfs, (their respective) duties, and the receipts and disbursements, His Majesty issued these (following) regulations, rendering them explicit by means of comments. The monks residing in this vihara shall rise at the time of early dawn and shall meditate on the four protective formulas, and, having finished cleansing the teeth, shall put on and cover themselves with their (yellow) robes as prescribed in the Sikakarani. They shall then go to the "check-room" of At-vehera, and, exercising a spirit of benevolence and reciting *paritta* formulas, shall descend (into the refectory) and receive gruel and boiled rice. To the monks who are unable to attend the "check-room" through illness shall be granted a vasag each, when recommended by the physicians. . . . Orders shall be issued to employees and employees shall be dismissed only by the monks in council ; no orders shall be issued or any servant be dismissed by individuals acting alone. The monks residing in this vihara shall by no means possess the fields, orchards, &c., in any place belonging to At-vehera. They shall not allow their dependants to exercise supremacy over any place connected with At-vehera. Monks that infringe these regulations shall not live in this vihara. The monk who looks after the Naka, the lay-warden of the vihara, the administrator of rules, the steward, the almoner, the clerk of the vihara,

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the registrar of caskets, including the keeper of caskets—all these persons shall hold sessions in the At-vehera in company with the monks from the two fraternities at Abhayagiri, who have come to assist (them in their deliberations). They shall then fix places of business and shall attend to duties connected with receipts and disbursements, &c., both inside and outside (the vihara). For the purpose of compensating for whatever may be destroyed by those engaged in matters relating to receipts and disbursements, both inside and outside (the vihara), security shall be taken from suitable householders and deposited at the (respective) places of business. If any of the dependants of the monks of the vihara are appointed, they shall not be retained in service, but be dismissed. Employees shall be dismissed after recovery of what has been entered (in their name) in the register. Caskets furnished with locks shall be deposited in the relic-house in the presence of the officials of the relic-house, with the seal of the officials at the place of business duly stamped on them. Apart from the case of any one of the officials of this vihara going, not far, on vihara service, there shall (always) be in attendance not less than three persons from amongst those employed at (each of the following places—namely) the pay office, the place where raw rice is received, and at the place where, in the forenoon, boiled rice and gruel are accepted by monks.

It only remains to be added that the work, while preserving the high standard of excellence of its original, the "Epigraphia Indica," in accurate transcription, elaborate exegesis, and patient elucidation of the text, is superior to the Indian publication in its printing and general presentation; and we trust that, in the near future, some effectual measures will be adopted by the Ceylon Archaeological Survey to gather in these epigraphical stores ere they suffer the fate of certain Ceylon inscriptions, including some that have been reproduced in these volumes, of ruthless destruction by treasure-hunters, that fruitful cause of danger to historical monuments in the East. (*The Times.*)

MINERAL RESOURCES OF INDIA.

During the last few years a much greater share of attention than formerly has been devoted to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of India. The Geological Survey of India has concentrated its energies to a larger extent on the economic branch of its operations, mining education and research have been developed, a steadily

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growing number of licences has been issued to prospectors (the total being 33 per cent. greater in 1906 than in 1905), more capital has been invested in mining enterprises, a larger labour force has been employed, and the exportation, as well as the output, of certain minerals has assumed considerable dimensions. It may doubtless be urged that the absolute total production of minerals is not great in proportion to the size of the country, but the following figures, comparing the outturn of the principal minerals in 1906 and 1896, show what a striking advance has been achieved, and suggest that even more promising results may be forthcoming with a more liberal expenditure of capital and effort, especially in the mining of coal and manganese ore.

	Mineral		1906		1896
Coal	...	Tons	9,783,250	...	3,863,700
Gold	...	Oz.	581,545	...	324,475
Petroleum	...	Galls.	140,553,000	...	15,049,000
Manganese Ore	...	Tons	495,700	...	56,900
Mica	...	Cwt.	51,430	...	12,830
Rubies	...	Carats	326,855	...	136,330
Salt	...	Tons	1,225,280	...	1,624,750

COAL.

Although the first coal mine was opened in Bengal in 1820, the great majority of the mines now worked were not open 20 years ago, and the real development of the industry hardly began till about ten years ago. The output has risen from 1,388,500 tons in 1886 to 3,863,700 tons in 1896 and 9,783,250 tons in 1906. India now stands at the head of the coal-producing dependencies of the British Empire. The actual amount of capital invested in coal mining cannot be stated, but four of the largest joint stock concerns have a combined paid-up capital of £568,000, while the total capital of the limited liability concerns alone has been estimated at £3,250,000. During the past year there has been much speculation in Calcutta—shares have gone up in value and many new companies have been floated. The progress of the industry is handicapped by the lack of an adequate supply of specialized labour, but the prospects of high wages may in time wean from agriculture a sufficient force of natives and a sort of coal-mining caste may gradually be formed. About 100,000 persons are daily employed at present, of whom two-thirds are men. By the aid of improved mechanical appliances the output per person employed below ground has risen from 10 tons in 1901 to 145 tons in 1906. Of the coal won in India in 1906 no less than 88 per cent. came from Bengal. The Jherria

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field, opened in 1893 and now the largest producer, was responsible in 1906 for 4,076,590 tons, and the Raniganj field for 3,650,560 tons. Thus these two fields alone account for nearly four-fifths of the total Indian outturn. Outside Bengal the most important mines are those at Singareni, in the Nizam's territory, where the production in 1906 was about 468,000 tons. In Assam it amounted to 285,500 tons. In other parts of India there has been some decline, especially in the Central Provinces, but the output of this region is certain to increase greatly in the near future. In spite of the partial falling off just noted, the total Indian output in 1906 was 16 per cent. above that of 1905, while the value was 35 per cent. higher. There has been a general improvement in the quality as well as the quantity of the output in recent years. This has been accompanied by a rapid growth in the exports which last year represented 9 per cent. of the production. Almost all the exported coal is shipped from Calcutta, and the principal external markets are Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, which in 1906-7 absorbed 43 and 31 per cent. respectively of the total shipments. Imports of coal into India in 1906-7 were only 257,000 tons. The coal consumption in India itself is distributed roughly as follows:—Railway consumption, 2,700,000 tons; bunker coal (including river steamers), 1,450,000 tons; jute and cotton mills, 1,110,000 tons; other forms of consumption, 2,965,000 tons. The railways consume about 30 per cent. of India's whole output, while only 1 per cent. of what they burn is imported. Nearly all the steamship lines that touch at Indian ports use Indian coal, mostly unmixed. As the coal is worked near the surface and labour is cheap, Indian coal has a lower value at the pit's mouth (3s. 11d. per ton in 1906) than that of any other country. The enhanced demand in 1906 made the trade abnormally active and caused a considerable rise in prices. Improvement in loading and despatching the mineral are required in order that the ever-growing demand may be promptly met.

MANGANESE ORE

The Indian manganese ore industry began about 15 years ago with the quarrying of deposits in the Vizianagram State (Madras). The output rose from 3,130 tons in that year to 92,458 tons in 1900, when richer deposits were attacked in the Central Provinces, which now yield far more ore than the Vizianagram mines. The low range of market prices placed a temporary check on production in 1903 and 1904, but in 1905 the output rose from 150,297 to 253,896 tons while in 1906 the production reached the high figure of 495,730 tons, or nearly double that of the preceding year. The chief factors

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in this remarkable growth were the temporary cessation of the manganese industry in the Caucasus, and the activity of the steel manufacture in the United Kingdom, United States, and Germany. The unprecedented demand caused a great rise in prices. Low-grade ores that were sold at a profit in 1906 would not have paid the freight charges in 1904 and the early part of 1905. Thus the unit value of manganese ore carrying over 50 per cent. Mn. at United Kingdom ports in 1904 was only about 9½d., while at the close of 1906 it was 1s. 4½d. This advance in prices stimulated the production of lower grades of ore. There was great activity in prospecting, and new quarries were opened. Owing to the fact that the deposits are rich and easily worked, India has become the largest producer of the ore, having outstripped Russia and Brazil. There seems little doubt that she will maintain the firm hold she has secured in the world's market. In the Central Provinces the ore is raised mainly in the Nagpur, Bhandara, and Balaghat districts, where the grade is very high, ranging from 51 to 54 per cent. of metal. Its high quality enables this ore to bear the heavy rail freight of 500 miles, besides the cost of shipment to Europe and America. Other important sources of ore are Vizianagram, the native States of Mysore, Sandor, and Jhabua, and the Panch Mahals district of Bombay, while finds have recently been reported from Las Bela State. The Carnegie Steel Company is said to have acquired a large deposit in the Balaghat district, while a property in Mysore has been purchased by a German firm. The revival in the Caucasus manganese industry and the depression in the American and German steel trades have caused a decline in prices, especially in the market for low-grade ores. Thus, in a year, the price of Mysore manganese has fallen off 40 to 50 per cent. The Indian exports of the ore have expanded from 282,000 tons in 1905 to 453,000 tons in 1906 and 581,000 tons in 1907. There is talk of establishing a reducing plant in India, as the present method of shipping crude ore involves heavy payments for freight of waste. The superior Indian ores are specially suited for the manufacture of ferro-manganese and spiegeleisen. Many of them have not only a high percentage of manganese, but also a low percentage of phosphorus and a low humidity. Last, and not least, the Indian mines have a good reputation for faithfully executing their contracts.

PETROLEUM

The important Burma oilfields form part of a belt extending from Assam to the Dutch Indies. The oldest, most developed, and most successful of the Burma fields is that of Yenanyaung, in the Irraw-

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addy Valley, where native wells have been in operation for a century. Drilling was started in 1887, and the output, which had been only 2,000,000 gallons in 1886, rose to 40,000,000 gallons in 1902 and to no less than 89,500,000 gallons in 1906. The next largest of the Burman fields are the Singu (opened in 1901) and the Yenangyat (1891), which produced 35,000,000 and 13,000,000 gallons respectively in 1906. The local value is estimated at about 1d. per gallon of crude oil. In Assam the oilfields produce about 3,000,000 gallons a year. In India (excluding Burma) the consumption of Burma and Assam petroleum has largely increased, and, whereas eight years ago the proportion of Indian to foreign oil consumed was 5 and 95 per cent., the relative proportions in 1906-7 were 53 and 47 per cent.

GOLD AND RUBIES

In British India the production of gold is insignificant. In 1906 no less than 97 per cent. of the total Indian output—viz., 581,545oz. valued at £2,230,284—came from a single reef in the Kolar district of Mysore. The Nizam's Hulti mine yielded 13,784oz. Gold washing is carried on in many districts, but no record is available of the amount thus obtained. The only company working for rubies on a large scale is the Burna Ruby Mines (Limited), but there are numerous mines and washings in the Mogok district, worked by Burmans possessing hereditary rights, and from these are obtained large quantities of gems, including some of great value.

MICA AND OTHER MINERALS

Mica, for which there has been a large demand in recent years, is produced chiefly in the Nellore district of Madras and the Hazaribagh and Gaya districts of Bengal. The exports rose from 25,837 cwt. in 1905 to 54,262 cwt. in 1906, mainly owing to extensive shipments of mica dippings and dust, and then declined to 39,055cwt. in 1907. The output of iron ore is small. Baluchistan produced 4,375 tons of chromite for export. Among recent developments should be mentioned the workings for tourmaline in Burma and discoveries of wolframite in the Central Provinces, a region which appears to possess considerable stores of mineral wealth. The prospecting licences and mining leases granted in India are present mainly for coal, gold, manganese, and mica. They numbered 252 in 1906. (A Correspondent in a letter to *The Times*.)

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Orphanages and Titles in Burmah

There are no Buddhist orphanages in Burmah. When parents die the villagers adopt their children at once, and treat them precisely the same way as they treat their own children. In Burmah there are no titles of honour for the merely wealthy. The titles are such as 'Founder of a Monastery,' or 'Builder of a Pagoda.'

Italian design of the Tajmahal

Signor Menegatti who was chosen by Lord Curzon through the British Ambassador at Rome to restore the marble throne in the Dewan-i-iam at Delhi has completed the work after three years. On the eve of his departure, he has received a letter from the Director of Archaeology in India expressing full satisfaction with his labours. Signor Menegatti considers that much of the decorative work in Delhi and Agra is Florentine, and that the Taj Mahal was designed and a deal of the work carried out by Italians, as some decorations in the Taj are reproduced from the Temple of San Giovani in Florence, a much earlier building than the Taj.

Statistics of Indian Newspapers

Indian Post Office statistics relating to the number of newspapers received for delivery are a very interesting study. In 1853-54, the United Provinces returned the largest number of newspapers received for delivery, 541,932, Bengal being second with 536,784. The United Provinces maintained this supremacy over Bengal, Bombay and Madras till 1861-62, when Bengal shot ahead with 977,422 newspapers to the United Provinces 901,211, and has since consistently maintained the lead. The figures for 1906-07 show that Bengal and Eastern Bengal had between them the enormous circulation of nearly 14 million newspapers, against which the United Provinces can only show 4,722,943. Bombay is second to Bengal with 6½ millions, Madras third with 6½ and the Punjab fourth with 6½ millions. The total circulation in all India is 44,045,566.

The Ganges Water

The reputation of the water of the Ganges among the Hindu millions of India is known to all, and most of us were content to believe that in a hot and thirsty land like Northern India such

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a magnificent river as the Gangas had many claims to be highly thought of, but it would appear as if modern science was coming to the aid of ancient tradition in maintaining a special blessedness of the water of the Ganges. Mr. E. H. Hankin, in the preface to the fifth edition of his excellent pamphlet on "The Cause and Prevention of Cholera," writes as follows:- "Since I originally wrote this pamphlet I have discovered that the water of the Ganges and the Jumna is hostile to the growth of the cholera microbe, not only owing to the absence of food materials, but also owing to the actual presence of an antiseptic that has the power of destroying this microbe. At present I can make no suggestion as to the origin of this mysterious antiseptic.

A Buried Village

A few weeks ago, while excavating between Lahore and Lahore Cantonment East, on the Shalemar side of the railway line, the workmen unearthed the form of a native woman in a sitting posture with her hand resting on the handle of an old-style rice machine. The figure was perfect in every detail, but unfortunately on being touched it crumbled away, the teeth only remaining. While this excavation has been proceeding masonry and pillars also have been found, thus indicating that there had been buildings, probably a village, on the site. The attitude of the woman in the act of operating a machine would show that she had been taken unawares and this leads one to suppose that the ground about there had subsided suddenly, taking the buildings along with it. As the figure was found at a depth of 12 feet below the surface, this indicates the probability of an earthquake. Whether or not there was actually a village there, when it existed and when it disappeared are subjects for speculation.

A Daying Indian Art

Among the many Indian arts which are declining, partly from weakening in the general demand and much more from the competition of cheaper and inferior work indiscriminately accepted as a substitute, the coloured tile industry of Sind occupies an important place. The admirable taste which is shown in almost all Mahomedan architecture of an early period is not to be discerned in the buildings of the Arab conquerors of Sind, and since they razed all Hindu buildings their own heavy and amorphous structures are all that Sind can boast of. But these are redeemed from absolute ugliness by their surface decoration with enamelled tiles sometimes of remarkable beauty. Coloured tile-work is not,

of course, peculiar to Sind. It is common in many parts of the Panjab, and is not unknown in other parts of India. Introduced into this country from Persia, where, after being neglected for centuries, this very ancient art revived under circumstances which remain obscure, tile-work was employed for the decoration of Mahomedan buildings of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after which a slow decline seems to have set in, though good work of a much later period is to be met with. At present the industry in Sind is moribund, and only a few families at Hala and Narasapur, to the north and north-east of Hyderabad (Sind), carry on the work. Even these few potters are not unaffected by the lowering of taste, and much of their work is gaudy in colour to suit the requirements of their patrons.

A Gallery of Indian Portraits

At a royal academy banquet held in the last century (when speeches were allowed) Earl Rosebery delighted his listeners with a suggestion that a committee of painters should settle the design for an appropriately picturesque garb in which great men might be decked when sitting for their portraits. Nothing was done. Mr Herbert Olivier shows us at the Grafton Galleries the splendour of his Indian opportunities. He has had the unique experience of painting the portraits of native chiefs glittering in all the bedizements of the sumptuous East. The portrait gallery is a superb shock of barbaric grandeur truly and vigorously rendered. No university or college will be able to match this array of pious founders, for it must be stated, the portraits are eventually to hang in the great hall of the Daly College, Indore, wisely founded for the sons of chiefs in the administrative province known as "The Central India Agency." In this institution the effort is being made to train the young chieftains on English public school and university lines, without the risks (so much insisted on by modern writers) of bringing native princes to Europe. The Indian Government commissioned Mr. Olivier, one of our gifted portrait painters, to portray the chiefs who have provided the funds for this college, and their selection of the artist is here vindicated. The gayest uniform of the West is drab compared with the jewelled point and colour of the robes worn by that descendant of the fighting Marathas, his Highness Madho Rao Sindhia of Gwalior (the richest prince in India), or his Highness Pratap Singh of Orchha, the fiercest holder of a fortress, and one of the last to render allegiance.

Utilisation of Water Power in India

A hydro-electric generating plant that is being constructed on

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the River Jhelum, in the Kashmir valley, will, when completed, develop 20,000 electrical horse-power. In this part of India it has become absolutely necessary, if the industries are to be properly developed, to utilise the water power of the district. The reason for this is that coal is very difficult to obtain, owing to the great distance from the native collieries. Wood has up to the present been the chief fuel, but the supply is rapidly becoming inadequate. The Jhelum was chosen because even in dry season there is always plenty of water in it. It rises in the Himalayas, and drains a large area of these mountains. It is also fed by glaciers on the sides of the mountains. Although there are no falls on this river, the gradient of the bed is fairly heavy for the greater part of its length. It averages from 8oft. to 85ft a mile for 80 miles in the Kashmir valley. It was decided to locate the intake at Rampur. From here a flume 6½ miles long carries the water to the generating station. The head of water obtained is 400ft. In making the surveys many other suitable situations for the generation of power were found, the total power available being about 250,000 horse-power. None of these places, however, was suitably situated for the disposal of the power generated. The generating station is 50 miles from Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. This town will take power for lighting and traction. It is also thought likely that power will be transmitted to Rawal Pindi, which is nearly 130 miles away. There will be no difficulty in disposing of the remaining power to factories in the vicinity.

Housing Problem in large Cities

Calcutta has several problems that exercise the minds of its citizens. Two of the most important are the smoke problem, with which is connected the steady rise in disease of the lungs shown in the bills of mortality, and the problem of housing and rents. Calcutta treats both in the approved Calcutta fashion. It grumbles, shrugs its shoulders, sighs, and continues to endure. But Calcutta is not alone in the possession of a rent, or rack-rent, problem. The housing problem is becoming a serious one in every station in India, in the mofussil as well as in the capital towns. Bombay and Calcutta are specially concerned. Madras, has also come to feel the pinch. The houses are now not equal to the demand. Several new houses have been built lately, and these have been snapped up at rents of from Rs. 120 to 150. This is enough to fill the mouths of dwellers in Calcutta and Bombay with the waters of envy. But the Madrasis are still not satisfied. They say the rents

are too high, and that the houses have been built so close together that privacy and quiet have been sacrificed. Dwellers in this city who have grown used to modestly averting the eyes when looking out of windows so as to avoid a too intimate study of their neighbours' affairs, may feel some astonishment at this statement. They would, however, do well to take a hint from Madras. It is now proposed there to profit by the evil example of Madras and Calcutta, ensure against over-crowding and killing rents, by the formation of a society on the plan drawn up by the English Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council, and to build sufficient and satisfactory houses which will bring in a return of 5 to 6 per cent. on capital invested. Calcutta and Bombay might well follow this example.

Count Okuma on India

It will be remembered that not long ago a report was published in many European journals which purported to be that of a speech made by Count Okuma, the Leader of the Progressive Party in Japan, respecting India. The Count was made to use some extraordinary language with reference to what were understood to be his country's designs on the great British Dependency. A friend has just shown me the text of the speech as given verbatim in some of the vernacular organs, and the paragraph appears to have embodied a harmless recommendation as far as Great Britain is concerned. Any one who knows the position Count Okuma has held, and his strong advocacy from the first of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, must have felt that he was being misconstrued somehow or other, for anything antagonistic to Great Britain is quite foreign to his nature. He is almost as famous a grower of orchids as Mr. Chamberlain, and an admirer of British tastes in many other directions. The Count said, in the course of his speech, that not only is a considerable amount of cotton imported by Japan from India, but the import of rice likewise is large, and that this commercial relationship is not only of material benefit to both countries, but tends to preserve most friendly relations in the interest of peace. The amount of imports from India, however, being ten times as large in value as Japan's exports to that land, "our business men," said the Count, "must develop the sphere of their business in India at this juncture." He went on to congratulate the Indian students on enjoying freedom under the rule of the British in India, and urged them if they should desire more freedom still and greater happiness than they already enjoy, to make scientific progress and cultivate knowledge, since the King

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of England affords them every possible favour for the advancement of their liberty. It is easy now to perceive how a few words taken apart from the context were misread.

Lord Curzon and Education of Chiefs

Lord Curzon presided at a meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts last evening, when a paper was read by Sir David W. K. Barr dealing with the progress in the native States of India during the past 40 years. Lord Curzon said there were a great many things in India about which people in this country were very ignorant. But if there was a part of India or a section of the problem about which the ignorance mostly prevailed it was the native States. How many people of those who talked about India as a great dark territory ruled by a handful of Englishmen were aware that quite one-third of the whole area and more than one-fifth of the entire population were ruled by chiefs of native blood, of native sympathies, and native character?

The native State of the old type might almost be described as a paradise of contrast—perhaps almost a paradox. There was in those States the most strange and interesting blend of the old and the new. They might attend a combat of wild beasts in the morning and play a game of polo or golf in the afternoon. But the most characteristic feature was that these things were dear to the people of the country, and they were dear to them because they were "racy of the soil." Mad, indeed, would be the man who would propose to change the state of things. One big advantage was that there was more scope for the employment of native intellect. The great turning point in the history of native States occurred after the close of the Mutiny when they were for the first time brought into direct relations with the Crown. The result had been that, although many of the States were still, it must be admitted, in a very backward condition yet, on the whole, there had been a very great forward and upward movement in the standard of administration. Lord Curzon paid a compliment to the political officers, to whom also was due a large portion of the credit. The one problem upon which he looked with intense anxiety was the question of the education of the chiefs. The whole stability of the native States did not depend upon artificial conditions, but upon the character of the training which they gave to those men or assisted them to obtain for themselves. Referring to the bringing of the young men to England and giving them an English public school education, Lord Curzon, while not deprecating such an education, said it would be unwise to do anything which might hereafter in the slightest degree

alienate those men from the country in which their lot was cast or the people over whom they might have to rule. It would be a fatal thing if they turned a most promising man into so much of an Englishman that he became too little of an Indian. The native States, he thought, would not merely survive, but would grow year by year, and if any emergency ever arose England might rely with the utmost confidence upon their loyalty and devotion.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Graphite in India

The total production of graphite in India in 1906 is officially returned as 2,600 tons, valued at £10,009, as compared with 2,324 tons, valued at £16,890, in the year preceding.

Collection of Indian Cottons

A complete collection has been made of the indigenous cottons of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, and these will be shown at Lyallpur this year with a view to their classification. They will also furnish a basis for future work in hybridisation and selection.

Fumigation of Cotton seed

Fumigating chambers have been erected at Bombay and Karachi for the fumigation of cotton seed imported from America and the West Indies. The fumigating agent selected, *viz.*, bi-sulphate of carbon, is reported to be effective in destroying weevil eggs, and at the same time innocuous to the germinating power of the seed treated. Similar precautions have been taken at Goa.

Irrigation works in India

The expenditure on Productive Irrigation works in India is now steadily increasing. It was as low as about 54 lakhs of rupees in the year 1904-05, it rose to nearly 83½ lakhs in 1905-06, to over 119½ lakhs in 1906-07, and during the past year the expenditure has been about 127 lakhs. Of this sum, the Punjab has been by far the most active spending agent and, in spite of the ravages of plague and labour troubles, has accounted for about 85½ lakhs, or considerably more than one-half of the total sum.

Indian Railway Developments

According to a memorandum published some time ago in an extraordinary issue of the "Gazette of India," the surplus revenue of the Indian railways for the year 1907-8, after paying all charges,

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including interest, is estimated at £1,928,100, the actual surplus for 1906-7 being £2,307,700. The capital expenditure during the year 1907-8 amounted to £10,000,000, and for the year 1908-9 the estimate provides for spending the same sum. Under the head of lines already open, including the provision for additional rolling stock, the amount expended in 1907-8 was £7,394,000. Under the same heads provision is made for an expenditure of £7,659,200 in 1908-9—an increase of 3·6 per cent. The mileage of lines of all gauges open to traffic on April 1, 1907, was 29,303 and under construction, 2,629; on April 1, 1908, there were 30,287 open and 1,987 under construction. At the end of the year 1908-9 there will be 1,066 miles under construction,

Irrigation Channels

An experiment is being made in the Nellore District for the light irrigation of dry crops by field channels dug through ryots' fields to irrigate fields situated remote from the irrigation channels. The ryots in the majority of cases are averse from channels being laid through their fields, as with a light rainfall they can get full crops and do not want irrigation, as they consider that undue irrigating of their lands brings out an efflorescence of salt and renders the land unfit for cultivating dry crops. Every attempt has been made to overcome their scruples without success, and the Government have sanctioned a scheme whereby the land required for field channels may be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, but such action should only be taken when there is a reasonable prospect that it will advance the experiment, namely, the irrigation of dry crops. The Board of Revenue is meanwhile directed to notice the progress of the experiment in its Annual Administration Report of the Agricultural Department.

Precaution against Malaria

In India the Cinchona plantations are worked at bare cost, quinine being sold practically at cost price, leaving practically no profit. In Italy they have a different system. The State sells quinine to the peasants in the malarious districts, and the profit is used to combat the malaria. Referring to the subject, the Consul-General, Mr. Neville-Rolfe, says that the methods employed in combating malaria are, first, the protection of the peasants from mosquitoes. This, owing to their ignorance and their untidy habits, is a difficult matter, as they will not take care of the wire gauze which is placed over their doors and windows, nor will they adopt the precaution of using veils and gloves when they are

obliged to go out at night. The second means used in the contest, is the draining of the land, and filling up the pools where the insects breed ; and the third method, which is very effectual, is what is called "bonificamento," or improvement which is affected by retrenching the land, adding the silt of rivers when available, and thus causing it to absorb more moisture. Last year the State sold quinine to the peasants of a value of £70,204, the net profit amounting to £18,515.

The Cultivation of Lac.

Owing to the vastly increased demand for shellac in electrical work and in the manufacture of gramophone records, and the consequent rise in price of the raw material, the Government of India has directed investigations to be made with a view to ascertaining if improvements cannot be made in the cultivation of the lac insect and in the mode of collecting its products, which comprise lac dye as well as lac itself. Formerly, indeed, lac dye was by far the more valuable and important of the two products, and the harvesting of the crop was accordingly regulated to suit its production. Nowadays, however, the tables have been turned, and shellac, which, in addition to the uses already mentioned, is employed as a varnish for furniture and metal, as stiffening for hats, as an ingredient in lithographic ink, and as sealing wax, to say nothing of various uses among the native population of India, is far and away the more important product ; in fact, the last annual returns give the value of the export of lac from India as exceeding three crores of rupees, or, to be exact, Rs. 3,31,39,786. Needless to say, however, in accordance with the innate conservatism of India, the method and time of collection of the raw material remain the same as when lac dye was the chief product. Indeed, the raw product is collected with the larvæ-yielding lac dye still in it, these having to be washed out subsequently. In unreserved forests the right to collect lac was sold to the highest bidders, while on private lands large firms obtained leases enabling them to collect. Twenty years ago, however, the Government after noting how small a proportion of the revenue from lac found its way into the treasury, established lac preserves. Now, with the increasing demand and price, efforts are being made to introduce the insect into districts where it has been hitherto unknown, by which means it is hoped to improve the value of the land and at the same time the condition of the peasantry.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

ABOLITION OF INDIAN COTTON DUTIES

Sir Roper Lethbridge, whose views on the Indian fiscal question are so well-known, contributes a characteristic article on the above subject to the current number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*. His proposal briefly is that the customs duties levied in India on imported cotton goods from England, together with the countervailing excise duties levied on similar goods in India, should be abolished, while India should be permitted to protect against the importation of cotton to such countries as protect themselves against Indian exportation. He refers at the outset to Sir Henry Fowler's important letter on the Indian Cotton Duties that appeared in the London *Spectator* in January 11 last. According to the writer, Sir Henry Fowler's words point to the early abolition of a troublesome and vexatious impost that for the last 13 years has harassed and impeded the progress of the cotton industry, both in great Britain and in India itself. Sir Henry is said to have solemnly declared that the Indian import duties on cotton had only been imposed because of the financial embarrassments owing mainly to the fall in the value of the rupee. The ex-Secretary for India further asserts that the excise duties on the products of Indian cotton mills were imposed, because a Free Trade British Government could not retain a duty on Lancashire goods without a countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures.

In the next place the writer states that the legitimate discontent in India produced by the odious excise duties, which are nowhere levied in the self-governing Colonies, has grown into a serious source of unrest. The intense dislike for these duties was strongly expressed at the last Bombay session of the Indian National Congress held under the presidency of Sir Henry Cotton. In the opinion of the writer, Sir Henry Fowler does well to suggest that the time has arrived when the pledges in regard to these duties should be at once carried out by the total abolition both of the customs duties and of the excise. Such a measure would, for the purposes of the cotton industry, make of the United Kingdom and the Empire of India one vast Free-Trade area.

The writer then proceeds to consider the immense expansion of the cotton industry that would at once follow on the passing of such

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a reform both for the Lancashire and the Indian mills. He quotes the authority of Mr. Winston Churchill to establish that "the removal of the restriction on the importation of cotton would stimulate the purchasing power of the great home-market in India which ought to be the first concern of statesmen." The writer admits that the *Swadeshi* movement in India has, by universal consent, grown into a great national enthusiasm. He thinks that the most ordinary course on the part of the Manchester merchants would be, even in these times of seeming prosperity, to take some steps to avert the threatened catastrophe. Obviously, the only possible step might be one that would be honestly favoured both by Free Traders and by Tariff Reformers—the abolition of the Indian import duties on Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods in return for the abolition of the excise duties on Indian cotton goods and such further concession to Indian trade interests as might be agreed upon by the British and Indian exchequers. Sir Roper takes it for granted that all Conservative politicians would gladly welcome a reform that would harmonise the industrial interests of India with those of the United Kingdom. His idea seems to be a compromise between what the *Manchester Courier* calls an "impossible policy" and the pure Cobdenism which is now imposed on India by force.

Owing to the antediluvian fiscal policy which is forced on India at the point of the bayonet, the expansion of her nascent cotton industry is greatly impeded, while inroads of foreign protected industry are so greatly encouraged, that while the value of the imports of cotton goods from Germany and other protectionist States have increased four-fold during the last ten years, the Indian manufacture has barely doubled. If the maintenance of this so-called Free Trade system in India is insisted upon, the time will come when, according to Sir Roper Lethbridge, both Lancashire and Bombay alike will be ousted from the Indian markets by the protected manufactures of the Continent and America.

The writer proceeds to assert that the present system is simply detested in India—practically universally. The educated classes in India, who are universally in favour of the protection of nascent industries, comprise among their number many highly trained and scholarly economists of great scientific attainments, to whom the self-satisfied and domineering tone of the average Cobdenite must be intensely irritating. In this connection the writer pays a great tribute to our educated classes when he says "that the average honour-man of the Indian Universities is a keener, brighter and more alert thinker than the average honour-man of the British

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Universities. This is especially the case in all branches of philosophic learning."

Sir Roper Lethbridge aptly observes that a great and lucrative market, though established by Britain, is guarded and maintained by India. Therefore, both Britain and India, being sister States in the British Empire, have equal rights each to a full consideration by the other. Both Britain and India have a perfect right to expect that in all fiscal arrangements, the commercial and industrial interests of both shall be equally respected ; and this, according to the writer, is only possible under a system of Imperial Preference. It is difficult to understand how any intelligent being can profess to believe that India, being intensely Protectionist, and being at present forcibly prevented from obtaining any protection whatever for her nascent industries, is more contented with the present unjust arrangement which would afford her some protection against the foreigner, while still maintaining the same level of equality with the British industry.

Sir Roper urges upon the authorities a prompt action to be taken. Every one, says he, who desires to see the ties of love and friendship between Britain and India drawn closer, should insist on it that the Liberal Government should fulfil those promises to which their predecessors had pledged themselves.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Mr. N. G. Welinker contributes an eminently readable and suggestive paper to the current number of the *Asiatic Quarterly* in the course of which he considers the results of liberal education in India from a particular and somewhat specialised standpoint. The objects of liberal education, the writer begins to say, are wide and various, but their range is enormously widened under the peculiar conditions of a liberal education in India on Western lines. In India, over and above the ordinary functions of liberal education in every country, a system of liberal education has to subserve another peculiar function which may be characterised as the ministry of reconciliation between the East and the West. According to the writer, the ultimate aim of England's policy in regard to the higher education of Indians is to train the best minds in India to understand England—to learn its history, its literature, the science which has given it its power and its wealth, and what is of still greater importance, the spiritual ideas which underlie and hold together its national life.

The writer's enquiry into the results of Western education in India resolves itself into two questions : (1) How far do the recipients of liberal education assimilate Western culture ? How far, in other words, do they intelligently apprehend and appreciate the aims and methods of Western civilisation ? Have they been enabled to form an intelligent and reasonably complete conception of the means by which England governs India ? (2) How far do our educated classes serve as connecting links between the rulers and the ruled ? How far do they understand and interpret to the British Government the wishes and needs of the people and how far do they convey to the people helpful knowledge about the work and intention of the Government, and thus facilitate and promote the ends of good administration ? How far do they help to bridge the gulf between the East and the West and perform or discharge that ministry of reconciliation between the two peoples alluded to before ?

Mr. Welinkar admits that there is a general and wide-spread feeling that things are not as they should be in relation to the matters suggested by these inquiries. A section of the English people are of opinion that the educated classes in India are the reliable exponents of the wishes and needs of her populations. There is another section who denounce higher education in India as a dismal failure. To some jaundiced eyes the Indian graduate is a monstrous product of an impossible system of education, clever at criticism, but of no use whatever for constructive work of any kind. The writer does not agree with any of these classes of thinkers and, in order to get a correct view of the case, distinguishes two periods in the history of liberal education in India, each covering about 25 years. The first of these periods was the spring-time of hope, when England sent to India a succession of great educationists who with wide scholarship combined a glowing love for India and its people and a whole-hearted devotion to their best interests. The number of young men who sought "higher education during this period was small ; but they were most of them young men of high aspiration and conspicuous ability. In those days the relations between the professors and students were personal and intimate. The students were in fact eager to mediate between the people and the government. But times have altered, says the writer, and within the last three decades a great change has come over the spirit of liberal education in India. It is now sought chiefly as a means of money making and worldly success. The product of higher education in these days is in most cases a man of scanty and ill-

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digested information—and unformed, undeveloped man, morally and intellectually. The Indian graduate cannot be said to be sufficiently equipped by the education he receives to fight the battle of life and does not command much influence among the masses of his countrymen. The writer further asserts that our educated classes do not understand the people, and have no means of knowing their real needs.

In making an inquiry into the causes which have led to the present unsatisfactory state of things, the writer enumerates the following facts : (1) The steady diminution in the number of great English educationists in India (2) The insufficiency of the teaching staff, both native and European, in Indian Colleges and high schools. (3) The unhealthy increase in the number of students in the colleges, consequent on an excessive demand for collegiate education. (4) Diminishing association and co-operation between English and Indian teachers in work of higher education. (5) The unsuitability of much of the teaching to meet the conditions and fulfil the functions of the life of our day.

The writer thus describes the intellectual outlook of an Indian college : "The poverty of general knowledge among our students has been very great. The intellectual horizon of most Indian colleges in these days is bounded by the study of the books prescribed for the examinations. Beyond that there is very little intellectual activity. Few of the discussions in the debating societies afford evidence of wide reading or careful preparation on the part of the debaters. The help given by the professors in the conducting of a magazine or journal is scanty. The present system of examination makes no provision for the recognition or rewarding of wide study, and thus fails to encourage the spirit of scholarship or research."

The remedies suggested by the writer with the view of improving the defects in Indian education can thus be summarised : (1) The spread of more correct ideas regarding the true functions of liberal education. (2) Larger association between native and European teachers. (3) More "modernism" in the studies of the University. (4) Increase to the teaching staff in the colleges with the view of securing closer contact between pupils and teachers. (5) The encouragement of a wider intellectual life in the colleges by the development of debating societies, by the formation of special classes for studies outside the curriculum, by the offer of prizes for meritorious essays on various topics and similar means. (6) Wider opportunities for general culture by some scheme of University extension. (7) The introduction of a paper on general knowledge in all Univer-

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sity examinations and the institution of an honours test for making a high level of academic attainments.

ASCETICS IN POLITICS

The Dawn for April opens with an able historical review of *The Part Played by Indian Ascetics and Men of Religion in Indian Politics* contributed by Mr. Rabindra Narayan Ghosh of the National College of Calcutta. *Sadhuism*, says the writer, is not a life of egotistic indifference or of mere blank inactivity as it is sometimes supposed to be, but is a visible embodiment of the life of the spirit, of the life governed solely by the highest ideals, and the uplifting of common humanity is as much, and even more, the care of the ascetic saints of India as of the greatest philanthropist that the West has produced. The writer is of opinion that instead of being burdens on the community, the *Sadhus* are some of its greatest benefactors. On the religious side, *Sadhuism* has tended to keep before men's eyes, as the highest ideal, a life of purity, self-restraint and contempt for worldliness. In its social aspect, it has always tended towards the recognition of the divinity that resides in all men, irrespective of caste and creed. Politically, *Sadhuism*, through the perennial wanderings of the ascetics over the length and breadth of the land, has tended to preserve a certain homogeneity throughout India, and, so far, has been acting counter to that tendency of disintegration which is natural in such a vast country of many languages and races.

The religion of the Hindus, says the writer, is more the rule that governs the daily life of the people in all its departments than a mere theological creed or formula. The *Sadhus* of India, while constantly keeping before men's minds the highest ideal of *Nirvitti* as the ultimate goal of human existence, insist no less on the due performance of worldly duties as a means towards the attainment of this highest *Dharma*; and where the need has arisen, when anarchy has threatened the land, and the withdrawal of State protection has jeopardised the *Dharma* of the people, then have these ascetic saints urged on the people, in no uncertain voice, the paramount duty of practising what may be called their political *Dharma*, and have even sacrificed their own lives in thousands on the fields of battle.

There are numerous instances in our history of the direct interference of religious ascetics with Indian political matters. Dur-

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ing his march to the Hydaspes, Alexander the Great had to encounter the opposition, not only of mercenary troops, but of a very large number of Indian ascetics who are aptly styled as ' Philosophers ' by a famous Greek writer. On one occasion Alexander captured ten of the ' Gymnosophists ' who had been principally concerned in persuading King Sambos to rise against him. One of these ten ascetics was asked why he induced Sambos to revolt, and he boldly answered that he had advised him to live with honour or die with honour. When King Anangapal of Lahore sought the aid of the Hindu princes of Hindusthan against Sultan Mahmud, he invited them in the name of the common religion, the defence of which was the common duty of all Hindus. Coming to Mahmud's celebrated attack on *Somnath* in Gujrat, we find the very priests of the temple fighting for the defence of their faith, and dying in thousands rather than forsake their charge. The bards or *Charans*, whom the Rajputs held in such high regard and from whom they derived their inspiration, were regarded as semi-religious personalities by their admiring countrymen.

For a more direct and more wide-spread influence of men of religion on the political life of the people, the writer carries us down to the days of the later Moghul Emperors. The sixteenth century was a period of religious awakening all over India, and it is remarkable that almost all the leading spirits of this movement belonged to the class of *Sannyasins* or homeless ascetics. Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Tukaram and Ramdas were the personages who made religion real to the great mass of the population and thus rendered it an object worth living and dying for.

The writer then dilates upon the part played by the men of religion, especially the *Sannyasi* ascetics, in the political upheaval of India during the period of Aurangzeb's blind bigotry. Aurangzeb had to encounter not a little difficulty in suppressing the *Sati* revolt in Mewar. It was a deep-rooted conviction of the Sikh *Gurus* that religion could not be kept apart from the secular affairs of life, far less from politics. *Guru* Har Govinda represented two powers, spiritual and temporal, while Nanak himself is said to have been an incarnation of both *Raja* and *Yoga*. The later *Gurus* came to be regarded as *Sutcha Padshahs*, as opposed to the purely temporal *Padshahs* who ruled at Delhi. Sikhism could not help giving rise to a number of ascetic sects who combined the military character of the wider community with renunciation of family ties. Such were the *Akalis*, the most zealous followers of the cult of *Guru* Govinda. Passing to the history of the Marhattas, we find the same

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forces at work, the same desire to safeguard the interests of the national religion by the establishment of a National State. Religious leaders like Dnyan Dev, Eknath, Namdev and Tukaram all worked in the same direction. But the saint who exercised the most potent and direct influence on the political movement in Maharashtra was Swami Ramdas, the spiritual *Guru* of the great Sivaji, who held his kingdom not as personal possession, but as a sacred trust imposed on him by the Swami. The red robe of the *Sannyasi* adopted as the royal flag of Maharashtra as a symbol of the trust. Coming down to more recent times, we meet with one other instance of *Sannayasis* taking a direct part in the politics of the country. Some of the worst miseries, says the writer, that have ever fallen to the lot of Bengal were those endured by her under what is known as the Dual Government introduced by Clive. According to this system, the East India Company realised revenues, controlled expenditure and maintained the army, while the internal administration of the country was in the hands of the Mahommed Reza Khan, Governor of Bengal and Shitab Roy, Governor of Behar. The system proved an utter failure. There was anarchy and disorder in the land and, to add to the seriousness of the situation, a terrible famine broke out in 1770 which carried off a third of the population. It was at this time that a band of hardy, bold and enthusiastic *Sannyasins*, several thousand in number, rose in arms and filled the English with dismay and consternation. The revenues could not be collected, the inhabitants made common cause with the *Sannyasins* and the whole rural administration was unhinged. It was only, says Mr. Ghosh, when the English gave up the absurd idea of enjoying the revenues of the country without incurring the responsibility of internal administration, and abolished the preposterous system of dual control that the *Sannayasis* abandoned the militant character which they had been compelled to assume.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Rev. J. N. Farquhar of the London Mission has an elaborate article on the above subject in the 'May number of the *Contemporary Review*. Looking at the latest census table, the writer says that the hope of Christianity ever becoming the religion of India seems almost ridiculous. He points out how in the past the whole Hindu race has saved itself as a religious and social community from alien contamination, amid the polluting influences

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of savage and semi-savage tribes, and the never-ceasing political changes of ancient India. The method was the rigid adherence to every detail of traditional law and custom, and the uncompromising rejection of every thing new, whether good or bad. Naturally this protective armour, forged from what the writer calls the triple steel of ancestral usage, caste and metempsychosis, became, in the course of the centuries, a defence of almost illimitable strength. This self-protective power has won almost incredible victories. That Buddhism should have been crowded out of India is a stupendous testimony to the staying power of the old faith. Jainism and Hellas were equally unsuccessful in India. So far as Islam is concerned, the sword came in along with the Koran, yet the whole number of Mahomedans in India to day is little more than one-fifth of the population. This is proof final that the old faith has great powers of resistance and, according to the writer, is the main reason why Christianity has converted so small percentage of the inhabitants of this vast peninsula.

An issue is then raised by the writer as to whether this defensive armour of Hinduism will last long. In this connection we are told that the largest fact in recent Indian History is the intellectual and moral upheaval which has produced the modern educated Hindu. The influences of this change have as yet scarcely touched the common people; but the educated classes are so numerous that the movement is of very large significance indeed. The following are said to be its noteworthy features : (1) Desire for reform ; (2) Educational enthusiasm ; (3) Passion for freedom ; (4) Demand for equality ; (5) A new attitude to women, and (6) the new Humanitarian feeling.

The present movement, says the writer, is an intellectual and moral upheaval of volcanic energy. These new ideas and forms of feeling are precisely the things which the modern Hindu is said to care most for. It is round these that his life revolves. There can be no doubt as to the significance of this movement. The minds of the educated classes have been forced open. The protective armour of Hinduism has been pierced. Educated Hindus now welcome with eagerness and prize as their most cherished possession a mass of foreign ideas and ideals. These new ideas are in hopeless contradiction with the old. Towards the new, free, happy India that is to be, every eye now strains. The aim and inspiration of the whole movement is progress—educational, moral, social, industrial, political and religious. The modern spirit has thus seized the very citadel of the Hindu mind and has filled with a

garrison of its own. The writer apparently thinks that the powerful Christian influence is active in the current movement in India. He further thinks that the movement is destined to spread, and that Christianity is on perfectly sure ground when it is affirmed that the defensive armour of Hinduism is doomed and will assuredly pass away.

The writer then enters into a discussion on the results that have been produced in religion on account of the modern movement, which is characterised by a deep appreciation of the place of religion in the life of a people and by a passionate desire to restore Hinduism to its old place of supremacy. A large proportion of the educated men have now flung themselves into a movement for the revival of Hinduism. Several groups such as the *Deva Samaj*, the *Arya Samaj*, the *Prarthana Samaj*, and the like, refuse to be swept along by the flood which bears the multitude. To be thoroughly Hindu, and at the same time to introduce just as much reform as is necessary to make the religion practically efficient in these modern days, and so to prove that Christianity is unnecessary—this is the ideal. The writer considers that perhaps the most remarkable feature of this whole religious upheaval is its relation to Christianity and that this relation will be found to be two-fold. Its first and most prominent aspect is *opposition*. Christianity is the one object of hatred and condemnation. It is remarkable that in India today, where all the faiths of the world are clashing, every movement singles Christianity out as its sole formidable antagonist. The writer apparently thinks that this determined opposition is fraught with great possibilities so far as the future of Christianity is concerned. The writer appends the prayer with which Mr. Narendra Nath Sen opened the 22nd Indian National Congress in Calcutta in order to show that throughout the whole literature of this modern revival, one finds a great deal of Christianity both in thought and language. The Hindu revival is said to copy Missionary methods all round. The Hindu College at Benares, the Youngmen's Hindu Associations, Prayer Meetings and Tracts—all point to the same direction.

The writer states that the leader and organiser of this great religious agitation is not a Brahmin, not even a Hindu, but is a foreigner and a woman. The writer draws from this that the enemy are already in the citadel, and that this significant combination is spreading ideas and practices which are altogether alien to Hinduism. Speaking for ourselves, we fail to realise wherein lies Mrs. Besant's leadership of Brahmanism in India, but whatever that

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may be, we have no desire to join issue in this respect with Mr. Farquhar who seems to be quite sanguine about the success of Christianity in India in the future when our men will begin to see 'how hopelessly their old Hindu notions contradict the liberal intellectual and moral conceptioneys 'thdelight in.'

Mr. Farquhar affirms that not within the last two thousand years at least has the Hindu intellect undergone such a revolutionary change as the last seventy-five years have brought. To-day India's leading men are not plunged in meditation but in politics, journalism, teaching, medicine, litigation and the Civil Service. Some very powerful force, or group of forces, has been at work in this connection. These forces are said to be: (1) English education, whether given in Missionary, Government or native institutions; (2) Christian teaching, whether oral or literary; (3) Christian philanthropy, whether the action of Government or the practical work of the Missionary Societies; (4) and the anxiety of the Government to work for the good of the people.

The modern overturnings, which have so completely altered the attitude of thinking Hindus towards Western things, will of necessity be of great service to Christianity, no matter what may have produced them. The writer then quotes figures from the census and other reports to show that protestantism in India is a force of extraordinary vitality. In his opinion, the modern movement and the religious reaction are both largely the result of the work of Protestants. During the last fifty years, Catholics have doubled their numbers while Protestants have multiplied ten fold. Is it any wonder, asks the writer, that the advance of Protestantism has roused the Hindus to a wild rally in self-defence?

What, according to Mr. Farquhar, the Hindus need is to be helped out of the pit into which Hinduism has thrust them, and Hinduism can do that only by giving up the caste system. We can assure the writer that the caste system is fast dying out in India, but we don't know if this fact is making matters easier for Christianity in this country. We are told that more educated converts are being won to Christianity today than ever before, though they make less impression than the groups of students who came out between 1830 and 1870. It is further stated that the results produced by Protestant effort upon the educated classes of India form one of the most brilliant achievements of modern Missions, and that there is no work in the world better worth doing to-day than the Christianisation of the intellect of India.

We are given to understand in the next place that the middle-

class folk has as yet yielded but a very small percentage of converts to the Christian Church. In their case, the defensive armour of Hinduism still remains in all its ancient strength. With regard to the future of these people who form the backbone of India, the writer hopes that with the general spread of high education they are sure to come under the influences of Christianity. Meanwhile, Mission methods are being steadily perfected and another force of altogether unmeasurable potency is getting ready for work. The new force referred to is the native Protestant community of India with regard to which the writer says that (1) they are now a million strong, (2) they are the most progressive community in India and (3) they are by far the finest spiritual force in India. This community, we are told, is by no means perfect, but it is alive and is steadily growing in spiritual power. Socially and morally there is continuous progress. The members of the National Missionary Society of India, which is purely an Indian and inter-denominational organisation, are expected to prove valuable allies in the campaign for the winning of the middle class folk. The writer concludes by saying that the history of the past century and the condition of India to-day fill the prescient soul with the certainty that 'the Kingdom of Christ is coming in this land.'

“REAL INDIA”

[*Real India* by MR. J. D. REES, C.I.E., M.P.]

It is a great paradox in English political life that, while it is generally contended that India should not form a plank of any party platform, Anglo-Indians at home have sharply divided themselves in two schools of opinion on Indian affairs. The one we may call the Radical party led by such men as Keir Hardie, Henry Cotton and O'Connell; the other may be fittingly described as the Imperialist party which has Curzon and Rees as its principal spokesmen. Sir Henry Cotton's *New India*, O'Connell's *Failure of Lord Curzon* and *The Causes of Present Discontent* have put the progressive view of Indian affairs in an authoritative way. Now Mr. Rees has come forward with his reply to the progressive party and calls his answer *Real India*.

Though Mr. Rees in this work says something about the extent, the climate, the weather, the races, the creeds, the system of Government and administration, and the various conflict of interests of the people of this country, his work cannot be regarded in any other light than as a heated contribution to a political controversy. In this review we shall therefore touch some of those

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points of controversial politics on which Mr. Rees has been anxious to enlighten his ignorant countrymen at home.

Mr. Rees plunges with the air of a statesman into the troubled waters of Indian politics and enumerates what he considers to be the causes of Indian unrest. As usual with the politicians of the Curzon School, Mr. Rees puts nearly the whole blame upon the system of education that is now in vogue in India. Yes, Education is responsible for everything in life from political discontent to personal contumacy. Sydney Smith has familiarised the world with the 'evil' effects of education in one of his most humorous essays, and it is no wonder that men who can not go deeper into the heart of things should find education a ready excuse for all uncanny things. By education Mr. Rees of course means education on western lines through an western language. It is too late in the day to recall the famous controversy which raged in India in 1835 when Macaulay decided the main course education would take in India. For good or evil, the system has prevailed for nearly three quarters of a century and is not likely to be changed within any such time which our vision can pierce. As the *Times* in a dispassionate review of the work says:—"Too much is probably made of the educational system as the creator of disaffection. It is not well suited to Indian needs, but it is now almost a waste of effort to continue to declaim against it. We might as well go on to say that the origin of the trouble is the presence of the British." We hope this is sufficient to dispose of the principal cause which Mr. Rees thinks is responsible for the present Indian discontent.

There are many other causes which Mr. Rees holds responsible for the present unrest in India. From the appointment of the Police Commission to the measures taken ten years ago to stamp out plague in the Bombay Presidency, nothing escapes Mr. Rees's attention and every one of these is believed to have contributed to the present unrest. We hope Mr. Rees does not want his readers to take him seriously when he discusses these matters, and we should not therefore waste our time in combating these mythical cause of Indian unrest.

In discussing the partition of Bengal, Mr. Rees says that "the scheme, be it good or bad, was not, as is often asserted, the invention of Lord Curzon"—which is a news put forward as an apology by Mr. Rees on behalf of the 'second great Indian Pro-Consul.' Any body who knows anything about the partition of Bengal knows that the scheme as finally sanctioned by Mr. Secretary Brodrick (now Lord Middleton) and as accepted by Mr. John Morley (now

Viscount Morley of Blackburn) was nobody else's invention but Lord Curzon's. The original scheme of partition consisted in the proposal of taking out the whole of the Chittagong division from Lower Bengal and attaching it to the administration of Assam. This was an administrative problem which the Assam and the India Government had discussed between them on several occasions during the last twenty years. This proposal was altered by Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Risley in his notorious Circular of December, 1904, and the revised scheme proposed the transfer of the whole of the Dacca division from the Government of Bengal to that of Assam and fixed upon the river Brahmaputra as the boundary line between the two administrations. To get this new scheme accepted by the people, Lord Curzon himself made a tour through the Eastern districts of Bengal and explained at several meetings the objects and advantages of his pet idea. Unfortunately he did not find in Eastern Bengal any enthusiasm for, or general approval of, his altered scheme of partition. This scheme therefore was subsequently further altered so as to include the whole of the Rajshahi division together with the Dacca and the Chittagong divisions into the administration of Assam. All this was done in the year of grace 1905, when Lord Curzon had nearly run out his first term of Indian Viceroyalty, and yet we are told that the scheme was no invention of Lord Curzon's. If truths like these constitute the essence of Mr. Rees's *Real India*, they have very little to do with the India that we who have been born and bred up in this country know anything about.

We have no quarrel with Mr. Rees in his pious wish to bring the Congress 'under regulation.' Lord Curzon did his level best to bring the Congress into disrepute and give it a bad character ; but in his wildest hostility against the educated community in India he did not conceive either the necessity or the practicability of muzzling the Congress. The disregard shown to the Congress and to all public opinion in India has already successfully driven sedition underground in this country. Mr. Arthur St. John writing to the *Daily News* under date May 5, pertinently observes :—"When the Indian National Congress was started in Lord Dufferin's reign, the secret societies (so one is informed on good authority) dwindled away. Now that the National Congress, constantly disregarded and sat upon, has proved, or seemed to prove, a failure, and the repression and contumely from the ruling race has increased, secret societies have been springing up again." Mr. Rees's book on *Real India* was published long before the Bengal Secret Societies were unearthed. So one can excuse him for the advice he tenders to the Government

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of India to bring the Congress under regulation. After the bomb outrage, would Mr. Rees still care to advise the Government to sit upon the safety-valve?

Mr. Rees in the course of his many wise advices to the Government and the people suggests that instructions in the public schools should be conveyed to the pupils through the vehicle of their own vernaculars. It is difficult to say if the suggestion is not prompted by a political motive, but in any case, if it were to be carried out, it would no doubt break the little of solidarity that the Indian peoples have so long attained as a nation.

Mr. Rees raves against the Bengali Babu, the 'Hindoo' Congress and the Native Press and is also very hard upon the landowning and professional classes. But to do him justice we must say that in some matters he sees things eye to eye with the 'Babu Agitator.' Referring to the drain of Indian money to England, Mr. Rees says: "It is of course desirable that the amount should be kept as low as possible, and the heavy charges for pensions and non-effective services are certainly open to criticism. The European Civil Agency could, in some provinces at any rate, be reduced. Few English Judges are really wanted, and the Egyptian system would serve as a useful model. . . . The Secretariat could probably be reduced, for it can hardly be seriously contended that it is absolutely necessary that reports of an officer getting 2000 rupees a month should be handed on to others upon 3000 or 4000 rupees a month, with assistants at 1000 or 2000 rupees a month, before they are referred to a greater mandarin at 5000 or 6000 rupees a month, who can refer the matter to a colleague upon the same stipend, when, if the latter differs with him, or if a Secretary chooses, the file, *plena jam margine, scriptus et in tergo nec dum finitus*, will finally come before the head of the administration." A more forcible plea for retrenchment has not been put forward even from the platform of the Indian National Congress. Speaking of land-revenue and land-cesses, Mr. Rees observes: "the mere possibility of enhancement is not pleasant to them (people), and it would be good policy not only to extend the term in all cases to thirty years but seriously to consider once more whether it would not be advisable to make a permanent settlement with each individual holder. Not only might this prove good revenue policy in the end, but it would infallibly attach every single peasant proprietor to the fortunes of the British Government by the strongest possible tie. Nor is it possible to deny that the multiplication of cesses is regarded by the Indian cultivators as an injustice. They and their

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ancestors for thousands of years have paid rent or revenue, but land-cesses for furthering the services of western civilization, such as sanitation and education, are altogether new imposts, the necessity for which they do not allow and the imposition of which they bitterly resent. An increase in the land-revenue may be borne, but cesses are a new and a foreign thing and hated accordingly." It would be difficult to expect even Mr. Gokhale to beat this indictment of Indian land-revenue policy. Of the partition of Bengal, our author says : "I would have let Bengal alone. The previously existing administration was good enough and there was no difficulty in getting a Lieutenant-Governor for the old undivided province." Elsewhere he says on this subject : "That it will, however, in the end increase the expense of administration I believe, for in time the new province will want a Chief Court, or High Court of its own, and the new constitution actually has led, as a matter of course, to the entertainment of a larger staff of civil officers." That's just the Congress view of the problem put in the fewest words.

Real India does not consist in a picture of palm-trees or marble palaces or crimson sunsets or imperial assemblages, nor is Real India anything like the country Mr. Rees paints it to be. His colours are deep, his prejudices violent. His presentation of the principal Indian problems is one-sided and prejudiced. We must say that the man who ventures to paint Real India must not be a man of strong likes or dislikes, nor a man devoid of sympathy with the coloured peoples nor must he be one who subscribes to the shibboleth that "East is east and west is west and never the twain shall meet."

Politicus

The Progress of the Indian Empire

BENGAL

The bomb has come at last. All through its long and anxious period of travail signs were not wanting to show that the cult of violence was daily gaining ground.

The Bomb Outrage Leaders of public movements looked with the greatest concern and anxiety upon the new developments, which were every day growing in the public life of the country. They felt that a tone of almost brutal anger, so far foreign to Indian politics, was fast showing itself among the ranks of the younger patriots. They found that the tight grip that they had over the public movements of the country was fast loosening and that they could no longer be sure of the almost mechanical discipline which guaranteed the peacefulness of all public movements in the past. The principles upon which they pinned their faith would no longer appeal to the people and they were ever and anon breaking loose from the strait lace of discipline and constitutional agitation. Leaders of the people who knew their temper and had the interest of the country at heart were not slow to appreciate the gravity of these developments and felt with the greatest concern that each step forward in the game of repression that the Government took only fanned the smouldering anger of the people ; and it might any day burst into flame ; Dr. Rash Behari Ghose with all the flower of his rhetoric and Mr. Gokhale with passionate earnestness appealed to the Government from their seats in the Supreme Legislative Council to stop the game yet and save the country from a great disaster.

The Government met these appeals with almost amused contempt. Mr. Baker on one occasion referring to the apprehension that sedition might be driven underground by repression, said that he had no such apprehension. Notoriety, he said, was as the breath of the nostrils of the sedition-monger and if only opportunities for that notoriety were taken away, his occupation would be gone. So the Government sat tight in its settled conviction that the only thing to do was to govern "thoroughly ;" neither the age and wisdom of Dr. Ghose nor the passionate anxiety of Mr. Gokhale caused them the least flutter. The Bomb only shows that, here as ever before in History, the representatives of the people were right and the Government was wrong.

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Laboured attempts have been made to father upon all and sundry the responsibility for the outrage at Moza-

The Psychology of the Bomb farpore and it has been suggested that the leaders of public movements in India are in a way responsible for the outrage; for it was they who set the ball rolling by ventilating the political grievances

of the people. If you go at that rate, you may have to land in the long run on the battle of Plassey or perhaps on the first advent of the English in India. That sort of argument will never do. You have to take account of the natural impulses of mankind and then look for the proximate causes. Taking Indians to be endowed with the common gifts and failings of all mankind you have to consider the natural effect of things. In the most disciplined societies there must be desperate characters, and because the utterance of an honest truth about a person might rouse such men to acts of violence, no canon of legal or moral responsibility will saddle the honest truth-speaker with the burden of the desperate act. In the Indian national party there has recently been an accession of a large number of men of all sorts. The aims and objects of the party as well as their actions have all been above board—They have only sought to see that right be done to India and the wants of the people be properly attended to, that steps be taken with a view to the ultimate self-Government in India. They got stolid indifference, studied establishment of neglect, open persecution and undeserved contempt and contumely for all their troubles. Of late their patience has been sorely tried. The leaders of the movement have kept their heads wonderfully cool, cool to such a degree as to have themselves been branded by their more ardent compatriots as infamous cowards. But the more excitable amongst the people have broken off from their leaders. They would not brook this insult upon the people at large but would retaliate. They became Sinn Feiners and acute disaffection was ringing in their breasts. But the government had made up its minds to be foolish and heaped on all sorts of acts on the heads of these people and displayed an attitude which would rouse up the temper of people in any country. It is a matter for wonder that some at least amongst these ardent patriots driven to desperation should be taken up with thoughts of taking revenge by means which, to the sober minded man, may seem to be ridiculously out of proportion to the end in view, but was in fact all that they had at their disposal. It was and silly unwise from all points of view whether you look upon peace and order as too sacred to be lightly touched or whether you look upon any revolution as justified at any time

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and by any means and for what ends soever, you cannot but look upon the bomb-outrage as indiscreet, injudicious and harmful to the last degree to any cause you wanted to be furthered. All the same, this outburst on the part of some warm young men cannot but be regarded as the natural results of all that preceeded it. It is certainly the result in the long run of constitutional agitation and the consequent waking up of the people to a sense of their right ; but that perfectly legitimate function would never come to these excesses if the government had not by a series of wonderful acts sought to insult public opinion and its leaders and if it had not sedulously cultivated in the minds of these young men morbid unreasonable suspicion that all that government did or said was inspired by nefarious motives. It is a notorious maxim when it is done by a wongful act or with a wrongful intention that provoking crime is only wrong.

The cases arising out of the outrage are being tried at Calcutta,

Alipore and Muzaffarpur. The facts so far as they

The Facts can be determined would seem to be as follows. A handful of young men formed a secret society with no very settled objects in view, shortly after the Partition of Bengal. Some thought that by that organisation they should ultimately succeed in upsetting British Rule, while others more sanely thought that they would striket error among "the oppressors of their race" and teach the people to dare and die. They gained some support, the exact amount of which is a debatable matter but which could not in any case have been very great. Their first efforts seem to have been devoted to physical training of young men and to preaching independence, and the destructive propaganda, if contemplated, would not seem to have been materially furthered. It was about six months ago that they diverted their attention to the making of bombs and it would seem that it had something to do with the revolting outrages at Comilla and Jamalpore. Then they set their mind to actual murders. Three times they sought to blow up the Lieutenant-Governor's train of which only once—at Midnapur—hei attempt came to the knowledge of the public. They made an attempt at the life of the Mayor of French Chandernagore who had stopped their meetings. They have also been connected with the attempts on the life of Mr. Allen at Goalundo and Mr. Hickenbothan at Kushtea, but their connection with these two attempts is open to some doubt. At any rate these were not the authorised acts of their organisation. Their crowning act was the attempt on the life of Mr. Kingsford at Mozafferpore which has had fatal effects on the wife and daughter of one of the most popular Englishmen in the

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province. The daily arrests now being made by the police and the discovery of fresh bombs at odd places would seem to show that the organisation was fairly extensive and from published evidence their object would seem to have been to establish a terrorist organisation all over India with head-quarters at Calcutta.

That these young men were inspired by a very lofty desire is quite clear. Their mischief lay in a certain intellectual aberration which led them to magnify the quality of oppression of the British Rule and to minimise the desirability and utility of peace and order.

The Lessons of the Bomb
It is certainly true that revolutions are sometimes justified and more than once in history have secret societies been the cradle of legitimate revolutions. In themselves then, their actions are not villainous or immoral. What makes them most to be deprecated is the failure to take a proper measure of things and in their convincing themselves that British Rule *per se* was such an intolerable nuisance that it has to be got rid of by immediate violence. It is the loss of a sense of proportion in things that has led these young men to hold the violent views that they have held and do the acts that they have done. The culpability of these acts lies in their running counter to the best interests of the people and the matter for congratulation is that their attempts have so signally failed. A larger amount of success would have made the situation disastrous if not impossible. The proper thing for us now therefore is to dispel the false notions that have got hold of the people of the magnitude of the evil of British Rule *per se* and is to develop a correct opinion about our political position with a view not to seek anybody's favour or good opinion but in the best interests of the people themselves. Indignation meetings therefore made to order or otherwise will not do. What we want is an honest endeavour at a proper education of public opinion.

The Government would seem so far to have approached the question with the proper amount of calmness. The Government and discretion and I take this opportunity to con-
Attitude gratulate it for the first time within a good number of years for having taken a correct position. The elements of disorder have to be put down with a strong hand, but in such a manner as not to encourage the growth of a great deal more. While on the one hand the arrest and trial of offenders must be made, the people should be conciliated by proper regard to their feelings. They must no more be given any excuse for being driven to desperation. For desperate spirits are not counted by those who

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actually do these acts, but there is always a large reserve of such men in every society. And if they take to the sort of thing to which their eyes have been opened by the bomb-makers—well, the Government cannot surely be upset, but if bombs become anything like the order of the day, the government would become impossible, and then adieu to the peace and order of British Rule in India. That would be precisely the result of the sort of policy the bloodhounds of the Anglo-Indian Press advocate, the policy, for instance, of the *Asian* and the *Englishman*. My readers would be edified to hear that the first named paper has suggested that if the Government fail to behave properly (by killing all Bengalees outright, I suppose) the Anglo-Indian in India would be doing the proper thing to shoot down every stray Indian that he comes across without waste of any words. Were it not that I prize peace above a great many things else, I should like to see the game tried for a month.

Geschichtmacher

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Hindustan Review

The May and June numbers of this Monthly have appeared in a joint issue consisting of the usual number of pages. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer leads off with an able paper on the Indian Land Tax in the course of which he quotes Lord Salisbury, Sir Louis Mallet, Messrs H. E. Sullivan and Thorold Rogers in order to show that the Indian cultivator has nothing in common with the English farmer. The writer's conclusion is that our agricultural industry is growing worse in consequence of the rigid enforcement of a Western theory inapplicable to India under entirely different conditions. Mr. C. Y. Chintamoni follows with a readable account of *Public Health in the United Provinces*. Prof. Nelson Fraser concludes his fascinating account of Burma, the first instalment of which was noticed at length in our last number. Mr. Mohammed Israel discourses on *The Liberty of Women and Their Seclusion in India* in the course of an illuminating article which is followed by Mr. Krishnalal Jhaveri's trenchant condemnation of the *Holi* celebrations in Gujarat and Kathiawad where, on this occasion, the most beastly propensities of human nature are let loose and people, high and low, hold a saturnalia consisting of the obscenest shows, the most indecent processions, and the singing of most immoral songs, night and day, in public and private. A 'Madras Reformer' contributes a vigorous paper entitled *The Brides of Hindu Gods* urging the necessity of putting a stop to the shameful practice of marrying the *Muralis* to Hindu gods in certain parts of Bombay. *India's Economic Position* is ably reviewed by Mr. R Soundara Rajan. The editorial section which deals with the *Topics of the Day* contains a discussion of (1) the anarchist plot, (2) the Congress Convention, (3) the Behar Conference and (4) the new British Cabinet.

The Indian Review

The April number of Mr. Natesan's Review opens with a very thoughtful article on *The Writing on the Wall* by Mr. Havelock Ellis, who speaks of some of the parts played by England in the history of the world, which has kept her in an enviable position.

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The notion that English would some day be accepted as the world's language is now said to have been abandoned. 'An Indian Publicist' passes under critical review the chief items of *The Budget of 1908-9*. The Hon. Alex Del Mar gives some historical proofs to show the *Indian Ancestry of the Western World*—a paper evidently of great scholarship. In the course of the next paper, entitled *A Federal System of Government for India*, which was originally prepared for the Decentralisation Commission, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya makes a number of important suggestions for the better governance of India. *The End of the Transvaal Trouble* is the title of an eminently able and sympathetic article from the pen of Mr. H. L. Polak who gives us an account of the state of things in the Transvaal since the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and other Indians. Mr. Seedick R. Sayani discusses the question of *The Export of Grain During Famine Years*. The number closes as usual with some useful notes on industrial, agricultural, educational, medical and other matters.

The Mysore Review

The April number opens with a summary of Miss Lucy Latter's lectures on *Nature Teaching* delivered in the Kindergarten Classes at Bangalore. Mr. V. N. Narasimmiyenger contributes a critical review of *The Yadavabhyudayam*, a book dealing with the Life of Sree Krishna. *Leaves from the Diary of a Brahmin* afford much entertaining reading matter which deals with the social, religious and moral condition of the country. Mr. R. Chakrapani Iyengar contributes the second instalment of his learned paper on *The Industrial Regeneration of South India* which is followed by some further chapters from *Chanakya's Arthashastra*. This is being published in the pages of our Bangalore contemporary from a long time and it is high time that it should now be concluded. Mr. M.A. Srinivasachari's enumeration of *The Causes of the Restoration of Mysore* is a paper of considerable historical interest. 'A Friend of the Ryot' gives a very useful account of *The Progress of Co-operative Credit Societies in the Madras Presidency*.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

The tragic suicide at Mokamah of the young Bengalee boy, **DRIVING SEDITION UNDER GROUND** Prafulla Chandra Chaki, opens a new chapter in the history of India. How will the chapter end no man can foresee : but how it has begun has been revealed to a surprising world under circumstances of very painful memory.

No sensible man can have any sympathy with people who plan secret murders, conspire in the dark against peace and order, try to blow up houses and wreck trains, and carry on a campaign of wild misrepresentation against the powers that be ; but every one must admit that the bureaucratic administration of India has had too severe a strain put upon the loyalty of the Indian people and, like the proverbial worm, the more impatient among us has at last turned against 'the oppressor.'

In a memorable speech delivered at Simla on a memorable occasion, the would-be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal said with a certain amount of gusto that he would not be afraid if sedition were driven undergroud in India. Little did Mr. Baker know that long before he made that statement sedition had begun to take root in the soil of India and that the first demonstration of a secret society would take place within six months of that pronouncement. The tragic suicide of Prafulla and the subsequent exposure of a secret bomb-factory at Calcutta revealed to an astonished and panic-struck officialdom the intensity of hatred with which it is regarded and looked upon by the bolder spirits among Young India.

That a band of well-connected and well-bred Bengalee young men should have formed themselves into a society for upsetting British rule in India or for the purpose of making British administration impossible in India and should have prepared themselves to give up their lives at a moment's notice is a matter for deep reflection—both for our rulers and ourselves. The criminal side of the Muzaffarpur outrage is of no serious moment to us excepting the fact that the victims of the conspirators were two innocent English ladies ; but with that side of the affair the law of the land will deal and that is not what concerns us most at the present day. The question of questions today is : what drove all these young men to treat human lives with a supreme contempt, to take their own lives as well as other people's lives whenever they deemed necessary, and to make an organised effort to subvert all law and order in the country and bring society into chaos ?

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Since the days of Macaulay down to those of Mr. Rees, it has been the fashion with a very large body of Anglo-Indian writers and critics to dub the Bengalees as a race of cowards. The prevailing sentiment on the subject is well put in the mouth of the old Pindari in the following verse :—

"I had rather be robbed by a tall man who showed me a yard of
steel,

Than fleeced by a sneaking Babu with a belted knave at his
heel."

The "Babu" is no longer a coward nor a sneak, and the determined boldness shown by Profulla at Mokameh conclusively demonstrates that the "Babu" also can, when required, be as courageous as any other man under the sun. Side by side with Prafulla's suicide stands the other fact—a most memorable event in the history of India—that one young man after another is coming forward to tell the truth to meet his doom with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened with him. Say what you may, all this is a glorious vindication of Bengalee character and reveals a side of his life which the malignant foreign critic has not hitherto been able to find out and appreciate.

But this is not all. The character of most of the young men who are undergoing their trial at Alipore reveals not only a striking amount of boldness and determination, but also a certain degree of heroism which constitutes the real essence of patriotism. These youngmen have come forward to give up their lives—not for any selfish or sordid aims, not for any private grudge, not even to advertise themselves, but with a sincere desire, however misguided, to serve their country and their people. Their conspiracy and their attempts were certainly foolish and to the highest degree criminal; but their perservid enthusiasm to serve their country shall remain for a long time as a high water-mark of Asiatic patriotism.

Now we shall turn our attention to the wide feeling of discontent which prevails nearly all over the country at the present moment and the existence of which makes secret societies possible among us. Many people have expressed many views as regards the causes of Indian unrest and Indian discontent. It is impossible to enter into or discuss all of them here. It appears to us that there are two sides of this problem,—one is a positive side which bears on new born ambitions and the other is a negative one which is based on a series of disappointments and the unsympathetic attitude of the present-day administrators of India. The positive side of that problem is pithily put by a writer in the *Times* in a recent issue of

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

that journal : " The causes of Indian unrest are many and various ; but at the back of them all lies that spirit of awakening independence, that craving for national existence, that impatience of European domination, that swept like a tide among thinking men all over Asia at the opening of the twentieth century." The new-born ambition of national independence has inspired a few of our country-men to leave no stone unturned for its attainment, but as yet the bulk of our countrymen have not been fired with any such wild idea. Independence no doubt is the ideal of every patriotic soul ; but there are many gradations and steps which every people have to cross and pass through before that ideal is reached. Self-government is no doubt *better* than good government among homogeneous communities; but when we have to consider the case of a multitude of peoples who have not yet formed themselves into a political entity and lack the spirit of united action, self-government becomes a contradiction in terms and good government remains the only goal in practical politics. We in India have *now* to strive for, and struggle after, good government ; and, under the umbrage of good government, to develop ourselves into a strong and powerful nationality. *Pax Britannica* offers us the best advantages under existing circumstances for such a development, though it must not be overlooked that foreign rule always unmakes and emasculates a people to a certain degree. We have to accept British rule for what it offers to us—peace and opportunities of development. The emasculation of the people is, of course, a very dear price to pay for such peace and opportunities, but the past history of India has taught us the supreme lesson that no amount of physical virility, and courage of the people can save a country when it is torn into factions and dissensions and when it lacks common impulses, and that nothing is too dear a price to pay, under such circumstances, for a common patriotism and a common nationality. England has materially helped us in the past in that object, and we have no doubt that we have still many lessons to take from her before we reach a stage of undivided and united political entity. But so long as that goal of patriotic ambition is not reached, or does not come within the purview of practical politics, we must as a people struggle for as much of good government as is possible under our present conditions of life.

The failure of all our attempts in recent years to make the present administration more sympathetic and just, to purge it of evils, and to make it acceptable to the people, probably stands out as the most potent cause of the present unrest and dis-

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content in India. Your rule may be good, but that is not enough, nor the whole of it. You must make us feel that it is good—that constitutes the essence of all loyalty. For over twenty years, the best men of India have tried for this and that reform, have protested against this and that measure, have drawn pointed attention to this and that plague-spot of Indian administration,—and all these have gone in vain as if they had all along been crying in a wilderness. Measures that have been badly wanted have been continually put off; reforms that have been loudly demanded have been quietly ignored; bills that have been strongly protested have been rushed through the Legislature. Public opinion has been flouted in almost all questions that have come to the front in the lifetime of this generation; and thousand and one things have been done just in the way in which the people would not have them done. And who, after all these, would be surprised to find sedition having been driven underground? No doubt, much wild writing and wild speaking have fanned the flame of Indian unrest and, it must also be admitted, that there is a lack of a sense of responsibility among our publicists and orators which is almost culpable; but it remains a fact that the flame thus fanned has been kindled by British insolence, British contumely, and British disregard for Indian public opinion. The quiet shelving of the principal recommendations of the Public Service Commission, the imposition of a countervailing excise duty on Indian cotton manufactures, the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, the amendment of the sedition section in the Indian Penal Code, the officialization of the Indian Universities, the Partition of Bengal, the prohibition and the breaking-up of public meetings by a *posse* of constables armed with bludgeons, the irritating prosecution of irresponsible journalists and stump orators, the penalising of swadeshi activity, the whipping of young political offenders, the vexatious shadowing of innocent public men, the expeditious removal of Lala Lajpat Rai from Lahore to Mandalay and the passing of the Seditious Meetings Bill in November last, to mention only a few out of a hundred grievances which educated Indians have complained against during the last twenty years—where is the Indian who has forgotten the history of all these? And if you allow things to rankle in our breast, why should you be surprised if we get discontented?

Punish the wrong-doers by all means; maintain order and peace as strongly as you like; hunt out revolutionaries wherever you may find them; pass any laws as may be necessary; but, at the same time, put your own house into order. Take counsel with the people, respect their wishes and institutions, show them due courtesy, make them feel that you are anxious to do them good and be just to them, neither go ahead of the times nor remain behind them, and for god's sake, for goodness' sake, for India's sake, and for England's sake, don't please drive sedition underground. For, that would not only mean the wreck of an empire but the wreck of two distinct and highly-developed civilizations.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF APRIL

1908

Date

1. A Deputation of the Residents of Tinnevelly and Tuticorin was received by the Governor of Madras.
3. At the annual meeting of the Millowners' Association, the Hon. Mr. Vithadas Dharamsi, Chairman, alluded to the striking decline in the cotton piece-goods trade with China.
4. Severe earthquake shocks are felt at Shillong and Narayangunge and slight shocks are felt at Calcutta.
- The Madras Mahomedan Educational Conference is held to-day.
- The Annual budget is discussed in the Bengal Legislative Council.
5. A large number of operatives in various Cotton Mills of Bombay go on strike.
6. At a meeting of the Legislative Council of East Bengal and Assam at Dacca, the Tenancy Bill was passed and the Annual Budget was discussed.
- The trial of sedition against Chidambaram Pillai commenced to-day.
7. The U.P. Budget was discussed at the United Provinces Legislative Council at Lucknow.
8. The Telegraph Signallars at Rangoon go on strike.
9. A larg number of the Signalling Staff of the Government Telegraph Department in Calcutta go on strike.
11. Mr. Morley accepts a peerage. Mr. Buchanan is appointed under-Secretary of State for India in place of Mr. Hobhouse.
13. The first Behar Provincial Conference commenced its sittings to-day under the presidency of Mr. Syed Ali Imam.
- The fifth annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians is held under the presidency of Mr. Narendra Nath Sen.
14. A meeting is held at College Square, Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. A Chaudhuri to commemorate the break-up of the Barisal Conference.
15. The District Magistrate of Poona issues a Proclamation prohibiting picketting by the Temperance Volunteers.
16. A proclamation was issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta against Fanindra Nath Mitter, printer of *Yugantar*, for protest under Section 124 A.
17. The appointment of Hon. Mr. C.S. Bayley to officiate as Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam during the absence on leave of Mr. Hare, is announced.

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18. About 10,000 armed Mohmands march towards the Frontier. British Force also advance from Peshawar to meet them.

The Convention Committee holds its first sitting at Allahabad.

The fourth Provincial Mahomedan Educational Conference of Bengal and East Bengal and Assam are held at Purnea and Mymensingh respectively.

20. The Telegraph Signallers' strike ends. The composition of the Telegraph Watching Committee is announced. Men at Calcutta and Bombay resume work.

21. A large body of tribesmen gather on the frontier. Mohmands raid the British subjects. British troops are concentrated on the border.

The Directors of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company decide to increase the capital of the Company by ten lakhs and to purchase an additional steamer.

22. Seven out of the 24 accused in the Tinnevelly riot cases are acquitted.

23. The Mohmands attack the fortified camps at Muttala, Moghal Khel and Sedar Garh. A severe fighting ensued in which 100 Mohmands and 8 men of the British Army were killed and 50 of the British Force were dangerously wounded.

26. Messrs. Gokhale and R. C. Dutt leave for England.

28. The Bombay Provincial Conference is held at Dhulia under the Presidency of Mr. Joshi.

29. A discussion into the methods of Indian Education takes place in the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Robert Laidlaw.

The Bombay Jain Community strongly protest in a meeting against the sacrilege of the Pareshnath Hill as proposed by the Government of Bengal.

30. A serious bomb outrage takes place at Mazzafferpoore. The bomb was thrown at a carriage containing Miss. and Mrs. Kennedy killing both of them.

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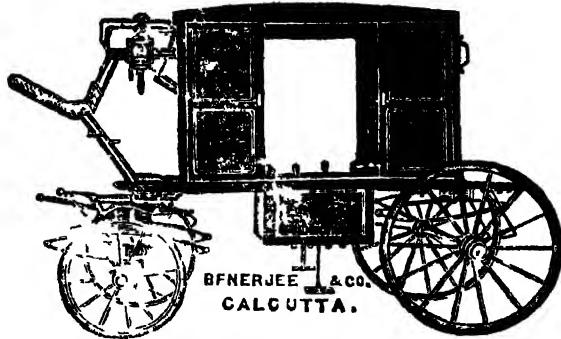
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No. 42

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VIII]

SEPTEMBER, 1908

[No. 42

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1908

Date

1. An influential deputation conveys to Lord Crewe the representations of Indians in South Africa.

A statement published to-day by the Meteorological Department shows that the rainfall of July was 16 p.c. above the normal, this being the largest excess on record for July for the last 14 years.

2. Of the six accused in the Harrison Road Bomb Case under the Arms Act, Nagen and Dharani Gupta and Ullashkar Dutt are sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment each and the rest are acquitted.

3. Mr. Branson, Advocate-General of Bombay, refuses to give certificate to Mr. Tilak's Counsel, Mr. Baptista, for appeal before the Full Bench on legal grounds and on the grounds of misdirection to the Jury.

4. Mr. Fazl Hossain, editor of the *Ima-ur-la*, an Urdu Monthly of Aligarh, is sentenced under a charge of sedition to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 500, or six months' extra in default.

The rigorous portion of the sentence passed upon Messrs. S. Siva and C. Pillay are suspended by the Madras High Court.

5. The Government of India sanctions the plans and estimates relating to the dredging of Hastings Shoal at Rangoon at the cost of 5½ lakhs of rupees and also approves of the revised estimate, amounting to Rs. 104,36,000, for expenditure in connection with the wharf extension of the port of Rangoon.

Khudiram Bose's appeal for mercy is rejected by the Government of India.

The Mysore Legislative Council unanimously passes into law the Newspapers Bill to control seditious publications in the State.

6. In the *Hari Kishor* sedition case at Yeotmal in C. P., the accused is sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment and the press is confiscated.

7. At the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the Bill of Limitation of Suits is passed into law. Three other Bills,—one relating to Ports and Port Charges, one about the Registration of Documents and another about the emigration of the Natives of India,—are also introduced.

The consular agency for the United States at Madras is raised to the rank of a consulate and Mr. N. B. Stewart is appointed Consul.

The Mysore Government announces the extension of free instruction, hitherto confined only to the Village Primary Schools, to all such schools in the State.

A meeting under the presidency of a Burmese landowner is held

THE INDIAN WORLD

to memorialize the Government against the passing of the Burma Land Alienation Bill into law on the ground that it would result in serious disadvantages to the Burmese Bankers and in the Agriculturists' loss of rights to property.

8. Lala Dhaniram, President of the Arya Samaj at Abbottabad, who was deported by the Frontier Province authorities this time last year over a petty quarrel with a Mahomedan milk-man, is permitted to return home by the new Chief Commissioner, Colonel Roos-Keppel.

9. In the Darjeeling Mail Assault Case, Babu Durga Charan Sanyal is sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment by Brett and Ryves J. J., of the Calcutta High Court.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan of Mahmudabad, Oudh, is elected by the non-official members of the U. P. Council as the representative of the United Provinces on the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

11. Khudiram Bose is hanged to death to-day.

A manifesto expressing loyalty to the Crown and condemning the anarchist movement is presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal at Bankipur by the Maharajah of Durbhanga on behalf of the Behar public.

12. A bomb is thrown at a train on the Shamnagar Station on the E. B. S. Ry.

Two bombs are discovered near the Chandernagore Ry. Station on the E. I. Ry.

13. The Madras Chamber of Commerce addresses a letter to the Government of India supporting them in their policy to put down sedition, and condemning free speaking and writing as unsuited to India.

15. Returns published to-day show that, inspite of the policy of restricting opium sales, the revenue for the current official year to date is forty-three lakhs larger than the estimate.

Returns published today show a decrease of one and a half crore in the gross earnings of the Indian Railways from those of the corresponding period of the last year.

16. 3000 Asiatics assemble at a mosque in Johannesburg and witness the burning of three to four hundred Indians' and Chinamen's certificates. Mr. Gandhi states that he is prepared to spend his life in gaol in preference to seeing the barbarous treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

17. Biran Ira Nath Bannerji, the last printer of the *Yugantar*, is sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment under section 124A.

Sir Ernest Cable in a letter to the *Times* urges the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry composed of European and Indian financiers to ascertain to what extent Indians can be induced to invest their savings in Railways or other industrial enterprises.

The appeal of the Editor of the *Hind Swarajya* is rejected by Mr. Justice Chandravarkar of the Bombay High Court.

The "Aujumani Islamia" of Bombay assemble in a meeting to repudiate the anarchist movement in the country.

Mr. Ethiraj Surendranath Arya is sentenced by the Madras High Court to five years' transportation under section 124A.

In the Kushtia shooting case in Bengal, all the accused are acquitted by Mr. Tejchandia Mukherjee, Session Judge of Nadia.

In the Palamcottah Jail Riot case, 16 out of 20 accused are convicted and sentenced variously from 1 year's to 3½ years' rigorous imprisonment.

18. The Secretary of State sanctions the appointment of two Agricultural Botanists for each provincial Agricultural Department.

Mr. Gandhi's son is sent to jail at Johannesburg to 1 month's hard labour for refusing to comply with a Magistrate's order to leave the Colony.

19. The Burma Chamber of Commerce sends a Resolution to the local Government protesting against the passing of the Burma Land Alienation Act and condemning it as a visionary measure.

30 of the accused in the Mookerji Conspiracy Case, including

Mr. Arobinda Ghosh, are committed to the Sessions by Mr. Birley, District Magistrate of Alipur, on charges under sections 121, 121A. and 123 I. P. Code for waging war or conspiring to wage war against the King-Emperor. Two are discharged and Parindia's case stands adjourned pending trial on a new charge of abetting the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kenedy of Mozufferpur, under sections 302 and 114.

A meeting that could not be held at Delhi owing to the intervention of the City Magistrate is held on the other side of the Jumna. Syed Hyder Riza advocates the boycott of tram-cars and all present take vows not to use the tram-cars.

At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Local Self-Government Amendment Bill is passed into law.

20. The Secretary of State's sanction of expenditure of Rs. 32,53,093 for the Betwa Canal Protective Irrigation Works of the United Provinces is announced.

A Conference is held at Johannesburg of two hundred Indian delegates to consider the terms of Registration and a compromise is concluded. Definite terms of settlement are sent to the Transvaal Government.

A Horticultural School attached to the Botanical Garden is opened at Shaharampur in U. P.

21. Mr Chhaganlal Lalubhai Thanawalla, late editor of the *Hind Swarajya* of Bombay, is arrested again under sections 124A. and 153A.

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, editor of the *Swadeshi Mitram* of Madras, is arrested on a charge of sedition under a warrant at Tenkasi, Tinnevelly district.

Mr. Srinavasa Aiyanger, editor of the *India*, a Tamil weekly of Madras, is arrested under sections 124A. and 153A.

Prof. V. G. Vijapurkar and Mr. Waman Malhar Joshi, editors of the *Visha Vritta*, are arrested at Kolhapur under section 124A.

22. The repeal of the Russian Surtax on India and Ceylon teas and the withdrawal from the 1st September 1908 of the existing countervailing duties on Russian sugar imported into India is formally announced today at Simla.

The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta issues a proclamation under section 144 C. P. Code, prohibiting the holding of any public meeting in any public square in the city after dark.

Mr. Kolhatkar, editor of the *Swadeshi Sevak* and Mr. Sapre, editor of the *Hindu Kesari*, are arrested at Kolhapur under section 124A.

23. The convicts of the Coimbatore Central Jail in Madras rise in a body, attack the Jailor and serious disturbances follow in course of which two of the men are shot to death.

26. The sentence of 14 months' rigorous imprisonment passed upon Mr. Kashinath Phadke, editor of *Arunodaya*, is reduced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment by the Bombay High Court.

27. A resolution is passed by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee to hold the Congress at Madras according to the constitution passed by the Convention held at Allahabad in April last.

28. In the first Tinnevelly riot case the four of the accused persons are acquitted. The rest are convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment from one year's rigorous imprisonment to 7 years' transportation.

Raja Narendralal Khan Bahadur of Narajole and eight other respectable persons, including Pleaders and Zamindars, are arrested at Midnapur for their suspected complicity in the alleged conspiracy to kill all European officials at Midnapur.

A deputation of the Pundits of Navadvip, professing loyalty to the British throne, waits upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

30. The Bombay Government by way of clemency make substantial reductions of sentences passed upon the accused in the recent riot cases.

31. Narendra Nath Goswami, the approver in the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case, is shot dead in the Alipore Jail, it is alleged by Kanailal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose, two of the accused in the said case.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Cocoanut Day

Such a festival as Cocoanut Day is not known in Bengal but is an important ceremony of the year in Bombay and Madras. The Shravani or Narali Purnima is the day in which the stormy part of the rainy season is considered to be at an end and cocoanuts are offered to the sea to gain its favour towards those who now begin to trust themselves to its mercy.

Mr. Naoroji's Message to his Countrymen

Mr. Naoroji has sent the following message to his countrymen on his 84th birthday : "I take this opportunity to entreat that all resort to violence should be avoided. Our grievances are many, and they are just. Maintain the struggle for essential reforms with unceasing endeavour and self-sacrifice peacefully, patiently and perseveringly, and appeal, without fear or faltering, to the conscience and righteousness of the British nation."

Gubernatorial Amenities

On his 84th birthday the following telegram was received by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji from the Governor of Bombay:—"Congratulations and all good wishes on your birthday. I hope you will be spared to see the passing away of some of the clouds which now darken the Indian sky and threaten the peaceful progress of the people." To this, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji sent the following reply :—"Many and sincere thanks for your Excellency's telegram of congratulations and all good wishes on my birthday. I thank your Excellency for hoping that I will be spared to see the passing away of the clouds which now darken the Indian sky and threaten the peaceful progress of the people. I feel hopeful that a change for the better will be the case by timely and necessary reforms, restoring that faith in British Justice which I have always felt and which I pray India may always have good cause to cherish."

The Burden of Civilisation

The amount expended on the minor and miscellaneous departments of Government, chiefly composed of scientific specialists, which are not large enough at present to be treated to distinctive entries in the public accounts, is on the increase. In 1896-97 this little group of departments stood for no more than £234,000 in the country's budget, and for the next two or three years did not show much tendency to rise. With Lord Curzon's arrival, says the *Pioneer*, there came a rapid increase. All the Bacteriologists, Cryptogamic Botanists, Epigraphists, and Directors of various sorts, each with an "Imperial" before his title, that his activity called into existence were luxuries no doubt well worth their price, but expensive. By 1900 the £234,000 had risen to £358,483. By 1904 it had reached to £500,000; by the year 1906-1907, when Lord Curzon's expansions were coming into fuller effect, it had mounted to £600,000, and in the year ended last March to £770,000.

Some Interesting Literary Facts

The last Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India furnishes some interesting literary facts. A bold attempt at Shakspearian criticism has, it is recorded, been made in 'Othello Unveiled,' the discoveries of which have, we fear, not been widely appreciated by Western scholarship. We also hear of fairly good translations of 'Measure for Measure' into Gujarati and the 'Tempest' into Marathi. There has been issued a series of novels "comparable to the modern English society novels, exhibiting the extravagance and immorality of the Parsi smart set." In philosophy, Mr. Phadha continues his account of Spencer's 'Principles of Sociology,' in Marathi. We have also the Political Philosophy of Burke in the same language; and under Voyages and Travel we note a fairly comprehensive sketch of Nepal by a Marathi writer. A new history whitewashes Seraj-ud-daula in Bengalee, and describes the Black Hole of Calcutta as a myth invented by Holwell and resuscitated by Lord Curzon.

Casting out Devils

Some remarkable scenes at the Andambar village in the Southern Mahratta country are described by Mr. Byramji Hormusji in the "Annals of Psychical Science." Crowds of people assemble there every Thursday, bringing relatives who are suffering from epilepsy, hysteria, periodical madness, and other maladies. At eight o'clock the great bell of the temple swung on two iron poles begins to peal. As the bell begins to toll, possessed men and women rush to the poles, and catching them with both hands, twist their legs through their arms over their heads and so hang perhaps for a quarter of an hour at a time." In another direction the onlooker may see a woman going round the shrine, turning somersault after somersault the whole way round. One sufferer was a man subject to fits of periodic madness. At the first sound of the bell he sprang up in fury, and rushed toward the shrine, the unclean spirit within him shouting, "You wish me to come! I will not come out!" Within a few steps of the image of the god he stopped, and fell slowly backward with his feet doubled under him. There he lay, holding the great toe of either foot with his hands, in the recognised attitude of penance. In that position the devil departed from him. In another case the evil spirit was beaten out of a young Brahmin widow with the broom used for sweeping away the water which had been poured over the image of the God.

Water Babies at Kasauli

Kasauli, on the border of the Punjab, apparently possesses its own particular type of "water babies." Running water is used to soothe infants to sleep. A correspondent of the *Pioneer* thus describes what he saw in a certain village: 'The waters of a stream are conducted in a "nullah" to the children's sleeping places which are shaded over comfortably with boughs and matting. Matting is spread on the floor, and the water falls from a tin spout, and, when used, flows away through a hole in the ground. The water is exceedingly cold, and runs with the volume and force of a good, strong pantry tap. The mothers lay their little ones down so that the stream falls on the crown or the back of the head, from a height of about 18in or 2ft, and in such a position that there is no splashing into the face or eyes. On the occasion of my visit six

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or seven babies, varying from two to four years of age, lay fast asleep under these rills, and their mothers slept or sat beside them. There was no fuss or objecting to the treatment, and the children seemed quite comfortable and happy, and made no attempt to move when awoken, though their little heads were absolutely numb with the cold.

Human Sacrifice in India

The idea of propitiation of the unseen powers by bloodshed has from time immemorial been one of the most deeply-rooted among the people of India, and has often expressed itself in many strange and gruesome ways. Chand Khan, for example, is a local deity to whose honour one bastion of every mud fort in the Deccan is dedicated. The legend, which without doubt is founded on fact, is that a man of this name was buried alive under some bastion of which the building had been supernaturally thwarted until this sacrifice was made, when all hindrance and mysterious opposition ceased immediately. But this form of consecration seems once to have been very common, and one of the acts of humanity credited to the Emperor Shah Jahan was that he caused goats to be substituted for men as foundation for the walls of his palace. Only a few years ago some Parsi mill-owners near Bombay were convicted of having thrown a coolie into the furnace in order to remedy some defect in their machinery, and it is a well-known fact that when one of the piers of a railway bridge was washed away by a flood in Central India the Bhils in the neighbourhood fled to the hills for fear that one of them would be buried alive in the basement when the pier should be rebuilt. Sacrifices of this kind were often voluntary, as in the case of the commander of an army who turned the adverse tide of battle by causing himself to be beheaded in front of his troops as a propitiation to the gods. Sir Alfred Lyall, who tells the story, remarks that military history furnishes no other instance of a General winning an action by losing his head at the critical moment.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Frog Skins

In the matter of developing an export trade in frog skins from India, it appears that one of the principal hide exporters in Cawnpore has endeavoured to place frog skins obtained locally on the market in England but it is understood they compared unfavourably with skins from Japan, owing to the finer marking of the latter, and the attempt to introduce the business proved a failure.

Tussar Silk Weaving in Bengal

We take the following from the report of Mr. J. G. Cumming, I. C. S.:—The condition of the Tussar Silk weaving industry is prosperous. In 1898 it was recorded that the manufacture was decaying in the Burdwan Division; in 1900 that it was affected by the increased popularity of machine made goods; in 1903 that there was a decrease owing to the introduction of cheaper and finer cloths from Bombay, Japan and Assam; in 1905 there was a slight improvement in Burdwan, Manbhan and Bhagalpur districts

owing to the 'Swadeshi' movement. Tussar is worked also in the Hooghly, Midnapore, Birbhum, Bankura and the Sonthal Parganas districts ; on the other hand, 'tussar' cocoons are reared in the Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, and Palamau districts ; and in these no weaving is done except perhaps a little in Singhbhum district.

Professor Bhisey's Invention

Says *Justice*—We hold that Hindoos, if given even half a chance, would show up well in every department of human knowledge and culture. It is quite wonderful what they are doing even now, deprived as they are of nearly all the opportunities they ought to have. Now an Indian Professor, Mr. Bhisey, is showing us a lead in invention. He has invented and has constructed a machine which, according to the technical journals of the printing trade, completely revolutionises the art of type-founding, and is a marvel of mechanical ingenuity, being not only beautiful in design but practically complete. This machine will turn out at one casting already twenty-six different and perfect types, and there is no reason why it should not turn out three full alphabets at the same time. It is calculated that a large machine will go so far as to produce not fewer than 180,000 perfect letters for printing per minute. Professor Bhisey is a well-known Bengali, and his latest machine is in London.

Shawl Manufacture at Amritsar

Amritsar is the great 'entrepot' for the commerce of the Punjab. It deals with all the principal marts in India. The immensity of its transactions can be judged from the amount realised by the imposition of the Octroi or the duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on import for local consumption or re-exportation which is about 3 lacs per annum. The value of the annual imports and exports is estimated at 2 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores respectively. The leading trade is the manufacture of pashmina or shawl-wool into clothes of various descriptions. Now there are about 4,000 looms in Amritsar each worked by at least 2 men and the value of pashmina work manufactured yearly is estimated at 8 lakhs of rupees. The trade has fallen off a little owing to the discontinuance in France of the custom of giving Indian shawls as presents in marriages ; but the Swadeshi movement has given a fresh impetus to it and the loss it is believed will be recouped ere long. The price of pashmina piece-goods has been steadily rising for some years owing to the tightness of the labour market.

Felt Manufacture in India

Although there is apparently no reason to believe the project to be feasible, the Inspector-General of Ordnance Factories in India is advertising through the Department of Commerce the opportunity for the local manufacture of felt required by the Ordnance Stores. He points out that there is a considerable quantity of this material (numdah) imported from this country, and "there seems to be no reason why requirements should not be met by manufacturers in India." Yet, enquiries, he tells us, have repeatedly been made from prominent firms, and as often with disappointing results. "Either the material offered was very inferior in quality, or the price quoted was 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. greater than that of a similar article if imported." The

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Inspector-General, nevertheless, "is not acquainted with any economic conditions which prevent manufacturers in India from meeting the demand in the same way as their *confreres* at home;" nor is the Department of Commerce, which hopes that "some one on the look-out for new line of business will give the suggestion his best consideration."

The Foreign Trade of the United Provinces

The annual report on the foreign trade of the United Provinces has recently been issued and shows a decrease in trade with Tibet. The volume of imports from Tibet declined by merely three thousand maunds but their value rose by Rs. 73,434. Imports of borax and salt fell, but the trade in wool shows gradual improvement, in consequence of the advances made by traders, and its value shows a considerable increase. Exports to Tibet, which in the previous year had shown an improvement, dropped in weight, and to the amount of Rs. 1,901,905 in value. This decrease was largely in grain owing to the poor crops of last year. It appears that the efforts made to introduce Indian tea into Tibet are being attended by a certain measure of success. In 1905-06 exports of tea amounted only to 29 maunds but they have now risen to 261 maunds, which must be taken as a very good beginning. Trade with Nepal, also dealt with in this report, was good, considering that the year was one of scarcity and high prices. Imports from this country fell off by two and a quarter lakhs of maunds but increased in value by over six and a quarter lakhs of rupees owing to increased receipts of silver coin and a higher value having been assigned to food grains. The export trade to Nepal showed a slight improvement in bulk and value.

Indian Railway Working

The following table shows the general course of Indian railway working during the seven years ending in 1907:—

Year.	Miles.	Gross Revenue. £	Net Revenue. £
1901	25,332	22,402,533	11,918,533
1902	25,898	22,617,933	11,481,333
1903	26,851	24,005,466	12,598,200
1904	27,565	26,433,133	13,249,800
1905	28,295	27,787,266	14,493,933
1906	29,097	29,411,533	14,739,933
1907	30,010	31,512,466	15,321,866

Upon the whole the ratio of working expenses to the traffic receipts rose during the seven years, but not very seriously—at any rate, not so seriously as the advance of the corresponding ratio in Great Britain and Europe. In 1901 the Indian ratio stood at 46.97 per cent.; in 1902 at 49.24 per cent.; in 1903 at 47.52 per cent.; in 1904 at 47.35 per cent.; in 1905 at 45.84 per cent.; in 1906 at 49.88 per cent.; and in 1907 at 51.38 per cent. The return realised upon the capital expended is, upon the whole, well maintained. In 1901 it came out at 5.27 per cent.; in 1902 at 4.92 per cent.; in 1903 at 5.54 per cent.; in 1904 at 5.91 per cent.; in 1905 at 5.92 per cent.; in 1906 at 5.83 per cent.; and in 1907 at 5.77 per cent. Cheapness of construction, absence of competitive working, plentiful supplies of native labour, ample local natural resources, and an increasingly dense native population explain these excellent yearly results.

SELECTIONS

ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA

ITS IMPORTANCE AND CHARACTER

There are few subjects connected with India about which so little is known in England as its antiquities. Yet the study of its archaeology is relatively more important than that of any other country of the present day. This is due to the fact that India produced no works of an historical character during the enormous period extending from the rise of its literature (perhaps 1500 B.C.) down to the beginning of the Mahomedan conquest (about 1000 A.D.). In all those centuries no Indian Herodotus, Thucydides, or Pausanias appeared; no Livy, Sallust, or Tacitus. Nor does general Indian literature supply us with any direct dates till about 500 A.D. Even the year of so important an event as the death of Buddha is only a matter of inference, though it has been calculated with a high degree of probability to have taken place about 480 B.C. Except for the fragmentary evidence derived from the records of a few foreigners, Greek and Chinese, who visited India before the Mahomedan conquest, we are therefore entirely dependent on its archaeological remains, that is to say, inscriptions, coins, architectural, sculptural, and pictorial antiquities, for the reconstruction of the political and religious history of early India.

It is difficult for any one who has not visited India to realize the vast extent of the archaeological remains still existing above ground in a country which is 15 times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, to say nothing of great buried sites, some of which the spade of the excavator has never touched.

The ancient remains of India are comprised in the three indigenous groups of Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu monuments. To these may be added the foreign group of buildings erected by the Mahomedans from about 1200 A.D. onwards, the product of Saracenic Art, which are preserved chiefly in Northern India and some of which are among the finest architectural creations in the world. The earliest antiquities of India are those of the Buddhists, who were its first builders in stone. These monuments begin about the middle of the third century B.C. under the Buddhist King Asoka, and extend over a period of something like a thousand years. They consist of pillars, stupas (structural relic or memorial mounds), churches, and monasteries. Of these hardly anything has been preserved more or less intact except the rock-cut temples, of which there are more than a thousand. There are also numerous Buddhist inscriptions beginning in the reign of Asoka and found all over India. They are inscribed on monolith columns (of which ten are known and some are over 40ft. in height), in cave temples, and on slabs of rock. Written in the earliest known forms of Indian script, they are composed in an ancient vernacular called Prakrit and derived from Sanscrit. Though the Jain religion arose at much the same time as Buddhism in the sixth century B.C., its monuments are of much later date, the early extant specimens belonging mostly to the period when

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Buddhism was dying out in India and none being assignable to a date prior to the first century A.D. In the best examples of this style of architecture the interior carving and decoration is richer and more beautiful than any other in India ; but the iconography connected with it, and consisting chiefly of the figures of saints, is monotonous and artistically inferior to that of Buddhism or Hinduism.

Hindu architecture, of which there are two distinct types, the Northern or Indo-Aryan and the Southern or Dravidian, begins to appear from the seventh century A.D. onwards. One of its characteristic features is elaborate sculpture both within and without, often carried to a pitch of detail which is almost incredible. Thus the whole outside walls of the splendid Siva temple at Halebid (1250 A.D.), in the State of Mysore, is literally covered with sculptures. Here the frieze contains on its lowest band alone, which rises to a height of only about a foot from the ground, a varied procession of at least 2,000 beautifully carved elephants.

Though many antiquities have survived to the present day, thousands of ancient Buddhist monuments, which we know from the records of Chinese pilgrims to have existed in the early centuries of our era, have entirely disappeared from the face of the land. This wholesale destruction has, only to a limited extent, been due to the ravages of time and the processes of natural decay. It has been largely caused by the iconoclastic zeal of the Mahomedan invaders. It has also, in the case of Buddhist monuments, resulted from the neglect following the disappearance of the religion which produced those monuments and the consequent use of them by neighbouring villagers as quarries for building purposes. It is well known to Indian archaeologists that no small share of blame attaches to the Public Works Department of earlier days, which, while engaged in the construction of roads, bridges, and railways, utterly effaced many valuable relics of antiquity. Thus Fergusson, the great authority on Eastern architecture, sarcastically remarks that the tower of the Temple of the Sun, the famous Black Pagoda, in Orissa, seems to have fallen even without the aid of the Public Works Department.

Apart from actual annihilation, extensive mutilation, defacement, and depredation have been going on for centuries. The sculptures connected with ancient temples have regularly been mutilated by the Mahomedans owing to their hatred of the use of images. Many statues of Buddha have been transformed by the use of paint into Hindu deities. A notable instance of this is to be found in the celebrated temples of Bodh-Gaya in Behar. A large number of the finest specimens of ancient Indian carving, especially those of Graeco-Buddhistic art, have been carried out of the country by collectors of antiquities and are, consequently, lost to the student of archaeology.

The age of vandalism, has, however, now happily come to an end as far as the ancient remains of India are concerned. My tour has convinced me that however important Lord Curzon's other achievements may have been, the greatest benefit which he has conferred on India, and the one by which he will be remembered with gratitude in the remote future, is the Ancient Monuments Act, passed under his Viceroyalty in 1904. The main objects of this Act are to ensure the conservation of old buildings in private owner-

ship, excepting those in use for religious purposes ; to prohibit the excavation of ancient sites by ignorant and unauthorised persons ; and to control the traffic in moveable antiquities by preventing their exportation from British India. The passing of the Act was accompanied by a reorganization of the Archaeological Department, by which it was for the first time placed on a firm administrative footing with a consistent policy and a systematic programme. Of the two main functions of an archaeological survey, investigation and conservation, the latter has, for the present at least, been made paramount. Archaeologists, who are naturally eager to advance the knowledge of the past by important discoveries, are somewhat apt to forget, or at least to underrate, the claims of conservation. But those who have realised the vast and irreparable damage caused by neglect in former days, as well as the enormous extent of the archaeological remains still to be dealt with, will not hesitate to admit the soundness of the present policy. The preservation of its ancient monuments is not only, to use the words of Lord Curzon, a "part of our Imperial obligation to India," but is a duty owing to the whole civilized world ; for these relics of India's past are, in the words of another Viceroy, Lord Lytton, "for variety, extent, completeness, and beauty unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the world."

II

THE SURVEY DEPARTMENT

The history of the archaeological survey of India had, down to Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, been one of spasmodic, desultory, inconsistent effort. It commences with the appointment of General Cunningham as Director of Archaeology in 1862. For nearly forty years after this, the assumption underlying the policy of the Government was that the archaeological department could not be a permanent one ; for its work both of surveying and of excavating was thought likely to be completed in a few years' time, when after being duly recorded it would necessarily cease. Conservation was, during nearly the whole of this period, not regarded as coming within the sphere of the Imperial Government at all, but as a duty of the local Governments. Besides existing on so precarious a footing, the department lacked comprehensiveness in the sphere of its operations. Thus, though General Cunningham's appointment was in 1871 expanded to that of "Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India," and he was required "to superintend a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable alike for their antiquity, or their beauty, or their historical interest," he actually remained the head of the department in Northern India only. The survey was not introduced till 1874 into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, which were then separately assigned to the charge of Dr. James Burgess. Even then General Cunningham, owing to the lack of a sufficient staff, remained unable to direct any operations but his own.

Meanwhile the responsibilities of repair and conservation had been left to the local Governments till 1878. In that year Lord Lytton began to realize the fact that many of the greatest buildings and monuments of India were gradually crumbling to irremediable ruin, because local Governments were indifferent to the preservation

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of national antiquities and works of art. He accordingly proposed, the creation of a curator of Ancient Monuments, holding the position of an Under-Secretary in the Public Works Department and supported by a Committee of Taste. After much delay, a very competent officer, Major Cole, R.E., was at length appointed Curator of Ancient Monuments for a period of three years. When his curatorship came to an end, in 1884, the work of conservation relapsed into the hands of the local Governments.

On General Cunningham's retirement, in 1885, Dr. Burgess became Director-General of the Archaeological Department, the functions of conservation being for the first time combined with those of survey and research in his hands. The whole of India was now mapped out in five areas with a surveyor assigned to each, though only three such were actually appointed. The reorganized department was, however, by no means intended to remain a permanent institution. On the contrary, it was now thought that, after what had already been done, five years more would suffice to finish the task of the survey, which could then be disbanded, the duties of conservation being again left to the local Governments. In order to accelerate this consummation, a very able officer, Dr. E. Hultzsch, was appointed epigraphist to edit and translate inscriptions in Sanskrit, Pali, and Dravidian languages. The retirement of Dr. Burgess after a term of only four years seemed to deal a death-blow to Archaeology in India. The post of Director-General was now virtually abolished; there was no longer a curator to look after conservation; and only three provincial surveyors remained, Bengal, the Punjab, Burma and the native States being left without any. Even this attenuated establishment was sanctioned for only five years from 1890, the expectation being that the whole work of the survey in India could be wound up within that period.

Though the feature appeared so dark, the year 1895, when the Government was again confronted with the question of the future of the department, seemed nevertheless to herald the dawn of better days for archaeology in India. Partly owing to representations made by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Government arrived at the decision that the survey should neither be disbanded nor be continued on its then reduced footing; and that the claims of conservation were especially urgent, though research should not be arrested. The department was accordingly again reorganized. Five survey Circles were constituted—Madras (with Coorg), Bombay (with Sind and Berar), the Punjab (with Baluchistan and Ajmir), the North-West Provinces (with the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam). To each of these was assigned an archaeological surveyor, whose duty it would be to draw up a classified list of antiquities, to advise his local Government as to their preservation, and to devote any spare time at his disposal to the prosecution of archaeological research. Each circle was further to be provided with two draughtsmen and a small travelling establishment for the purpose of collecting coins and inscriptions. To meet the needs of Burma an already existing Imperial grant to the local Government of 10,000 rupees a year was continued. This scheme, though an advance on previous arrangements, suffered from several defects. It still left the initiative and responsibility as regards conservation in the hands of the provincial Governments; it supplied the Government of India with no

means of ascertaining how the responsibility was being carried out, and it provided no system for guiding the provincial archæological staff from the centre. The scheme came into force in May, 1899.

Only a few months before this, Lord Curzon had landed in India as Viceroy. He lost no time in introducing in the Archæological Department a number of highly valuable reforms, which became accomplished facts by the end of 1901. In the first place, he remedied a serious omission, the exclusion of the native States, which contain many important monuments, from the domain of the survey ; and by an order of the Government in 1901, Kashmir, Rajputana, Baroda, Haidarabad, as well as a number of smaller native territories, were placed under the charge of the surveyors of the archæological circles to which their geographical position naturally assigned them. The Supreme Government, moreover, now for the first time, definitely took over all responsibility for the preservation of the ancient monuments of India, both because this was at last recognized as a distinctly imperial duty and because the subordinate Governments were not likely to be alive to their obligations in this respect or to be in a position to provide the necessary funds. It was also decided to expend at least one lakh of rupees (£6,666) in grants in aid of archæological work of special importance and magnitude. The greatest step of all, however, was the appointment of a Director General of the Archæological Department, which had been without a head for eleven years. Mr. J. H. Marshall, a distinguished graduate of Cambridge, who had undergone a thorough training in the school of Greek archæology, having been selected for this post, arrived in India to take up his duties early in 1902. He is the first officer of the department who, before entering upon his work in India, had received a direct scientific training in archæological study. There is therefore every reason to hope that the work of the survey will be thorough and systematic in all directions, and that its results will be correspondingly valuable to investigators of India's past. The post of Director-General is now more important than it ever was before, because its duties have been made more extensive and comprehensive than they previously were. The Director is now in charge of the conservation of ancient monuments in the whole of India. He has to see that they are properly cared for, that they are not used for inappropriate or unseemly purposes, that all necessary repairs are executed, and that any restorations that may be attempted are carried out on artistic lines. He further exercises a general supervision over all the archæological operations in the country, whether they consist of excavation, preservation, repair, registration, and description of monuments and ancient remains, or antiquarian research ; at the same time assisting the Provincial Surveyors in ascertaining the special wants of each province and advising the Government of India as to what particular work should be subsidized by imperial grants. His duty finally extends to co-ordinating the local Survey and reports and submitting to the Government of India a general annual report on the progress made during each official year.

This annual report is really one of the most valuable features of the Archæological Department as reconstituted under Lord Curzon. Not only does it for the first time furnish the Government with a comprehensive and periodical account of the archæological operations going on all over India, but it does so in a form which rend-

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ers any discoveries that may have been made readily accessible within a short time to scholars who may wish to utilize them for their researches. Two large and sumptuous volumes entitled "Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report" (Calcutta, 1904 and 1906), profusely illustrated with fine reproductions of photographs, have appeared under Mr. Marshall's able editorship. Each is divided into three parts dealing with conservation, exploration, and epigraphy. To each part the editor prefixes a short summary of the work which has been done during the year and of which the following articles by the Provincial Surveyors supply a detailed report. A valuable feature is a complete list, appended to each volume, of all the previous Indian archæological reports published under official authority. The first volume contains an account of conservation works carried out in Northern India, a description of prehistoric antiquities found at Tinnevelly in South India, and of excavations undertaken on the North-West Frontier, concluding with an account of the epigraphical work of the year. The second volume is a larger and more fully illustrated one. It contains up-words of 70 plates, the first 12 or 13 of which are particularly charming as representations of the architectural gems of Agra, Delhi, and Lahore. It describes the progress of conservation in the United Provinces and the Punjab, in Central India (at Mandu and Dhar), and in Madras. Here we find, among many others, some very interesting articles on the excavations at Basarh, the ancient Buddhist site of Vaisali, by Dr. Bloch, on Buddhist sculptures from Benares by Dr. Vogel, and one by Mr. Cousens on the history of the Makara, a Hindu architectural ornament which goes back to the very earliest Buddhist monuments in India.

Since the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act (1904), some important changes have taken place in the Archæological Department. After the retirement of Dr. E. Hultzsch, who has rendered inestimable service to the cause of epigraphy in Southern India, Dr. Sten Konow, a distinguished Norwegian Orientalist, who, besides being a Sanskrit scholar, has done valuable work on the Dravidian languages in one of the volumes of Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, was appointed epigraphist to the Government of India. He is responsible for the editing of all inscriptions collected by the Provincial Archæological Surveyors. Another change has been the creation of a new archæological circle in the North-West Frontier Province, a district rich in the remains of Graeco-Buddhistic art. In charge of this circle was placed more than two years ago a young American scholar, Dr. Spooner, who has enjoyed the double advantage of being trained as a Sanskritist in the scientific methods of the West as well as in the traditional learning of the best pandits at the Sanskrit College, Benares. The epigraphical side of the Archæological Department is now fully equipped, in every part of India, with excellent Sanskrit scholars, Dr. Sten Konow at its head, Drs. Bloch, Vogel, and Spooner as Provincial Surveyors, and Messrs Venkayya and Bhandarkar as assistants in Madras and Bombay respectively.

III

CONSERVATION WORK NOW GOING ON

During my travels I had exceptional opportunities of noting the archæological operations proceeding in every part of the country.

I enjoyed the advantage not only of accompanying for a month the party of the Director-General on tour in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, including the Native States of Haiderabad and Mysore, but also of visiting the various Provincial Surveyors at the scene of their excavations. Those who are interested in such matters may therefore like to hear the impressions of an unofficial observer.

A fairly comprehensive acquaintance with the ancient monuments of India has left a feeling of amazement at the notion having long prevailed in India itself that the work of the Archaeological Survey could be furnished in a few years' time. Considering the number and extent of the ruins, the vastness of the area over which they are scattered, the smallness of the staff, and the comparatively limited funds at their disposal, one is on the contrary inclined to despair of the tasks of the Archaeological Department ever being adequately carried out as a whole. At the same time, I could not help being struck by how much had recently been done and was still being done. Evidence of this appeared in every part of the country. Thus, in Rajputana I found extensive repairs going on at Mount Abu in the two white marble Jain temples, which are decorated with probably the richest and most beautiful interior stone carving in the world. Here the quality and colour of the marble employed by the masons were being supervised, and inferior stone which had been introduced in the course of earlier repairs was being removed and replaced by marble of more perfect quality. At Ajmir several important old buildings were being thoroughly renovated. But what most attracted notice was a series of lovely white marble pavilions which had been only recently restored to their original beauty by the removal of a number of unsightly native houses which had formerly hemmed them in. The terrace on which they stand overlooking the lake now presents a scene the charm of which can hardly anywhere be surpassed.

In the United Provinces and the Punjab, where are to be seen some of the most beautiful specimens of architecture in the world, the work of conservation has been very actively carried on. Judged by its appearance in old photographs, the unique beauty of the Taj and its surroundings has been greatly enhanced by the operations of the Archaeological Department. Much-needed repairs were being carried out at Sikandra, near Agra, on the gateways around the fine tomb of Akbar. At the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri, 24 miles from Agra, the capital which Akbar built and after some years abandoned, it was noticeable that the Imperial Record Office, which had formerly been transformed into a travellers' bungalow, was now restored to its original conditions in the days of the great Emperor. It is impossible to refer here in detail to the many repairs which the architectural masterpieces of Delhi have undergone. I was specially struck by the beautiful restoration which was being carried out, by an Italian artist, of the mosaic marble panels in the Hall of Audience. These were originally executed by another Italian, when the palace was built in the middle of the 17th century. The care which is being bestowed on the conservation of these splendid monuments appears to be well appreciated by the natives in this part of India. When one stopped to look at such repairs, one frequently heard them say "Lord Curzon ordered this to be done."

In Southern India conservation work was proceeding in various places. Here in the company of Mr. Alexander Rea, the Archaeo-

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logical Surveyor of the Madras Circle, I visited the ruined capital of the powerful medieval Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which was abandoned in 1565 as a result of Mahomedan conquest. On this site the remains of temples and other buildings cover an area of many square miles. Here and elsewhere I sometimes noticed that the work of conservation ought to deal not only with the ravages of time, but occasionally also with the disfiguring repairs perpetrated by the Public Works Department in earlier years. I was obliged to refrain from taking some photographs here because of the hideous effect produced by clumsy and incongruous masonry pillars introduced to support a ruinous building. Some time later I visited with the party of the Director-General the "Seven Pagodas," a solitary group of Hindu temples of the seventh century A.D., about 35 miles south of Madras. Five of them are monoliths hewn out of isolated boulders and situated in a sandy waste within hearing of the ceaseless roar of the surf which beats on the eastern coast. One of these remarkable monuments was threatened with destruction owing to a large crack which passed right through the rock. This damage had been repaired under Mr. Rea's directions with such skill and ingenuity that a casual observer would never notice any signs of the old fissure. The sea has here been encroaching on a structural temple which stands on the very verge of the shore. Mr. Marshall gave order for a sea wall to be built, so as to prevent further damage.

One of the difficulties with which the Archaeological Department is confronted is what may be called preventive conservation. This arises from the Government policy of non-interference with any thing connected with the religions of the country. Temples and mosques in actual use, which comprise a large number of the national monuments, may thus by the caprice of their owners or trustees be demolished together with the priceless records which they have preserved. This is by no means a rare occurrence, especially in Southern India, because religious merit is believed to be acquired not by keeping old shrines in repair, but by erecting new ones. I observed several instances of this during my tour, notably one at Madura. Here I saw, within the enclosure of a somewhat important Vishnu temple, a new shrine in process of erection, the old one having been pulled down. Here a fragment of stone with an old inscription on it—perhaps the oldest yet found in that part of the country—was lying on the ground. The second half of the inscription had disappeared and is probably lost for ever, having either been built into the new wall or been chiselled away by the masons.

For similar reasons it is impossible to interfere with the defacement of monuments resulting from the practice which has grown up in Southern India of covering the stone sculptures in the old temples with coat after coat of whitewash till all details disappear. The only way to counteract these forms of vandalism appears to be the education of native opinion. I noticed signs in some places of the awakening of the public conscience on this question, and took every opportunity of encouraging it.

There is yet another aspect of the religious difficulty even in connexion with disused temples under the protection of the Act as ancient monuments. In remote places such forsaken shrines are sometimes annexed by local worshippers, who then resent any

interference on the part of the Archaeological Department and even object to the entry of non-believers. This process of re-establishing ownership by prescription, I found, had been going on quite recently in two or three of the ancient Buddhist cave-temples at Nasik in the Bombay Presidency. Here figures of Buddha had been coloured black, embellished with daubs of red paint, and had the rims of their eyes and their brows gilded. Thus transformed, they were being worshipped as Hindu gods. Instances even occur of male Buddhist images being in this way changed into female Hindu deities. The result is by no means fascinating.

A further obstacle to adequate conservation is the fact that many of the finest ancient monuments are situated in Native States in which, though they are now included in the domain of the Archaeological Survey, the Director-General can only exercise indirect control. Thus the cave-temples of Ajanta and of Ellora lie in the territory of Hyderabad, important old Chalukyan Hindu temples and various Jain antiquities in that of Mysore, while the ancient Tope of Sanchi and the group of Hindu temples at Khajraho belong to States of Central India. The caves of Ajanta, situated some 40 miles from Jalgaon, the nearest railway station, are excavated high up along one of the sides of a romantic winding ravine, said to have been infested by tigers not long ago and still the haunt of panthers. The walls and ceilings of several of these caves are covered with the remains of fine paintings which date from the second to the seventh century A.D. and are the only specimens of this art in India surviving from early times. These highly interesting frescoes are now being rapidly effaced by the combined action of bats, damp, and the relic-hunting tourist who occasionally visits this lonely spot. The doors and windows with which some of the caves have been fitted are rendered practically useless by several large holes in the wire netting. That the bats found free ingress in large numbers was proved not only by the sight of many of them clinging to the walls, but by the powerful odour of sanctity which pervaded these old rock monasteries to an even greater degree than most other shrines in the East. The floor of one of these caves was covered with water to the depth of several inches. The frescoes on the walls bore traces not only of bats and decay, but of the operations of visitors who had cut out such pieces as had pleased them. The Director-General has, I have no doubt, made recommendations on these points to the Darbar of the Hyderabad State ; but whether they will prove effective remains uncertain.

IV

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH

While the work of conservation is, as I have shown, being actively carried out all over India, I found that exploration was by no means in abeyance. When I visited Dr. Bloch, the archaeologist of the Bengal Circle at Rajgir, I found he had lately completed some interesting excavations in this remote region where ancient Buddhist remains still abound. It is specially important as the site of the first Buddhist Council held after Buddha's death in the fifth century B.C. At Sarnath, another highly interesting spot connected with the life of Buddha, about four miles from Benares, the Director-General himself was busily engaged in superintending extensive excavations on which many hundreds of coolies were at

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work. The foundations of large buildings were being laid bare, and antiquities of various kinds, including sculptures and inscriptions, were being daily unearthed. The number of archaeological finds is here already so great that a permanent museum for their receptions is being built on the spot at a short distance from the old Tope, and the walls in February last were already beginning to rise above the level of the ground.

Subsequently I was enabled, by the hospitable arrangements made for me by his Highness the Maharajah of Balrampur, to visit the very extensive buried site of Set-Mahet, the ancient city of Sravasti, which lies about 100 miles north-east of Lucknow and 30 miles from the Himalayas. Here I was entertained in his camp by Dr. Vogel, the archaeologist of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Excavations were proceeding on two sites, the first being that of an old Buddhist monastery built of brick, the other that of one of the gates of the ancient city, two or three miles away. It was a curious experience to witness the coolies, of whom there were several hundreds, men, women, and children, being paid their wages. The excellent plan has been adopted of rewarding by extra payment for archaeological finds, the amount varying according to the importance of the object found. This system not only stimulates the zeal of the coolies and makes them more careful in the work of excavation, but also acts as a check on theft.

Last of all, I visited the Frontier Province as the guest of Dr. Spooner. The excavations which that scholar was conducting near Peshawar with the aid of a small band of coolies had laid bare some masonry foundations. The work had, however, not proceeded far enough to show the plan of the buildings or to yield anything in the way of sculptures and inscriptions. At Peshawar, Dr. Spooner has started a museum for the movable antiquities found in the Frontier Province. A vast number of these have in past years been removed, being partly housed in the Lahore Museum or having been taken out of the country by private individuals. Dr. Spooner has nevertheless managed within two years to form quite a good collection, including coins, which ought in course of time to become a most excellent one. The specimens are admirably arranged according to localities in such a way as to be mutually illustrative.

From Peshawar Dr. Spooner accompanied me to Mardan, the headquarters of the "Guides," the mess-room of which distinguished regiment contains several very fine specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture found in the neighbourhood. From here we drove some six miles to Takht-i-Bahai, a group of ancient Buddhist stone buildings nestling just below the crest of a rocky ridge which rises abruptly from the plain. These ruins are most romantically situated, reminding one of the medieval strongholds of robber knights which may be seen perched on craggy heights in various parts of Germany. They have a special interest for students of Indian archaeology as being the only structural monastic Buddhist buildings the walls of which are still partially standing on Indian soil. This site has yielded many important sculptures in past years. Further excavations had lately been going on here under Dr. Spooner's orders. As a result of these operations we found that about a dozen small Topes had been laid bare in the courtyard of the monastery. A number of stone Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

(future Buddhas) had also been unearthed and were lying near. Many of the beautifully carved heads were in perfect preservation, even the noses being uninjured—though this is somewhat rare in Indian antiquities. Some of these figures are as fine specimens of Gandhara art as any that have yet been found in the North-West.

The sun had already set when we reluctantly took leave of this highly interesting and romantic spot to scramble down the steep and rugged hillside to the plain below. In looking back on my Indian tour, I recall many occasions of regret at being unable to linger under the spell of ancient solitudes like this, in which one is alone with nature and the monuments of men of the dim and distant past. As we were making our way in the gathering dusk along the foot of the hill, our thoughts were suddenly brought back to the realities of the present. One of Dr. Spooner's bare-legged native attendants, who was walking just in front, noticed in the nick of time that he was about to tread on a snake, and managing to kill it with his stick, escaped being bitten. Dr. Spooner brought down with him as many of the smaller finds as could be carried away at the time, arranging for the larger specimens to be conveyed by cart after a few days to the museum at Peshawar. The archaeological harvest which the valleys of these frontier regions will yield, when they have been systematically and thoroughly explored, will undoubtedly be a very rich one. That the Archaeological Department has been doing much research work in the subject of epigraphy also is indicated by the fact that in the year 1903-4 no fewer than 1,000 inscriptions were copied by members of the staff—800 in Southern India and 200 in other parts of the country.

It is thus clear that a great deal of work has been accomplished in the domains of conservation, excavation, and epigraphy. But incomparably more remains to be done in the future. Not only are there many buried sites practically untouched, some of them covering an area of many square miles, such as that of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, just within the frontier of Nepal, and that of Pataliputra, the vast capital of Magadha, near the modern Patna. But several sites which have been partially explored in a former period must be worked over again, and will take many years to exhaust. It is, indeed, remarkable how many important discoveries were made by the archaeologists of earlier days, particularly when we consider that they were men who, like General Cunningham, had no special training, and operated with a wholly inadequate staff. But several of the sites which such men thought they had worked out, they really only scratched on the surface. A notable example of this is Sarnath, where, as we have seen so many important antiquarian remains have been found quite lately under Mr. Marshall's auspices, and where, only a few years ago Mr. Oertel made one of the most important archaeological discoveries of recent times—a beautifully polished pillar bearing an inscription of King Asoka, and surmounted by a lion capital which is, perhaps, the finest specimen of ancient carving yet found in India.

During my travels in India I had several occasions of observing the harm which had been done in archaeological work by untrained men. Thus, one of the sites I visited had been partially explored in former years by an amateur. He had, in the first place, greatly damaged the buried structure in the course of his operations, be-

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cause he lacked the necessary knowledge of the correct methods of procedure. He had further allowed the debris taken from his excavations to be thrown upon the unexplored portion of the site, where it had by this time become almost as hard as rock. The expenses of the new operations were thus very largely increased by the necessity of removing this superimposed rubbish before the excavations proper could be proceeded with. Having had no training in survey work, he was further incapable of producing adequate plans of the work he had actually carried out. It is, moreover, well known that many sculptures were unearthed in former years by untrained excavators who never troubled to describe or even to note the places where they were found. Such antiquities have consequently lost nearly all their archæological value. The Lahore Museum contains a large collection of fine sculptures, the source of which is thus unknown.

I brought away with me the general impression that, though the Archæological Department is now on so much better a footing than ever before, the staff is still inadequate for all the work that lies before it. The vast size of the country, as well as the number and extent of the monuments, must render it extremely difficult for the Director-General and the Provincial Surveyors to exercise the necessary supervision everywhere over the work of conservation alone, to say nothing of making much headway in exploring and investigating the immense quantity of archæological material that still remains to be dealt with. The amount of official routine work which, in addition to these activities, is inevitable will in all probability interfere with the punctual publication of the annual reports, the up-to-date appearance of which is of special importance to researchers in Europe and America. In 1907, the Director-General remedied this drawback by publishing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* a summary of the work done during the previous year. It is to be hoped that he will repeat this admirable plan, if necessary, in the future.

There is much other valuable work which it seems impossible could ever be undertaken by the staff at its present strength. Thus complete and scholarly monographs, fully illustrated, of important groups of monuments, such as the caves of Ajanta, Ellora, Udaya-giri, and the temples at Bhuvanesvar and Khajuraho, would greatly advance the study of Indian archæology. Special and systematic treatment of the iconography of the monuments, to which comparatively little attention has hitherto been paid, would make such publications peculiarly useful.

A minor but not unimportant desideratum seems to be the publication by the department, if time allowed, of brief and trustworthy archæological guide books to the most important sites such as Karli, Sanchi, Ajanta, Ellora, Udaya-giri, Bhuvanesvar, to be sold by the custodian at a fixed price to travellers. It is, of course, impossible to spend much on salaries paid to care-takers for the benefit of the rare and often unintelligent tourist. The men who are employed in this capacity are mostly very ignorant and quite incapable of giving any trustworthy information about the monuments of which they are in charge. On the contrary, I have often heard such men making fundamentally wrong statements. Even the custodian at Karli, who was an intelligent Brahman, knew next to nothing about the inscriptions and sculptures in that famous cave temple, though

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he was eager to learn. He complained that no source of information was accessible to him at that lonely spot, and seemed very grateful when Dr. Konow, whom I accompanied, explained various things he did not understand.

India possesses several good archaeological museums, such as those at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lucknow, Muttra, Lahore, besides those which are being formed at Sarnath and Peshawar. None of these can be said to have an adequate catalogue of antiquities, though I believe a revised edition of Anderson's catalogue of the Calcutta Museum is about to be published. The finest collection of Græco-Buddhistic sculptures, that at Lahore, is not even arranged, and can therefore have very little educative value to the student. It is absurd that Dr. Vogel, the provincial archæologist, should be expected to arrange and catalogue this collection in addition to his other multifarious duties. A thoroughly trained assistant archæologist should be entrusted with such work.

Some of these museums possess good collections of coins. It seems obvious that these should not be left in the custody of the general archæologist of the Circle, as is practically everywhere the case. In order to be properly looked after they should be handed over to a specialist in numismatics, a branch of antiquarian study, which, as we have seen, is peculiarly important in India. Only such an expert can properly arrange, and catalogue the coins, guard against loss by theft and fraud, or extend the collection with safety by his ability to detect forgeries.

What I have said is, I hope, sufficient to dispel any remains of the idea that the work of archæological exploration in India can be completed within any calculable period. The desire of all those who are interested in its future must be that the department will not only always remain a permanent one, but will receive increased support from the Government of India in proportion to the vast field of its operations and the magnitude of the work which has still to be done and which, far from being nearly finished, has only within recent years been begun under systematic and scientific conditions. There is every reason to believe that the department as now organized will, by preserving the national monuments more carefully and advancing our knowledge of the past more rapidly than has hitherto been possible, add very much to the credit of the Imperial Government in the eyes of the world. (From a correspondent of the London *Times*.)

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The English Press did not appear suddenly in India, fully developed, like Minerva from Jupiter's head. Before the English appeared on the scene, civilisation had long existed, and the necessities of the native Government had evolved a system of obtaining and publishing information. In Hindu times the rulers of the country relied upon the reports regularly transmitted to them by their agents at home and abroad. During the rule of the Moguls there was an organised department under State regulations (as set forth in the *Ain-i-Akbari*) both for the recording, in writing, of events at headquarters and for the collection of reports from news-writers at different stations. There was a *waqianavis*, or 'recorder,' in each Subah, or province. In their early days in Bengal the

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English utilised these news-agents to act as their intermediaries with the Mogul Emperor. The Portuguese printed books at Goa in the sixteenth century. There was a printing press at Bombay in 1674. There was printing at Madras in 1772, and an official printing press was established at Calcutta in 1779 (while Warren Hastings was Governor-General). Mr. Bolts, an ex-servant of the Company, had proposed a printing press in 1768, but he had been, as an interloper, deported. "The Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper," 1780-1782, are described at full length by Colonel Busteed, C.I.E., in his well-known and fascinating book, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. The proprietor, editor, and printer was Mr. James Augustus Hicky, an illiterate man, probably a printer by trade, who had suffered losses at sea and been in jail. On the 29th of January 1780, he brought out *Hicky's Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser* as 'a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none,' the first newspaper printed or published in India. At first dull and vulgar, and on the whole harmless, it descended to indecency, personalities, and scurrilous attacks, often directed at Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey; but it avoided attacking Sir Philip Francis. On the 14th of November 1780, its circulation through the channel of the General Post Office was stopped, because it contained 'several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the Settlement.' But its circulation in Calcutta and the neighbourhood continued. The worst features of the paper became exaggerated: personality assumed intolerable licence, private individuals were held up to derision. Hicky slandered everyone and anyone alike; even young ladies were most offensively indicated under different sobriquets which could not be mistaken. In June 1781, Hicky was arrested under Impey's order at the suit of Hastings, imprisoned, and fined, but he continued the paper without any change in its style. In January 1782, he was again tried by Impey on the same indictment as that on which Hastings had previously had him tried; he was fined, and sentenced to one year in jail. In March 1782, his types were seized, so that his paper was closed. He is described as a worthless man, but as the pioneer of the Indian Press. Of this paper Kaye remarks in his *Christianity in India*: 'Society must have been very bad to have tolerated such a paper. . . . It is difficult to bring forward illustrative extracts. The most significant passages are too coarse for quotation.' Other papers were established about this time; the most important of them were the *India Gazette*, in November 1780, and the *Calcutta Gazette* (a semi-official organ, under the avowed patronage of Government), edited by Mr. Francis Gladwin in 1784. Kaye has stated in his *Life of Lord M'rcalfe*, that with the improved moral tone of Society during the administration of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) and Sir John Shore (1793-1798) the respectability of the Indian Press necessarily made steady progress. The papers had little or nothing to say against Lord Cornwallis and his Government. It would appear that, therefore, they were left very much to themselves. There is other testimony to the general improvement in journalism between 1788 and 1798.

In 1791, William Duane, an Irish American, was arrested by the Bengal Government and ordered to be sent to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph in the *Bengal Journal* reflecting

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upon Colonel de Canaple, Commandant of the Affairs of the French nation and his countrymen in Calcutta.⁴ Mr. Duane applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was granted. On the trial of the case, the Court unanimously decided that the Governor-General in Council possessed the legal right to order Mr. Duane's arrest and have him sent to Europe. On the intercession of M. Fumeron, the French Agent, the Government revoked their order for Mr. Duane's embarkation. But, later, as editor of the *Indian World*, he published a number of improper, and intemperate articles, and particularly an inflammatory address to the army ; he was therefore put under arrest (of which an amusing account is extant) and sent to Europe in 1794 : the Court of Directors approved of these proceedings. The *Bengal Harkaru* came out as a weekly journal in 1795. In 1796 proceedings were taken against the editors of the *Telegraph* and the *Calcutta Gazette* respectively for articles considered objectionable by the Government, but no resort to extreme measures was required.

In 1798, an officer was suspended and compulsorily retried for writing in the *Telegraph* a letter tending to excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army ; and another person was deported for writing a letter to the same paper animadverting on the official conduct of a magistrate, and for contumacy in declining to apologise. In 1799, the editor of that paper was required to apologise for a very improper reflection on an official. During these years the attitude of the Government of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies towards the editors of papers was the same as that of the Government of Bengal : several editors were warned, and the Press generally was officially supervised. Thus, previously to 1799, there were no uniform and consistent rules established at the three Presidencies to guide the editors of newspapers, or to restrain and punish their excesses. But the frequent abuses in the Calcutta and other Presses before 1799 seem to have satisfied the Government that checks were required.

When Lord Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) arrived in India as Governor-General on the 18th of May 1798, the Government were engaged in a great contest with the French, who were still endeavouring to establish a dominant influence in India and intriguing with the principal native dynasties for the destruction of the British power in the East. It was a great crisis. The unwary publication of items of intelligence might have been fraught with pernicious results. Lord Wellesley believed that it was necessary to subject the Press to a rigorous supervision. A censorship was established. In 1799, Lord Wellesley was in Madras, to supervise the fourth Mysore War against Tippoo. The Bengal Government, under his instructions, issued the following Regulations for the public Press : they bore date of the 13th of May 1799 (Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippoo killed, on the 4th of that month) :—First.—Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. Second.—Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Government. Third.—No paper to be published on Sunday. Fourth.—No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose. Fifth.—The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation to Europe. These Regulations were communicated to

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seven English papers then published, and were extended to others as they started. This system obtained, with some additions to the rules, until the censorship was abolished in 1818.

Lord Wellesley is said to have been at this time exasperated beyond measure against the Press of Calcutta. He regarded with extreme sensitiveness any remarks in the public journals which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of British rule in the East. In his *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, Mr. J. C. Marshman has written how Mr. Bruce, the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who have ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article mischievous, and in his anxiety that the public security, as he said, might not be exposed to constant hazard, he directed Sir Alured Clarke, whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the first ship which might sail from Calcutta, adding, 'If you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their paper by force, and send their persons to Europe.' At the same time he established the very rigid censorship of the Press, and authorised the Secretary to Government, who was appointed censor, to expunge whatever appeared to him likely to endanger the public tranquillity. Immediate deportation to England was the penalty for breach of any of the Regulations. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was promptly prepared for transmission to India. But the President of the Board of Control, before whom the despatch had to be placed, declined to concur with the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, Lord Wellesley directed the Regulations to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, published under his own superintendence. But in November 1799, his feelings of animosity and alarm regarding the Press were in full force, and it was at that inauspicious juncture that the missionaries in Bengal sought to establish a press in the interior of the country, two hundred miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal.

When Lord Wellesley's Government in 1801 prepared a plan for the establishment of a Government printing press it was proposed to print an official *Gazette*, accompanied with a newspaper, the latter to be published under Government inspection, but not to be considered as an official communication. The proposition was based on the following grounds :

In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favour of the proposed establishment. The increase of private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences ; of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those which now exist, and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future.

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On the ground of expense the plan was not carried into execution. During the year 1801-1804, when the Mahratta wars were in progress, the Government prohibited the publication, in the *Calcutta Gazette* and *India Gazette*, without their express sanction, of military and naval information, unless it had previously appeared in the official *Gazette*—a proper precaution under the circumstances and in 1807 the prohibition was repeated, and editors were censured for infringing it.

Lord Minto (Governor-General 1807-1813) had only been two months in Calcutta when the Secretary to Government was instructed to address (the 8th of September 1807) the English missionaries residing at the Danish Settlement of Serampur and desire them to remove their press to Calcutta, so that its productions should be subject to the immediate control of the officers of Government. Some of the religious pamphlets and treatises issued by the missionaries from that press, and directed against the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, had (as they were circulated in the Company's dominions) appeared to Government to be calculated to produce irritation, alarm, and dangerous effects, and to be contrary to the system of protection which the Government were pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country. The leading missionaries waited on Lord Minto and submitted an explanation, whereupon the Government revoked the order for the removal of the press from Serampur, and simply required the missionaries to submit works intended for circulation in the British dominions to the inspection of Government officers. The Court of Directors approved of the measures taken to prevent the circulation of the obnoxious publications and of the permission granted to the missionaries to remain at Serampur.

During Lord Minto's administration the editors of Calcutta newspapers were constantly warned. In 1808, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, who had failed to have his proof sheets inspected before publication, was censured and directed to send everything for previous revision. In 1811, the proprietors of all presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were required to have the names of the printers affixed to everything printed and issued by them, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government. In 1812, the editor of the *Calcutta Daily Advertiser* was censured for inserting an advertisement intended to expose a respectable military officer to public ridicule. Orders were issued requiring the previous submission to Government, for inspection, of all advertisements save those of special kinds which were exempted. In another case, in 1813, the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru* were called on to explain their disregard of the rule requiring previous inspection.

About this time there was an animated debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the restrictions on the English Press in India. On the 21st of March 1811 a motion was made for copies of all regulations &c. promulgated since 1797 regarding it. The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Control, who said that

the noble Lord seemed to infer that no restraint should be placed upon the Press in India. If such was his meaning, he must say that a wilder scheme never entered into the imagination of man than that of regulating the Indian Press similarly to the English. There could be no doubt that the very Government would be shaken to its foundations if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate

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over the continent of Hindustan. There could be but two descriptions of persons in India—those who went to that country with the licence of the Company, and those who lived in its actual service ; and there could be no doubt whatever that the Company had a right to lay any regulation it pleased on those who chose to live under its power, and who, when they went into its territories, knew the conditions of submission to its authority on which their stay depended.

The Marquis of Hastings, who (as Lord Moira) succeeded to the Governor-Generalship on the 4th of October 1813, soon added some rules, dated the 16th of the same month, to those already in force for the control of printing offices in Calcutta, as follows : (1) That the proof sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision ; (2) that all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision ; (3) that the titles of all original works proposed to be published be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper ; (4) the rules established on the 13th of May 1799 and the 6th of August 1801 to be in full force and effect except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions.

In November 1814, Dr. James Bryce arrived in Calcutta as the Senior Scotch Chaplain, and was allowed (a curious combination of employments, the incompatibility of which was noticed by the Government) to become also the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror* in 1815. Assuming an independent attitude, he soon attacked the policy of the press censor, was censured for constant disregard of rules, and in 1817 carried the war into the enemy's camp by complaining to Government of the Chief Secretary, Mr. John Adam, for 'having overstepped the powers of his office' as press censor. The Government supported their officer and reprimanded Dr. Bryce in his editorial capacity, declining to withdraw their censure when he appealed against it. His quarrels with Mr. Adam continued. Meanwhile the Government had, on the 2nd of May 1815, established the *Government Gazette* for the public service, withdrawing official authority from the *Calcutta Gazette*. Their object was, it is said, to ensure greater control over official secrets.

It is understood that about the year 1816 the propriety of making the Press free was constantly debated by the Members of the Supreme Council in India. The authority for this statement is obscure. Lord Hastings had brought with him, it is said, very enlightened views on the subject of the Press. When he had broken up the Mahratta power and confederacy, he resolved to break the fetters of the Press. So he abolished the censorship, without recording any reasons, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his Cabinet. At the same time he passed certain regulations, dated the 19th of August 1818, for the conduct of the editors of newspapers, superseding the censorship, as follows :

The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz. :—(1) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta ; (2) discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances ; (3) the republication from English or other

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newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India ; (4) private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society.

The Government were empowered to visit any infraction of these rules by a prosecution in the Supreme Court or by expelling the offender. The judges of the Supreme Court on one occasion refused to grant a criminal information. Hastings was extremely averse to banishing an editor. Deportation, after cancellation of the licence to remain in India, continued to be nominally the effective method of enforcing the censorship against English editors. But when an editor born in India, who could not be embarked to Europe, rebelled against the censorship, he could not be touched and the situation became anomalous and impracticable. The rules, therefore, soon became a dead letter and the Press practically free.

Hastings subsequently, when answering an address from Madras, claimed to have removed the restrictions on the Press, in pursuance of the policy that supreme authority should look to the control of public scrutiny—as it gains force thereby. The rules of 1818, when reported on the 1st of October of that year, without any reasons assigned for the change of system, to the Court of Directors in England, met with their disapproval ; the promulgation of the Governor-General's doctrines excited their disgust and alarm. The Court prepared a despatch to the Government of India, expressing their annoyance at not having been consulted before the changes in the Press rules, and denying the efficacy of the proposed change. They proposed to write to India as follows :

With this conviction we positively direct that on the receipt of this despatch you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for near twenty years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our presidencies in India. The inconvenience and public scandal which have resulted from the sudden liberation of the Press in Calcutta, while that at Madras remained under control, are too notorious to require particularising here and could not but be the consequence of so hasty and partial a measure.

But when this draft despatch was sent on the 7th of April 1820 to the Board of Control for approval, Mr. George Canning, who presided there, did not return it. It was simply shelved, and never issued. So Lord Hastings's rules of 1818 remained in force (until 1823). The *Bengal Harkaru* became, on the 27th of April 1819, the first daily paper in India. For the next four years the Court of Directors deplored the licentiousness of the Indian Press, after the abolition of the censorship, and were anxious to reimpose it.

Mr. James Silk Buckingham arrived in Calcutta with a licence in 1815. As editor of the *Calcutta Journal* he attacked the Government and the officials unsparingly. He was reproved and warned for aspersing the character of the Governor of Madras. He defied all rules, and harassed the Government and individuals by his objectionable conduct of his paper, being repeatedly warned for inserting articles injurious to the interests of the Company. Lord Hastings disapproved of his violence, and personally remonstrated with him, but in July 1822 overruled the votes of his Council for deportation. When a change was about to take place by the appointment of a new Governor-General (Lord Amherst), the Court of Directors thought it a fit opportunity to address the Board of Control on the licentious state of the public Press in India.

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It appears (they wrote) that from 1791 to 1799 the Bengal Government limited its interference with the Press in India, in cases of venial offences, to expressions of its disapprobation and to requisitions of apologies from offending editors ; that in two cases of aggravation it exercised its legal power of sending the offenders to England ; in one instance it suspended the offender from the Company's service ; the Calcutta Press was subjected to a censorship from 1799 to 1818 ; and during that period no case occurred which it was found necessary to visit with the severe displeasure of Government. The censorship was removed in 1818, rules being laid down instead for the conduct of editors ; and, ever since, the restrictions then imposed have been set at nought and the Government has been involved in an almost constant but unsuccessful conflict with an individual editor, it having failed in one prosecution, and declined exercising its power of sending him home, because of other prosecutions which had been instituted against him in the Supreme Court. In one instance, previously to the introduction of the censorship at Madras, the Government had found it necessary to order an editor to Europe. The censorship has not yet been removed by the Madras Government, and at that Settlement, so far as is known, the Press causes neither uneasiness to Government nor disturbance to the community. The Madras Government, with reference to what has been done elsewhere and to the general agitation of the question, have lately represented to the Court, in the strongest terms, the impolicy and danger of liberating the Press from the most absolute control. Lastly, at Bombay, where the censorship was imposed in 1791, no case had occurred under its operation against which the Bombay Government thought itself called upon to proceed with severity ; but in December 1819 the censorship was removed, and the same regulations for the Press established at Bombay as in Bengal.

The Court's despatch—which was laid before Parliament with other papers in May 1858—argued the case in the fullest detail with all possible force against the freedom of the Press and in favour of the censorship. Among other points, the Court observed that a free Press could not be confined to Europeans, that four native newspapers were started on the withdrawal of the censorship, and that such a Press must be injurious.

The half-castes may be made, as they must at no remote period become, a source of great anxiety to Government. . . . Moreover any diminution of the native respect for Government would endanger its safety. . . . As to the diffusion of intelligence among the natives that is a high object, *but it is not to be attained through newspapers, whose aim is to gratify the curiosity rather than enlighten the understanding, to excite the passions rather than to exercise the reason of their readers ;*

and much stress was laid on the danger of the native army obtaining a perusal of English newspapers, 'containing a perhaps exaggerated representation of their grievances or an inflammatory incentive to rebellion, which, from their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments, they have better means ofconcerting than any other portion of the population.' They expressed a preference for censorship over the extreme penalty of deportation, and suggested that, as the censorship could not be extended to journals edited by half-caste and native editors, Parliament should be asked to enlarge the powers of Government. They suggested that the necessity of the censorship would be superseded were the local governments empowered to grant and withdraw licences to printing presses, with the power of suppressing unlicensed printing, as such a check would be universally applicable. Among the papers quoted by the Court was a Minute by Lord William Bentinck, then (1807) Governor of Madras. 'It is necessary in my opinion for the public safety that the Press in India should be kept under the most rigid control.' He recommended that all proprietors of printing presses should be forbidden, under pain of the utmost displeasure of the Governor, to print any paper whatever without the previous sanction of the Governor.

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A Minute (1822) by Sir Thomas Munro (Governor of Madras 1820-1827) was also quoted, containing his sentiments, unanimously shared by his Council, on the danger to be apprehended from a free Press in India. He observed that the grand object of improving the moral and intellectual character of the people of India was not to be attained by the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but by spreading education gradually among the people, diffusing moral and religious instruction through the community, giving the natives a greater share in the administration, and allowing them to fill places of rank and emolument.

In reply to the Court's despatch the President of the Board of Control wrote that his Majesty's Ministers, though deeply sensible of the weight and importance of the considerations pressed on their attention by the Court, did not think that, under the circumstances, it would at present be advisable to submit to Parliament any measure for extending the authority of the Indian Government to check this abuse (the licentious state of the Press in India). In the interim between Hastings's retirement and Amherst's arrival in India Mr. John Adam, the Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General in 1823. He had previously been Chief Secretary and *ex officio* Press Censor. He had uniformly opposed the liberal views of Hastings regarding the Press: he considered a free Press incompatible with the institutions of a despotic Government like that of India, and his objections to it were based, not on personal irritation, but on conscientious principle. The officials had started, in 1821, the *John Bull*, by way of retorting upon Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*. The Presidency was divided in opinion between the two newspapers. A prosecution instituted against Buckingham failed. After Hastings had left India, Buckingham in his paper ridiculed the appointment of the Presbyterian Chaplain to be clerk to the Committee of Stationery; Buckingham's licence was promptly taken away, and he was deported. The *Calcutta Journal* was made over to an Indian-born gentleman, as editor, who could not be deported.

Thereupon Regulation III. of 1823 was passed 'for preventing the establishment of printing presses without licence, and for restraining under certain circumstances the circulation of printed books and papers.' It enacted that no person should print any newspaper or book containing public news, or information, or strictures on the proceedings of Government without a licence, which was liable to be revoked; and that, if any newspaper or work should be printed either without a licence or after its recall, any two justices of the peace might inflict a penalty of 40/- for each offence. When the *Calcutta Journal* opposed the registration (required to make it law) of this regulation in the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice ordered its registration on the ground that the Government and a free Press were incompatible with each other and could not co-exist. Simultaneously rules were published for the guidance of editors; it was notified that the publication of any observations on the measures or orders of the public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or on the measures and orders of the Indian Governments, impugning their motives or designs, or in any way intended to bring them into hatred or contempt, or to weaken their authority, would subject the

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editors to the loss of their licences. This measure has been called the tyranny of despotism ; Lord Amherst (1823—1828) is said to have adopted the violent counsels of his advisers. A Mr. Arnott, of the *Calcutta Journal*, was banished for publishing some offensive remarks ; the licence of the paper was soon after revoked : Mr. Arnott appealed to the Directors, and was awarded 1,500/- as compensation for his banishment. Various orders were issued in 1822—1826 to prevent Government officers from having any connection with the Press on pain of dismissal.

In 1824, the Bombay Supreme Court complained of the *Bombay Gazette* for having misrepresented their proceedings. The Bombay Government deprived Mr. Fair, the nominal owner and editor, of his licence and deported him. But when the Bombay Court was moved by the Bombay Government in July 1826 to register (to validate it locally) the Bengal regulation, the Judges refused to do so, pronouncing it, with many panegyrics on the liberty of the press, unlawful and inexpedient. Malcolm (Governor of Bombay 1827—1830) felt the want of power of controlling the Press, except by deportation, very embarrassing. In May 1827 the Government suppressed the *Calcutta Chronicle* for great disrespect to the Government and the Directors, and for violating the Press Regulation. Lord Amherst is said to have relaxed his views on restriction during his last two years of office. Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General 1828—1835) hesitated to establish the liberty of the Press by a legislative enactment, but he paved the way for it by giving the Press seven years of practical freedom and by constantly encouraging its discussion of public questions. He thought some power should be reserved to the authorities, responsible as they were for the peace and integrity of the Empire, to enable them effectively to secure the Government against sedition. Though he never interfered with the freedom of public discussion, except in the solitary case of the half-batta order (which came from England), he thought Government should have some authority to restrain the Press summarily in a clear case of political necessity. When publishing the half-batta despatch he appears to have contemplated some restrictions on the Press, but was apparently deterred by Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute of the 6th of September 1830, which argued against any interference with the liberty of the Press. Bentinck was wont to say, snapping his fingers, that he did not care a straw for the vituperations of the Press. He esteemed it, he said, as a friend and appreciated it as an auxiliary to good government.

Upon Lord William Bentinck's retirement Sir Charles Metcalfe, Senior Member of the Supreme Council, acted as Governor-General for nearly a year until Lord Auckland arrived in March 1836. There were then a number of journals in existence in Bengal. On the 3rd of August 1835 the Government of India under Sir Charles Metcalfe passed Act XI. of that year, which took effect from the 15th September, *removing all restrictions on the Press*. In 1825 Metcalfe had, as he wrote to a friend, no decided opinions on the subject of the Press.

I cannot go along with one party as to the blessings of a free Press, nor with another as to its dangers ; but I rather think that the inconveniences would predominate at present and the advantages hereafter ; and that it would be hostile to the permanency of our rule, but ultimately beneficial to India.

The real dangers of a free Press in India are, I think, in its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke. The petty annoyances which our Government would suffer

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I call rather inconveniences. The advantages are in the spread of knowledge, which it seems wrong to obstruct for any temporary or selfish purpose. I am inclined to think that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master.

In 1832, as Vice-President in Council, he expressed his opposition to any control of the Press. His opportunity came while he was acting as Governor-General, with Macaulay as his Legal Member of Council. The Act of 1835, which they passed, repealed the Press Regulations of 1823 in Bengal, and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It enacted that the printer and the publisher of every periodical work within the Company's territories, containing public news, or comments on public news, should appear before the magistrates of the jurisdiction in which it should be published and declare where it was to be printed and published. Every book or paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher. Every person having a printing press on his premises was to make a declaration thereof, and for all violations of the provisions of Act penalties of fine and imprisonment were decreed. But, beyond the necessity of making these declarations, there was no other restriction upon the liberty of the Press. Sir C. Metcalfe was belauded as the liberator of the Indian Press, and defended his measure as conducing to the promotion of knowledge and civilisation, and thereby the improvement of the condition of the people; he admitted the liberty practically given to the Press by Lord W. Bentinck's forbearance, although the Press laws were nominally in existence. He was blamed for his change of opinion since 1825, and for having seized the opportunity of a brief occupancy of the chief seat of Government to secure for himself a little fleeting popularity. The use of a safety-valve, the publicity, the aid afforded to Government by a free Press were the arguments relied upon by the supporters of liberation. At the same time the Government of India recognised not only the right but the bounden duty of the Government to suspend that liberty on the possible occurrence of certain emergencies when such a measure might become necessary for the safety of the State. The freedom of the Indian Press dates from the 15th of September 1835, and the Metcalfe Hall was erected in Calcutta to commemorate the name of the Liberator. The free Press dinner became an anniversary festival in Calcutta. The Court of Directors showed their dissatisfaction with Sir C. Metcalfe's Government, and made him personally feel the weight of their displeasure. In their despatch of the 1st of February 1836 the Court very severely blamed the Government of India for passing the Act, which they declared to be opposed to all previous orders, unjustifiable, unsupported by facts, redressing no real grievance, required by no emergency, *an uncalled for substitution of legal responsibility for the previous licensing system*. But the Court refrained from disallowing the new law, and awaited Lord Auckland's advice before finally deciding. The Act remained in force.

So far the main account of the Indian Press has been limited to English journalism, with the briefest allusions to vernacular papers. It is time to describe succinctly the rise and development of vernacular journalism, especially that of Bengal, which by the date of the Mutiny of 1857 had attained such a position as to require the serious attention of the Government. In 1798 the Court of Directors intimated their desire to encourage Indian literature. When

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the missionaries Marshman and Ward had established themselves at Serampur in October 1799, they were soon joined in January 1800 by William Carey, who brought down his press from his factory in the Malda district. There is no need to dwell at length on the activity of the Serampur missionaries until the year 1818. Their relations with Lord Minto's Government have been mentioned. Marshman tells how the Serampur missionaries had for some time contemplated the publication of a newspaper in the Bengali language, to stimulate inquiry and diffuse information. The Government had always regarded the periodical Press with a spirit of jealousy; it was then under a rigid censorship. It did not appear likely that a native journal would be suffered to appear, when the English journals at the Presidency (where alone they were published) were fettered by the severest restrictions.) On Marshman's proposals the Government, in February 1818, allowed the publication of a periodical in Bengali, provided all political intelligence, more especially regarding the East, was excluded, and it did not appear in a form likely to alarm Government. 'It must therefore be confined to articles of general information and notices of new discoveries, but a small space may be allotted to local events with the view of rendering it attractive.' This monthly magazine appeared in April 1818 as the *Dig-Dursun*. As it was received with unexpected approbation, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward issued a prospectus for the publication of a weekly vernacular newspaper in Bengali. Dr. Carey regarded this publication with feelings of great alarm, but was overruled by his colleagues. The first number was issued on the 23rd of May 1818 as the *Samachar Durpan*. This was supposed to be the first Bengali newspaper, until recently it has been stated that the *Bengal Gazette*, published in 1816 in Bengali, which lived less than a year, was the first. However that may be, the issue of the *Samachar* was favoured by the authorities, and Lord Hastings, to encourage it, allowed its circulation at one-fourth the usual postage charged. The censorship of the Press was then in full vigour, but the 'liberty of unlicensed printing,' which the missionaries enjoyed in the Danish settlement of Serampur, was not interfered with. While the animosity against the periodical English press was at its height, the Government manifested the confidence in the discretion of the Serampur missionaries by purchasing one hundred copies of their Bengali newspaper for the public offices in Bengal and encouraged a Persian version of it by a liberal subscription. Persian was then the official language of the Courts of Bengal. The first native newspaper in Bombay was the *Bombay Samachar*, published as a weekly in the 1st of July 1822; the Government subscribed for fifty copies; it became a weekly in 1833, and a daily in 1860. By 1875 there were 254 vernacular newspapers in India. In Bengal the *Hindu Patriot* had been started (in English) in 1853. The *Indian Mirror* came out in 1861, the *Bengali* in 1862, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1868.

Soon after the Mutiny broke out in 1857, the Government of India recorded on the 19th of June a Resolution announcing their intention to take prompt and decisive measures with the Press. Certain native newspapers (the *Doorbeen*, *Sultan-ul-Akbar*, *Samachar Soodhaburshun*) in Calcutta had uttered falsehoods and facts grossly perverted for seditious purposes, misrepresented the objects and intentions of Government, vituperated Government itself, and endeav-

oured to excite discontent and hatred towards it in the minds of its native subjects. Two of the papers had published a traitorous proclamation inciting the Hindus and Mahomedans to murder all Europeans. The Government ordered their law officers to prosecute the printers and publishers of the two newspapers on charges of publishing seditious libels, and determined to take for a time control of the Press, and power to suppress summary publications containing treasonable or seditious matter or otherwise infringing the conditions imposed. Lord Canning himself took charge of the measure, which became, on the 13th of June, XV of 1857, an Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. It temporarily placed the whole Indian Press very much in the position in which it was permanently before Sir C. Metcalfe's legislation in 1835 gave it complete liberty. It prohibited the keeping or using of printing presses without licence from the Government. The Government took discretionary power to grant licences, subject to conditions, also to revoke the licences: also to prohibit the publication or circulation in India of newspapers, books, &c., of any particular description. The conditions upon which licences were ordinarily to be granted were, that nothing printed at such press should contain matter impugning the motive or designs of the British Government, in England or India, or tending to bring Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful authority of its civil or military servants: that nothing printed there should contain matter having a tendency (1) to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances, or (2) to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native princes, chiefs, or dependent or allied States. Soon the *Friend of India* (an Anglo-Indian newspaper), which had infringed every one of the conditions of its licence, was warned against repeating remarks of the dangerous nature contained in an article on the 'Centenary of Plassey.' It however, repeated, in offensive and desiant terms, the substance of the original article. The licence was about to be withdrawn, when an assurance was given that the prescribed conditions would be observed. The printers and publishers of two of the native papers pleaded guilty and were discharged under recognisances. The third defendant was acquitted. The law was enforced against two other papers. The Act applied to all India; its duration was limited to one year; it made no distinction between the English and vernacular Press. This aroused a storm of indignation in the European community on the ground that the European Press, although no fear was entertained that treasonable matter would be designedly published in any English newspaper, had been placed under the same restrictions as the native Press. This was the deliberate intention of Lord Canning himself, who said, when introducing the measure, that he saw no reason, and, did not consider it possible in justice, to draw any line of demarcation between European and native publications. The 'Gagging Act' has never been forgotten. The Government particularly pointed out to the Court of Directors the nature of the comments that might be made in a newspaper and circulated among natives in India with impunity, when the Press is not under a temporary law of restriction. The *Jam-i-Jamsid* was suppressed by the Bombay Government, who, moved by the Commissioner in

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Sind (Sir Bartle Frere) to take some action, recorded strong opinion in favour of restrictions and supported Act XV of 1857. The Court of Directors entertained no doubt of the necessity of some such measures, and, when the proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette* memorialised the Court, praying for the disallowance of the Act and pleading for the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Press since 1835. they very briefly replied to him that they have approved of the Act. When the Act expired it was not renewed.

* While Lord Lawrence was Viceroy of India (1864-1869), the idea of establishing a Government organ was considered, and negotiations were opened, it is said, with the editor of the *Englishman*, but nothing came of them, as no subsidy was to be granted. Sir Henry Maine, the Legal Member, wrote in a Minute dated the 27th of February 1868 : 'We stand alone among the Governments of the civilised world in having no means, except the most indirect, of correcting the honest mistakes or exposing the wilful misrepresentations of a completely free Press.' He considered the subject of possible future relations between the Government and the *Friend of India*, but was strongly advised against the establishment of an official paper like the *Moniteur*, and apparently nothing came of the idea. On the 16th of March 1868, he wrote

We are beginning more and more to be conscious of the reflex action of Indian opinion, which is mainly formed by the newspapers, which penetrates to England in a variety of ways and thus leavens or creates English opinion about India, and so becomes a real power with which we have to count. Even more serious is the direct influence of the European Press in India on the now enormous Native Press. Where the native newspapers do not perceive that native interest points the other way (which they constantly fail to do) they merely echo European cries, which, in the vast majority of cases, are bitter calumnies on, or misrepresentations of, the policy of the Government.

Of the European Press in Bengal and Upper India, he added : 'We always knew that it was careless, shallow, and scandalous. We now know all but for certain that it is corrupt. It is not very uncharitable to speak of it as constantly subsided by one or other of the numerous persons who are conspiring against the Indian Exchequer.' There is evidence, in his Life by Sir W. Hunter, that Lord Mayo also considered the question of a 'Government organ,' but saw the difficulty there would be in controlling an inspired one, and the risk to be incurred in raising hostile feelings among the other papers. In 1867, Act XXV (Printing Presses and Books) was passed to deal with the preservation and registration of all books, repealing and re-enacting Metcalfe's Act of 1835, with only a slight alteration of a penalty section.

Several of the chief English newspapers now published in India were commenced during the twenty years, 1858-73, such as the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Madras Mail*, and others. The Press has developed since that time, through greater enterprise and facilities. More especially have the vernacular papers increased in number and in circulation. Between 1858 and 1878 the power and influence of the Presses, both English and Vernacular, whether for good or bad, was fully established. In 1875 there were 155 English, besides the 254 Vernacular, and 69 mixed English and Vernacular papers published in different parts of India. As there had been no stamp duty on the newspaper Press of India, this development of the Indian Press was not the result of a repeal of a duty in the

same way as in England the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty in 1855, and of the advertisement tax in 1853 (both first imposed in 1712), and the abolition of the paper duty in 1861, had conduced there to the enormous expansion of journalism.

The Wahabi conspiracy had existed at least from 1863, and in 1868-1869 inquiries were instituted which led to the trial and conviction of some of the conspirators. The investigations brought to light the fact that further measures were required to meet cases of seditious preaching, for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing law. The Penal Code was accordingly amended by the introduction (by Act XXVII. of 1870) of a new section 124A, by which Sir Fitz James Stephen, then Legal Member, intended to assimilate generally the Indian law regarding seditious language to the English law as it had settled down since Fox's Libel Act of 1792. This new section had, he stated, stood in Macaulay's draft code in 1837, and no one could account for its final omission. He disclaimed any wish of the Government to check, in the least degree, any criticism of their measures, however severe and hostile, nay, however disingenuous, unfair, and ill-informed it might be. The section would not apply to a writer or speaker who neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force; but his intention would have to be inferred from the circumstances in each case. The section also would not be an interference with the liberty of the Press, a phrase which he described as mere rhetoric. '*The question was not whether the press ought or ought not to be free, but whether it ought to be free to excite rebellion,*' and he proceeded to describe what people might or might not say. The section (124A) was passed as follows: '124A. Whoever by words, either spoken, or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine. *Explanation.*—Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection. Therefore, the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause.'

Also, during this period (1858-1878) the Penal Code contained a section, 505 (which was altered in 1898) directed against the circulation or publication of any statement, rumour, or report, known to be false, with intent to cause any officer, soldier, or sailor, to mutiny, or with intent to cause fear or alarm to the public, and thereby to induce any person to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity.

In 1878 it appeared to the Government of India, when Lord Lytton was Viceroy and Governor-General, that a section of the Vernacular Press had of late years assumed an attitude of fixed hostility to the Government; that it did not confine itself to criticising particular measures or the acts of individual officers on their merits, but attacked the very existence of British rule in India,

and that the evil had been steadily growing and had attained a magnitude which called for the application of some strong measures of repression. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (Sir Ashley Eden) had brought to notice instances of the licentiousness and sedition of the Vernacular Press, and the necessity for immediate action was pressed on the Government of India from many quarters. The existing law was held by competent advisers not to furnish a sufficient remedy, so that fresh legislation was considered necessary. It was decided to devise a special procedure for the prevention of offences, rather than to amend the ordinary criminal law imposing penalties for offences already committed. The reasons for the measure stated in the preamble of the Bill, which became law on the 14th of March, were that certain publications in Oriental languages, printed or circulated in British India, had of late contained matter likely to excite disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions, or sects in British India, or had been used as means of intimidation or extortion, and that such publications were read by and disseminated among large numbers of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and were thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess, so that it was considered necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity and for the security of her Majesty's subjects and others that power should be conferred on the Executive Government to control the printing and circulation of such publications.

The measure passed by the Council established a system of control over vernacular papers, as follows: (1) The Magistrate might, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, require the printer or publisher of any such newspaper to enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government or antipathy between different races &c., or to commit extortion; (2) If any newspaper (whether a bond had been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contained any matter of the description just mentioned, or was used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government might warn such newspaper by a notification in the *Gazette*, and if, in spite of such warning, the offence was repeated, the Local Government might then issue its warrant to seize the plant, &c., of such newspaper, and when any deposit had been made, might declare such deposit forfeited; (3) as the deposit of security and the forfeiture of the deposit might perhaps press unduly on less wealthy proprietors, clauses were inserted enabling a publisher to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act by undertaking to submit his proofs to a Government officer before publication, and to publish nothing objected to by such officer.

In the debate in the Legislative Council full explanation was given of the necessity for the measure (which included also provisions for the seizure and prohibition of importation of books, newspapers, &c., of the kind aimed at), and for the summary procedure adopted, also of the limitation of the measure to the Vernacular Press. Much stress was laid upon the importance of avoiding public trials for sedition. It was mentioned that both Sir Charles Metcalfe and Macaulay, the one the originator and the other the draughtsman and the eloquent defender of the Act of 1835, while arguing strongly in favour of a free Press, adverted to

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the possibility of circumstances arising which might compel the Government of the day to resort again to legislation of a restrictive character. Mr. Prinsep also, in 1835, thought the eye of the Government would require to be kept 'continually upon the Press, and especially upon the native Press, for it was capable of being made an engine for destroying its power.' The Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook, sanctioned the Vernacular Press Act, but objected to the provisions under which a publisher might undertake to submit a proof of his newspaper to Government before publishing it, so a brief Act was passed repealing this portion of the previous measure. The Act was only once put in force. Under the orders of Government a bond was demanded from the printer of the *Som Prokash* for publishing seditious matters. The printer executed the bond, but subsequently stopped the issue of that paper, and started the *Nababhivakar* in its place. The following year, permission was sought to revive the *Som Prokash*, and such permission was accorded on the editor's giving a pledge for its future good conduct. Subsequently both the papers were separately published. No prosecution took place; no further publicity was given to the incriminated articles; a warning was given to the whole native Press, and its tone perceptibly improved without any diminution of fair criticism: the preaching of general sedition ceased. All that was required was effected by requiring the printer to execute the bond.

The two Acts were both repealed by Lord Ripon's Government in January 1882, so that S. 124A of the Penal Code alone remained to the Government as a means of controlling seditious utterances in the Press generally; while under Customs and Post Office Acts foreign publications could be stopped from circulation in India. (Mr. S. M. Mittra in the *Nineteenth Century* of August, 1908).

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

THE FUTURE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN WOMAN

Sister Nivedita of R. K. V., with whose charming writings most readers of Indian periodicals and reviews are familiar, comes out with a thoughtful article under the above heading in the August number of the *Ceylon National Review*. In this article, Sister Nivedita controverts the present tendency, prevailing among Indian female educationists, of imparting to our women a too Western education without any reference to the ideals of womanhood in India.

The writer begins her article with a word on the supreme importance female education has acquired in India. "The woman of the future," says she, "haunts us. Her beauty rises on our vision perpetually. Her voice cries out on us."

There is now probably no two opinions on the crying necessity of educating our women. But considerable misgiving and hesitation exist as to the kind of female education that would best suit India.

"Have the Hindu women of the past," asks Sister Nivedita, "been a source of shame to us that we should hasten to discard their old grace and sweetness, their gentleness and piety, their tolerance and child-like depth of love and piety, in favour of the first crude product of Western information and social aggressiveness?" An education of the brain, the writer urges, which uproots humility is not the sort of education requisite in India. Female education must aim primarily at the formation of character and in a subordinate way at intellectual development.

The problem therefore that stares us in the face is what is the form of education that is likeliest to secure this end. But this problem must be viewed in the light of a clearly understood ideal. India has been pre-eminently a land of great women in whom we must seek for the ideal of Indian womanhood. "What is the type of woman," asks the writer, "we most admire? Is she strong, resourceful, inspired, fit for moments of crisis? Have we not Padmini of Chitore, Chand Bibi, Mansi Rani? Is she saintly, a poet, and a mystic? Is there not Meera Bae? Is she the queen, great in administration? Where is Rani Bhowani, where Ahalya Bae, where Sanhabhi of Pipperah? Is it wifehood in which we deem that woman shines brightest? What of Sati, of Savitri, of the ever-glorious Sita? Is it maidenhood? There is Uma. And where, in all the womanhood of the world, shall be found another as grand as Gandhari? These ideals, moreover, are constructive. That is to say, it is not their fame and glory that the Indian child is trained to contemplate. It is their holiness, simplicity, sincerity, in a word, their character. There can never be any sound education of the Indian woman," the writer goes on further to say, "which does not begin and end in exaltation of the national ideals of womanhood, as embodied in her own history and heroic literature."

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But woman must beyond a doubt be made *efficient*. Sita and Savitri did not shine in only one sphere of life, but they satisfied every demand of social ideal. "This efficiency," says the writer, "to all circumstances of life, this womanhood before wifehood, and humanity before womanhood, is something at which the education of the girl must aim in every age."

But the national and the civic ideal has been superadded to the moral in modern India. Looking beneath the surface, we discover that the Indian woman, instead of being uneducated, has received an education which is highly specialised. But before the national and civic ideal which has lately come into being in India, this specialised education has been thrown more or less into the shade. Similarly, in order to achieve this ideal of *efficiency*, the modern Indian woman must no longer keep to the old groove of social culture, but take to an education in conformity with modern ideals—scientific, geographical, and historical. About the most popular and easy means of transmitting modern ideas to the Indian woman, Sister Nivedita makes some pertinent suggestions:—

"The wandering *bhagabat* or *kothuk*, with the magic lantern, may popularise geography, by showing slides illustrative of the various pilgrimages. History, outside the Mahabharata and Ramayana, might be familiarised in the same way. And there is no reason why simple lectures on hygiene, sanitation, and the plants and animals of the environment, should not also be given by the wandering teacher to the assembled community, with its women behind the screens. Pictures, pictures, pictures, these are the first of instruments in trying to concretise ideas, pictures and the mother-tongue. If we would impart a love of country, we must give a country to love. How shall women be enthusiastic about something they cannot imagine?"

Sister Nivedita does not propose to do away with female schools altogether, but "these schools," says she, "must be within Indian life and not antagonistic to it." "The highest ambition of the school," she goes on, "must be to give moral support to the ideals taught at home."

The writer makes an appeal to the young men of the country to league themselves in a spiritual knighthood and take up the work of female education in a spirit of devotion and sacrifice. Female education must be imparted mainly through the mother tongue. With this object in view, a band of young men should step forward to compile good Indian histories, especially of the Hindu period, in the vernacular.

Life in India, according to the writer, is socially sound and the civilization is organic, spiritual, and altruistic. In India, social reform owes nothing to party agitation. It is purely altruistic and spontaneous impulses that moved great social reformers like Raja Ram Mohon Roy and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Sister Nivedita concludes her article with a word of warning to the young priesthood of education. "Education," she says to them, "can never be carried on by criticism and discouragement." The educationist must devote himself to the work in a glowing spirit of faith, priding in the past and believing in the future. It is only the man of faith who can regenerate Indian womanhood and not the fault-finding critic or the hopeless unbeliever.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

In the course of an article in the August number of the *Indian Review*, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rau passes in review the three different types of local Self-Government which obtained in ancient India, specially in the South. Of the first type that relates to the organisation of village communities, the writer gives the following description :

" Every Indian caste is democratically organized ; though each recognises a headman, yet his powers are so far limited that he cannot exercise them without summoning to his assistance a council of elders. This is the well-known Panchayat and Indians have been called a nation of Panchayat-dars. These Panchayat-dars are very like jurymen, summoned for the settlement of civil, criminal and marital disputes. They are usually brought together by a caste or tribal servant corresponding to the Beadle of Teutonic history. The headman sets out the facts before them and with them the customary mode in which disputes have hitherto been settled amongst them. On this, the Panchayatdars proceed to hear the case, the statement of the parties and of their witnesses. The trial partakes the character partly of a judicial trial and partly (in some cases) of a religious inquiry. At the end, the Panchayatdars deliver their verdict, which binds the parties. The headman of the caste sees that the verdict is given effect to. Some of the castes in Southern India even elect their headmen by a highly complicated system of voting at a general meeting of the whole caste. Amongst all castes, questions affecting the caste, as a whole, are determined by the caste itself summoned together for the purpose. The whole caste then goes, in Parliamentary language, into Committee and then resolves upon a definite course. Its powers were not restricted in olden days by the nature of the dispute in question ; the Hindu rulers of the country (and even to a certain extent their Muhammadan successors) do not appear to have interfered with them in these matters. On the other hand, the rulers encouraged the system of local settlement of affairs by themselves, by associating their own agents in the eventual adjudication of civil and criminal affairs. In the settlement of disputes relating to rights of property and the like, the caste was enlarged as it were by the election of Panchayatdars from amongst other castes as well, if there be any necessity for the same. Each of the disputing parties chooses an equal number of persons and in olden days the Ruling Chief appointed one of his own men as the President of the Panchayat to act as umpire. This man may be objected to by either party, if suspected of partiality or the like. Another is nominated instead and the affair is satisfactorily settled. In some places (or in some cases) both parties agree to refer the disputed question to a Panchayat for determination and before them, they lay the evidence and their decision binds both parties."

" The members of a Panchayat are selected," writes a distinguished authority, " by the general suffrage of their fellow-citizens, and whether in the lower or higher ranks, a person who has once established a reputation for talent and integrity in these courts is deemed a permanent member. It is a popular distinction, and becomes, therefore, a point of fame. A person is estimated in proportion as he is free from suspicion of being retracted by influence

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or corruption and to have fame as a Panchayat is an object of ambition with the poorest inhabitant of the hamlet as well as the highest and wealthiest citizen. To sit upon these courts is conceived a duty which every man is bound to perform. The members receive no pay; their attendance is regulated with attention to general convenience; but after consenting to sit, it is not to be evaded."

The second type of Local Self-government which Mr. Rau describes relates to the administration of Patna during the time of Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. This is a type of Self-Government which the Sovereigns granted to their subjects by delegating their powers to the ablest representatives of the people and did credit to their capacity for organization of all departments of the State including one for the collection of vital statistics the value of which, as Mr. Vincent Smith rightly observes, the European nations could not realize until very recent times.

The writer authenticates his account by quoting in *extenso* extracts from the works of Megasthenes and Vincent Smith. The writer takes out for his text some striking passages from an important edict issued by the famous Buddhist king Asoka to one of his vice-roys to prove in what a generous and affectionate spirit the rulers of ancient India executed their task of administration which they regarded as a sacred charge entrusted to them by God.

The third type, the writer holds, illustrates the working and organization of the Central Government and its relation to the autonomous village community and refers to the rule of the Chola, Pallava and Ganga Pallava dynasties in the 7th, 8th, and 9th, centuries A. D., though, the writer observes, there is evidence that the system originated long before their time. About this time the functions of the government were exercised by two distinct bodies:—first, the Central, over which the ruling king and his representatives had direct control; second, the Local, over which the village in its corporate capacity administered its affairs within its four corners. Southern India, for instance, was divided into prefectures, townships and districts—Mandalluins, Kottams, and Nadus. Each Nadu contained a number of villages and towns, the latter being usually nothing more than the combination of several villages. Each village had a Mahasabha or assembly which governed it according to its own wishes. To explain the nature of control exercised by these village Assemblies, Mr. Rau cites several valuable information from the numerous inscriptions and edicts which give the following interesting description of the functions and organizations of these assemblies.

The village assembly consisted of several committees, six of which are specifically mentioned, *viz.*,—"Annual Supervision," "Tank Supervision," "Garden Supervision," "Supervision of Justice," "Gold Supervision" and "Panchavara-Variyam."

These committees were chosen every year by the villagers. The voting was conducted on lines similar to that obtaining in England in the present day *viz.*, by ballot. The elector entered the name of the candidate he nominated upon a ticket that was issued to him and put into the "Pot." The names by which these were known seem to indicate roughly their spheres of work. Acquisition of land for purposes of making local roads and other business that did not

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fall within the scope of the other committees was entrusted with the "Annual Supervision Committee." "Gold Supervision Committee" is supposed to have regulated currency and the Panchavara-Variyam is supposed to have supervised the work of the other committees. The central Government refrained from actually interfering with its affairs except for the sole purpose of obtaining its revenue. The writer cites an interesting inscription of the 10th Century A.D. to prove that even a royal order could take effect in a village only after it had been approved by its assembly.

Mr. Rau thus shows that from 321 B.C.—possibly even from a prior date—down to the worst days of the Mahomedan rule, India enjoyed a democratic form of Government and refutes the assertion of certain critics who deny the fitness of Indians for any form of Self-Government. It was reserved to the British, observes the writer, to slowly but surely undermine the very corporate character of the village, despite the protests that were raised against such a ruinous revolution by far-seeing Anglo-Indian statesmen such as Sir H. S. Maine and others. The Panchayat system and the solidarity of the Indian village, thinks Mr. Rau, afford ample material for the development of a popular system of Local Self-Government that would confer a great blessing on Indians in general. The writer hopes that the Royal Decentralization Committee will attend to the work of renovating village life in India upon which practically depends the higher and nobler stages in the evolution of Indian political life.

THE GAME OF EMPIRE

In a recent issue in the *Irish News* appears a short article under the above heading, purporting to be a comparison of British rule in India and in Ireland. The writer starts with the statement that England has in her game of empire 'held the Irish and Indian possessions in a most hopeless kind of subjection.' As far back as 1796, a writer dealing with England's infamy in India surmised that the recurrent famines in this country inspite of its fertility could be due only to political causes—to "the avarice and exaction of the Governors. The great spur of industry, that of security, is taken away." The same is true of, and equally applicable to, Ireland. The writer alluded to above further says that in India no one raises more grain than is barely sufficient for him. "What is pictured here," says the same writer, "as part of England's policy in India was under way in Ireland at the same time. It culminated in 1800, in England buying a bum and boodle Irish Parliament to sell their country." The author, quoting Rev. Wm. Tennant, then goes on to picture the harrowing condition of the peasantry in 1796. "The rents were levied by an apology for an army who might be called banditti; the security of life and property was subject to the caprice of these desperadoes; and any attempt of the peasant at self-defence was met with signal retribution." This picture is also mournfully true to Irish peasant life. Years afterwards Macaulay, in his life of Lord Clive, said: "Enormous fortunes were rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this." "Sometimes," says

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Macaulay further, "they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the whiteman as their fathers fled from the Maratha and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns that the report of his approach had made desolate."

The writer of the present article asserts that in calling attention to India and Ireland, he could gather an avalanche of evidence against England's misrule in both the countries not from the pages of England's enemies, but from the pages of her friends. But there are redeeming features in India's history under Clive and Hastings and during subsequent periods, but the 'long dark pages of Ireland's history' are without a single saving grace. India has received indeed great advantages from British Rule. Rights have been secured to the Ryots. A splendid system of railways and roads has been opened. Schools have helped "to lift the people into an attitude that would lead to war in Ireland." There are signs that India is going to gain by the "huge wave that is sweeping eastward from the west." But Ireland's proximity to England has been an unavoidable curse, utter helplessness hanging like a pall over the Irish peasantry which is the finest in the world. Only the landlord or his agent could look forward to better times in Ireland. In his "Progress and Poverty," Henry George, referring to India, eloquently says: "The millions of India have bowed their necks beneath the yokes of many conquerors, but worst of all is the steady grinding weight of English dominations—a weight which is literally crushing millions out of existence, and, as shown by English writers, is tending inevitably to a widespread catastrophe. Other conquerors have lived in the land, and, though bad and tyrannous in their rule, have understood, and been understood by, the people. But India now is like a great estate owned by an absentee and alien landlord." After making this quotation, the writer asks, "Do you wonder, then, that 'India is in revolt'—that she is seeking a way to walk independently?" The writer then quotes a few verses from Tennyson's Locksley Hall referring to the greed of gold that has possessed the English people. He winds up with a word of caution to the British nation to be on its guard in 'the game of empire.'

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

A SHEAF OF BENGALEE BOOKS

Bengali literature has passed through different phases of development during the last fifty years. The predominating feature of the earlier period was the production of theological works and dramas ; of the middle age the dominant feature was fiction and poetry ; and of the later age, critical and historical works and lyrical poetry are the staple product.

There has been for sometime a dulness in literary activity in Bengal—not in the quantity but in quality. We miss in present-day Bengalee literature the masterly delineation of a Bankim Chandra, the forcible verses of a Madhusudhan and Hemchandra or the insight of a Akshaychandra Dutt. Rabindranath supplies the place of honour among the Bengalee authors of to-day. There are two or three authors who enjoy a certain amount of vogue as historical, lyrical and dramatic writers, the average being only second-rate men. Even after fifty years, Bengalee literature still continues to be principally composed of poetry, fiction and theology or social ethics.

To-day we shall briefly take up three representative books on three different departments of literature and show in what direction Bengalee intellect is now drifting.

One of them is *Saral Kirtibash* compiled by Babu Jogindranath Bose. The compiler is no amateur or stranger to Bengalee literature and his publications have already gained for him a Bengal-wide reputation, the most conspicuous of them being a full and very interesting biography of Michael Madhusudhan Dutta. Kirtibash's *Ramayana* throws a good deal of search-light into the social conditions of his age and, as such, Bengalee students can ill afford to neglect the study of it, however desirable it may be to peruse the original in Sanskrit.

Valmiki's immortal epic has formed the basis of such classical works as Tulsidas's and Kirtibas's *Ramayanas*. None of these classics ever pretend to be translations of Valmiki's immortal work, though both of them take their direct inspiration from the story of Valmiki. Kirtibas has very often travelled widely from Valmiki's track and has consequently encumbered his narration with impossible exaggerations and unlikely scenes. So has also Tulsidas. But while Tulsidas is full of a ring of religious piety, Kirtibas too

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often revels in obscene and immoral ideas and suggestions. We do not know whether the original Kirtibas was tainted with grossness, but the text that is now extant and generally passes for it is frequently punctuated with obscene passages. Babu Jogindranath Bose has taken enormous pains in giving to us now an edition of Kirtibas which is not only free from all such passages but which contains a text which has been verified and modernised in all details and is therefore as much acceptable as any other classic of our vernacular. Consequent upon the alterations thus made, the author has been called upon to make many changes in, and addition to, what passes for Kirtibash's Ramayana.

The author has done well in appending to his book a map of ancient India which, we are sure, will create far greater interest in the minds of the young learners in their study of this classic than if they were left to identify the places of the Ramayana from a map of modern India.

The accounts hitherto given of the life of Kirtibash are so hopelessly conflicting that it is hardly safe to rely upon them. But the recent discoveries of manuscripts written by Kirtibash himself have disclosed not inconsiderable materials of his life, and our author has availed of the opportunity afforded by their publication to write a most authentic and interesting account of Kirtibas' story. The excellent and copious illustrations of scenes and personages of the Ramayana add a good deal to the interest of this book and is sure to capture the imagination of the young minds for whom it is intended. The get-up of the book is excellent; we only wish it could be made a little more handy. We offer our sincere congratulation to the author on the excellent manner in which he has acquitted himself in his laudable desire to present the story of this great Indian epic to the Indian Students of Bengalee literature.

The second book in our list is a small treatise on *Dharma, Samaj and Free-Thinking* by Pandit Banamali Vedāntatirtha, M.A., of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. This is the 7th of a series of most useful books published by the *Geeta Society* of Calcutta. It is a well-written reply to both the orthodox Hindus who cling to the old prejudices and superstitions as well as to those ultra-radicals who see in the Hindu Scriptures nothing but a gross tissue of falsehoods and prejudices and, as such, discard them as absolute trash.

Against both these classes of extremists in Hindu Society, the writer contends that in the Shastras are found the results of sincere spiritual devotion, high and rational thinking and

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deep meditation side by side with those of narrow thinking and ungenerous attempt at establishing inequality between man and man. The author makes two sets of extracts from the Hindu Scriptures—one enjoining rigid observance of the caste system, of silly and meaningless practices in religion, and of the compulsory celibacy of girl-widows,—and the other bases the caste-system upon the intrinsic merits and virtues of individuals and not upon their birth, advocates remarriage of girl-widows, and regards culture, spiritual devotion and the following of lofty moral principles as the sole test of religion.

The very fact, the author holds, that the same Hindu Scriptures admit in them such widely conflicting views argue very strongly against the placing of any implicit or blind reliance upon them. What are commonly regarded as the Hindu Shastras differ very widely on most social and religious questions. The author thus makes out a very strong case in favour of the right of exercise of reason to which every individual is entitled, inspite of the peremptory mandates of some scriptures to the contrary, and establishes beyond shadow of a doubt the truth that it is only by establishing a reign of reason that a society may be kept alive, free to re-adjust and adapt itself with the altered conditions of the ever-changing times. Every society which confines itself within the narrow groove of the dead past, refusing to profit by the new discoveries of science, is bound to prove like a stagnant pool,—a perennial source of ill-health.

Hemendralal, the last book in our list this month, is a novel by Mr. Bhowanicharan Ghosh. Mr. Ghosh has already established his reputation as a writer of nervous and sonorous Bengalee and for a racy style, and needs no introduction at our hands. The present volume fully sustains the reputation of the author. The novel is not a historical one but relates to the last days of Alivardi Khan and has some references to the anarchy and confusion which prevailed in the country about that time. The delineation of the character of Hemendralal, the hero of the book, is extremely natural and perfect in every detail and fully deserves the place of honour he has been given. Hemendra was the son of a middle-class landholder in the village of Joynagore in Dacca. He lost his parents early in life and was bred up under the fostering care of his aunt and uncle, Bhairubchandra Ray. Hemendra, though a boy of uncommon talents, chased away his early years in idle village amusements. After his marriage at 19, when the family was very deeply encumbered with debts and was consequently very

hard up, Bhairabchandra one day severely rebuked Hemendra for his indolence and carelessness. He absconded from his uncle's house the next morning with his devoted servant, Rammohan, to try his luck in the wide world. One Kasem Ali Khan, a wealthy landlord of Dacca, then called Jehangirnagar, who wielded considerable influence with the Nawab of Murshidabad, was also then on his way to Murshidabad. His big boats were lying at anchor on the Bhagirathi when Hemendra accompanied by Ram Mohan also turned up at that place. Hemendra's accomplishments in music were certainly of no mean order, and when, wearied with long journey, he gave himself up in music his melodious voice drew the attention of Kasem Ali who instantly fell into conversation with him. He learnt the whole story of Hemendralal and at once discerned in him the parts and talents that promised him a bright future. Meanwhile, a calamity overtook the Khan Shaheb. When the Khan Shaheb was sleeping in his boats with her daughter, Surat Bibi, his only child, a gang of dacoits fell upon the Khan Shaheb's boats, and they were saved from their hands by the valour and dexterity of Hemendralal. The Khan Shahib took great interest in Hemendralal and advised him to accompany him to Murshidabad where, he said, there were prospects for him. Hemendra in obedience to his instructions made his way to Murshidabad and with the help of his patron he gradually rose to be a wealthy man in that town and after the lapse of some years came back home with immense fortune. This is the long and short of the story.

Tenacity of purpose, strong affection in domestic life, unfailing purity in moral character and keen intellect—all these were the rich possessions of the hero of our book. He was quite unassuming in his bearing. Hemendralal had not changed by the turn in his fortune—he was the same kind and gentle friend to his neighbours, devoutly respectful to his superiors specially to his uncle and aunt, and deeply affectionate to his wife. In Murshidabad strong temptations presented themselves before him but he manfully resisted them, always loyal to the poor wife whom he left behind. Thus in the delineation of every detail of his character the author has made him an ideal type of Bengali mankind. Next in importance to Hemendralal is the character of Surat Bibi, the only child of Kasim Ali. We wish the author had made the colour a little more deep in painting this character. It is not easy to read aright her attitude towards marriage—whether it was affected by her deep devotional nature or by her loyalty to Hemendralal cannot easily be discovered. Piar Bibi, her maid, talked to her about Hemendralal and the way in

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which she attended to her gives a faint hint about her feelings towards Hemendralal. But she never showed herself anything but an affectionate sister to Hemendra.

There being not the least hope in realizing her desire, she preferred to self-immolation the life of a devotee at Mecca and in doing so we think she chose a more rational method of self sacrifice than Bankim's Ayesha. The author's rich imagery in the delineation of natural scenery carries the readers centuries back and his description of the manner and customs of the people and his casual references to the political atmosphere of the day throw a lurid light into the social and political conditions of the time.

So far as literary merit goes, Hemendralal stands very high in the present-day Bengali literature, but as a work of fiction its place is still higher. By bringing before us the archaic habits and manners of a forgotten day and by depicting some typical Bengali characters of a by-gone age in the way he has done, Babu Bhowanicharan Ghosh has established his reputation as a writer of fiction second to none among the living authors of Bengal.

ARTICLES

A PLEA FOR A POLICY

There are periods in the affairs of a nation when it is imperative to pause a while and consider. Much more so then will there be such periods in the affairs of that which is not yet a nation. The state of India at the present time seems to demand watchfulness and consideration. There are on all sides strange happenings and untoward events. The old order is rapidly changing, and the new is hard to grasp and control. The India of to-day is not the old India that was patient and apathetic under her burdens, but is gradually awakening to a sense of new life and responsibility. The development of the new spirit in India is not hard to trace. The first breath of Western atmosphere had brought about a tremendous change. The precision and success of Western methods, the broadness of Western ideals, and the energy of Western peoples at first dazzled, and then attracted the slowly awakening mind of the East. English education and English administration opened out a new Heaven and a new Earth for the Indian people. The first step in their regeneration was a faithful imitation, in so far as might be, of the wonderful ways of the West. The Indians of that generation readily saw the advantages that were offered to them by a change in their ideals and outlook, but at the same time the charm of old institutions and old customs had not lost its force on them. The great writers and thinkers preached the doctrine of change, not of disintegration. They denounced the abuses of their own system, and sought to correct these abuses by means and methods they had learnt from the Western world. In politics, more especially the history and literature of the English people had a great effect on the Indian mind. They saw in what way the British constitution had grown up. They saw how its ideals had spread all over the world, and they thought by the same methods they might in the end attain to political institutions worthy to rank with the great model they set before themselves. To this we owe the first feelings of the new nationality that came into the Indian mind after a period of disintegration and decay. But while much progress was made thereby, it became daily more evident that after all the great material advantages thus promised, were somewhat slow of fulfilment. The Englishman of those days engaged in the work of

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building up his Empire, had, on the whole, an easy tolerance for the out-of-date superstitions of an old nation, and a genuine desire to infect it with up-to-date ideas and aspirations. At the same time, while encouraging, he smiled at the clumsy efforts of a growing nation to set itself on its feet, and to walk leaning heavily on the firm right hand that held it. He was in no hurry to set it going by itself, and he justified himself for his caution by the repeated failures of many Indian efforts, and by such knowledge of the history of India in the past, as he had been able to gather from Western observations and Western text books. The inevitable discontent with their surroundings brought about by their new knowledge, led to a somewhat different point of view amongst the Indians. It became painfully evident that the longed for boons were slow in coming, and that the hopes held out in proclamations and speeches were as yet far from being fully realized. With the new generation a new feeling sprang up. It had not seen the wonderful changes brought by British ideals and administration. It only saw opened out before it endless possibilites and irritating barriers to those possibilities. It saw the limitations of Western methods and imbued with Western learning it chafed at the restraint put on it by exigencies of Western politics.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the disappointment caused by the seemingly fruitless result of constant agitation and struggles for some measure of political advancement. The Englishman saw with a still indulgent eye the aspirations of the Indian people, but saw also rather more clearly the many contradictions and inconsistencies of the people who were striving for the new ideal. And unwisely, as later history has shown, instead of attempting to cure these faults, he was engaged in demonstrating to his own countrymen and to the Indians themselves the impossibility of ever curing such faults, so as to be able to advance with any speed the political position of Indians. Those Indians who looked for what was visible and temporal rather than what was invisible and eternal, began much to doubt the wisdom of their forefathers, or the efficacy of their methods. From a blind and indiscriminating admiration of the West, there grew up a blind and indiscriminating admiration for the East. The new school would follow everything Eastern because it was Eastern. They forgot that Japan, to take the most brilliant example, had attained its present position by means of Western methods. They forgot that the Japanese, who could scarcely be called unpatriotic to themselves, adopted wholesale many purely Western customs and manners, including the titles of their nobility

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and the fashions of clothes worn by the West. They forgot too that the other gradually awakening nations were not proceeding on a blind worship of their own past, but were rather discarding much that was past of their life, for something totally different from it. Despairing of ever being helped, the new school of thinkers looked about for means of helping themselves. A somewhat paradoxical state of affairs then arose. Those who knew less about the old institutions of their country, those whose manner of life had been inevitably changed, looked to those very institutions as a means of salvation, more than did the old school of thinkers who were in touch with the old institutions of their country, and inflicted more deeply by the charm pertaining to them. As a result the Swadeshi Movement came into existence and was regarded in two aspects. All hailed it as a means of regeneration. Some, because they thought more especially it would unite the nation, others because they thought of it as a very healthy antidote to the old slavish imitation of and admiration for everything Western. The Boycott was called into being by the arbitrary actions of an energetic Viceroy, and it marked yet another stage in the progress of the people. The boycott was a clear declaration of self-reliance and an indication of the growing feeling of strength. Gradually as a result of it emerged the two factions of the Congress, the one clinging blindly to old methods and old beliefs, the other rushing equally blindly on to new remedies and new ideals. The activity of the nation at this moment attracted the interest of the world, and every commentator, official or otherwise, spoke of the new spirit and was ready with his prescription for dealing with it. Nearly all however described it as a healthy sign and declared the necessity of gradually opening out a liberal career for the aspirations it had aroused. But unfortunately actions did not follow words at all closely, and the growing restlessness manifested itself not only with regard to the outside world, but also in the very camp of Indian politics, ending in the deplorable event at Surat. The advent of the Bomb displayed to an astonished world that there were some Indians so discontented, that they preferred to take any risks rather than endure the present condition of their country. The assertion of strength, and the attempts to employ force, have brought about a change in the attitude of the English towards India. They realise they have a far more powerful and a rapidly growing people to cope with, and they have been urged to drastic measures in order to deal with the situation.

As a result of these, there have been numerous prosecutions of

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the press and of private people. Laws have been rapidly passed to strengthen the arm of the Government, and Anglo-Indian journals have, it is to be regretted, done much to foster race hatred which the grievances of the rulers on the one side, and the ruled on the other, have done nothing to allay. The result is that all political work by Indians is regarded in a none too favourable light by the English, and matters appear to have come to a standstill and to be in danger of going backward, rather than forward. To deal with this situation a very definite policy is needed, and none of the existing teachings seem to supply an adequate one. In consequence of what has recently happened, we have in the first place loyalist manifestoes galore and requests from officials speaking in private drawing rooms —how these things do find their way into the press!—for more.

We have zemindars whose titles are far more awe-inspiring than their attainments, issuing quasi speeches from the throne, or addressed to any official, subordinate or otherwise, in order to show their own perfection and exhort their inferiors to do likewise. We have also the rather strange sight of the Government taking seriously these little pieces of flattery and self-advertisement and quoting them as representing the opinions of the people of India. We have too what is of far greater importance, a strong denunciation of lawlessness by most of the responsible Indian journals, including one that has been prosecuted for sedition, and this is a very important factor in the present situation. Various bodies also have issued notes denouncing methods of violence but exhorting the Government to allay the discontent with measures of a soothing nature. There are as well certain vernacular journals who continue to preach sedition and defiance despite the efforts of the Government to crush them out altogether. There are a certain class of people who in a moment of danger will out Herod Herod in denunciations. They imagine that their own positions will be made more secure if they only shout at others lou'l enough. Pretending to be thinking of the good of their country, they will see to their own safety by denouncing any methods of opposition, legitimate or illegitimate, as the work of bare schemers. Such a class will find a ready audience from those whose desire it is that progress should stop, and reaction or stagnation set in. They will be a very useful asset to the opponents of progress, and their words will have the fullest possible weight assigned to them. That must be expected. But something must be done to counterbalance this and to show that however much Indians may disapprove of assassination and anarchy and however willing they may be to render, as in duty bound,

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assistance to all legitimate means of stamping out the evil, they also disapprove equally of repression, and are ready to oppose it to the very best of their powers. It must be perfectly evident that while amongst themselves Indians are loyal to British Justice and the proclamations of British Sovereigns, and that they are prepared to oppose the one form of disloyalty as much as the other.

Another danger to the cause of progress is the attitude of the youth of India. Following the example of the British Government they have ceased altogether to pay heed to the suggestions or opinions of Indians who have grown grey in the service of their country. The new spirit has taken hold of them so fast that in their eagerness they forget everything but their goal, and before they are able to stand on their legs, they would run. The student class have imbibed ideas of patriotism as noble and lofty as may be. They have wished to mix in politics to the exclusion of everything else, and the ardour and zeal of their endeavours have rather carried off their feet, men who by age and attainments should have been their leaders. Politics is a game with which Indians are not too well conversant. The students in their zeal would rush in where older and sager men have feared to tread. Men who are better with their tongues than with their brains, have had occasion mercilessly to attack the old school of thinkers, and preach an Object, which they do not show how to realise. The drastic measures of the Government have caused a halt in their propaganda and speeches. Now a days it has become safer to criticize one another than to criticize the Government. But there is need for a policy which shall combine two things. It must combine the old steady hopeful work of the past, with the new and burning zeal of the present. It must be content to face on the one side the criticism of the Government—that is to say of the officials—for its excess, and the criticism of a section of the people for its moderation. By their fruits they shall be known, and the fruits which are to be looked forward to are not so much reluctant concessions wrung from the Government, or gracious gifts of mercy, but rather a steady and permanent growth of unity amongst all sections of the people founded, not on hate for others which is transient, but on love of one's own countrymen which is permanent. At the same time there must be no desertion of the past work. There must be a solid front presented against any encroachments on the liberty of the people from whatever source they may come. Only under the present circumstances the more important work is that of tending the sick and poor, of fostering the industries of the country, of

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improving the social condition of the people, and of putting money into the coffers of the nation, so as to be able to carry out all necessary measures for its welfare. We do not at this moment want heated discussions on abstract theories. We do not want Revenge as our motto, but Reform. And above all we want Education. With regard to politics we require knowledge as well as enthusiasm. As Aristotle says in the introduction to his great work "The young man is not a fit student of Politics, for he has no experience in the actions of life, which constitute the subject-matter and the evidence of the discussion. And in the next place, since he is apt to follow the impulses of his passions, he will hear as though he heard not, and to no profit, the end in view being practice and not mere knowledge. And I draw no distinction between young in years, and youthful in temper and disposition: the disqualification to which I allude being no direct result of age but of living at the beck and call of passion, and following each object as it rises. For to them that are such the knowledge comes to be unprofitable, as to 'the incontinent': but, to those who form their desires and act in accordance with reason, to have knowledge on these points must be very profitable."

We want a man who will dare to come forward and preach the necessity of discipline, and if he will definitely proceed with a definite, orderly and well thought out policy, there will be no lack of followers. This if ever is a time to pause and consider. We want no rash and violent talking, no rash and violent action. At the same time we want no empty platitudes or ineffective resolutions. Ere we can decide where to set our feet we need to look around and see. And at this time we need leaders who will lead. We need men who are strong enough to preach what is good for the country, not what is pleasing to the people. We need love, not hate. We need no bare subservience, no proud vaunting. We need to realise our limits as well as our possibilities. We need to wait for the storm of passions recently aroused to subside. We need to listen not only to those who show our strength but also to those who display our weakness. We must give ear not only to those who extol our virtues, but also to those who blame our faults. And while we look around us we must not be idle in doing the one thing on which there can be no difference of opinion—that is we must each of us individually set ourselves to lead an upright and honest life so as to be fit for our long and difficult journey to the haven where we fain would be.

R. C. B.

COTTON MANUFACTURES IN INDIA

Economic questions of grave import are rapidly coming to the front. On their right solution depends the future progress of the country. The Chair on Political Economy in the Calcutta University, announced by His Excellency the Viceroy in its last Convocation, has been founded not a day too soon. In the meantime, until a body of experts have grown up, laymen like me may be permitted to say a few words.

The most important of Indian manufactures is cotton. The large number of men employed, the amount of capital invested, and the quantity of land still sown—all make the condition of cotton market vitally important in the economics of Indian life. How do the cotton manufactures now stand? Let us analyse the figures of the last three years, 1905-6 to 1907-8.

I. COTTON YARNS

The trade in hand-made yarns is dead, and need not be discussed. The total mill-manufacture is shown below (in million lbs.):—

	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
British India	655.6	630.5	613.7
Indian States	25.2	23.1	24.5
Total..	680.9	653.7	638.2

The outturn shows a gradual decrease. The decrease is in sympathy with smaller exports, falling last year by 142 crores of rupees. The exports to China fell in last two years by 43 per cent; and this decrease was mainly due to overstocking of the market, to keen competition of the Chinese and Japanese yarns, and to a somewhat higher price—the result partly of a higher price of raw cotton and partly of a rather higher exchange.*

The decrease is exclusively in counts 1 to 20, chiefly in counts 1 to 10, as per below (in million lbs.):—

	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
Yarn Nos. 1 to 10 ...	199.02	150.90	149.18
" " 11 to 20 ...	359.36	368.09	340.90

On the other hand, higher counts show considerable increase, those above 40, a remarkable increase, as per below, (in million lbs.):—

	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
Yarn Nos. 21 to 30 ...	105.77	116.01	123.24
" " 31 to 40 ...	15.58	17.18	22.01
" above 4093	1.42	2.70

* In January 1907, the exchange on London for document bills, six months' sight, stood at 15⁴¾d. It is somewhat more favourable now, having fallen by more than half a penny to 15⁴½d (July 1908).

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The increase in higher counts is partly in reply to demands in new markets like Levant and Egypt, but chiefly to demands in India for manufacture of finer cloths by mills and handlooms. The increased output of local mills apparently failed to meet the Indian demand fully, for foreign imports of yarns slightly increased, from 2·15 millions sterling in 1906-7 to 2·46 millions in 1907-8. A part of this increase may be, however, due to the rise in price of foreign yarns.

Of the Indian output, 457 millions were produced in the Bombay Presidency, or more than 71 per cent, Bengal being a bad second, following *longo intervallo* with 41 millions lbs. Some of the Bengal figures are interesting. Count 10, in spite of diminished production, still leads the way with seven million lbs. (7,658,244); next comes No. 16 with five million (5,004,225); and then 12 and 20 with three million eight hundred thousand lb. (3,892,980 and 3,833,471 respectively). The heavy demand for finer counts is indicated by the enormous rise from 33,537 in 1905-6 to 105,956 lbs. in 1907-8 in counts above 40, and from 82,190 to 401,987 lbs. in counts 31 to 40. The demand for finer counts comes largely from handloom weavers; with them there is a general tendency to substitute the manufacture of finer cloths for coarser, as being better able to meet mill competition.

The yarn prices rose somewhat, as per statement below :—

	1904	1905	1906	1907
Mule Twist, grey yarn, Jan.	July	Jan.	July	Jan.
Banner mill 40 as. p.				
(1000), per lb.	5·2½	5·0	5·5	...
Yarn (Bombay), 20, per lb.	6·4½	6·9	6·9	7·1½
			7·6	7·2½
				6·11

2. COTTON PIECE-GOODS

The figures under these heads are no less interesting. The piece-goods are grey (*kora*), bleached (*dhoa*), and coloured &c. The Indian mills confined their attention chiefly to (1) *dhuties*, (2) shirtings and long-cloth, (3) T. cloth, domestics and sheetings, and (4) coloured. The following comparative table will give a better idea of their production than any descriptive words (in million yards) :—

	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
1. <i>Dhuties</i>	145·14	179·97	237·89
2. Shirtings &c.	189·28	189·53	207·21
3. T. cloth &c.	121·24	117·56	120·31
4. Total of grey and bleached piece-goods	564·98	597·80	680·04
5. Coloured piece-goods	"	110·32	128·37

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As the Indian goods have to be sold in keen competition with foreign piece-goods, a statement of the imports is annexed for comparison (in million yards) :—

	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8
Grey	1348.8	1298.5	1253.8
Bleached	572.8	495.0	733.5
Total	1921.6	1793.5	1987.3
Coloured &c.	541.7	524.3	544.4

It will be seen that the production of Indian *dhuties* has progressed remarkably, with an increase of more than sixty per cent. in two years. The shirtings and coloured piece-goods increased fairly, while T. cloths were nearly stationary. In the foreign imports, grey *dhuties* &c., have been slowly decreasing ; while coloured piece-goods increased slightly over those of 1905-6. But the import of bleached cloths shows an extraordinary increase of more than forty-eight per cent. in one year. This suggests the idea of dumping the market, the Indian mills not having paid sufficient attention as yet to bleached piece-goods. The output of Indian mills in *chadars* was about one-fifth of *dhuties* (42.8 million yards), and was merely nominal in drills and jeans, cambrics and lawns, printers, tent cloth of other sorts, grey and coloured goods other than piece-goods. The hosiery department was also generally neglected.

Looking to the provincial details, Bombay, as usual, heads the list with more than eighty-three p.c. of the output. The Bombay island alone gave an outturn of more than fifty-four p.c. After Bombay comes the United Provinces. Bengal is last but one, with the Punjab as last. But in the last two years Bengal has made some headway, having increased its output in grey and bleached piece-goods from two millions and a half yards in 1905-6 to more than seven millions and a half last year, and in coloured piece-goods from 36,978 yards in 1906-7 to 146,912 in 1907-8. No doubt jute monopolises attention in Bengal ; and I do not recollect of having read of any weaving cotton mills in the whole province of East Bengal and Assam.

Another main reason is the survival in Bengal of a large number of hand-looms. Of their annual outturns no statistics are available. I suggest the following rough calculation. In the census of 1901, the actual workers of hand-looms were reported as 298,538 males and 60,813 females, besides partially agriculturists, 44,985 males and 2,491 females.* Since 1901, a number of workers must have died,

* Of the workers with dependents, 54 per cent. were Hindus and 41 per cent., Mosalmans. The percentage of Moselman weavers thus exceeded their general percentage in population (one-third).

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been incapacitated or turned to other pursuits, against which may be set off an increase partly from boys to adults, and partly from those who took to weaving again on account of its better prospects in the last two years. The general belief is that these weavers now-a-days generally get sufficient work, and earn fair wages. My own observations in the metropolitan districts of Howrah, Hughli and 24 Parganas, where the competition with mill-made articles is keenest, have convinced me that there is a sub-stratum of truth in the above general belief. The average outturn per day with an ordinary hand-loom is $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards, and with the Serampur loom $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 yds. For illness, holidays, and partial working, one-third will be more than a fair margin, which gives about 250 full working days in a year. The women and partial agriculturists may be allowed half work. With these figures, the total outturn in the year by three lakhs and a half of full workers comes to over one hundred thirty two million yards of cloth.

$$298,538 + \frac{60,813 + 44,985 + 2491 = 108,280}{2} \text{ or } 54,145 \times 250 \times 1\frac{1}{2} \\ = 132,256,120 \text{ yards.}$$

3. RAW COTTON

A few words about Indian cotton. It generally produces coarser yarns. The cultivation of long-stapled finer cotton in Sindh and Mayurbhanj has not yet passed the experimental stage. The celebrated muslins of Dacca must have been produced from some local varieties. Their yield was probably small, and no trace of the plants is now reported. The following tables show the area cultivated in India and the quantity exported, from 1903-4 to 1906-7 :—

	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7
Area cultivated (acres)	11,895,597	13,017,092	13,099,359	22,344,000
Export (cwt.)	7,931,075	5,657,743	7,399,534	7,400,839

Of the above, only 75,600 acres were reported under Bengal (proper) in 1906-7, but the cultivation elsewhere largely increased. Last year (1907-8), the exports increased by $15\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. (8,544,302 cwts.), Germany and Japan being the chief buyers.

The value of raw cotton has been rising. The under-mentioned statement shows the export value of Broach cotton at Bombay per candy of 784 lb. :—

	1905	1906	1907
January	July	January	July
Cotton, per candy	Rs. 195	Rs. 236	Rs. 255

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In 1907-8, the price rose rather higher, stimulated evidently by the larger quantity exported.

PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

The piece-goods market is at present congested. Famine in the United Provinces and the high prices of food-grains elsewhere have immensely reduced the demand for cloths; while from over-production and excessive imports the shops are overcrowded with stock. This state of things cannot last. Either the supply will fall or the price will be reduced to stimulate demand. The statistics of imports in April to August already show an enormous decrease in the receipt of piece-goods. Prices had not fallen in March nor in the first week of April last when I made my purchases in Barabazar at Calcutta. But they are now falling slowly, to make room for new stocks intended for the coming Puja holidays. Strenuous attempts are also being made to pass on the goods from congested Calcutta to the mofussil. Indian mill goods are being sent chiefly to East Bengal, and imported goods to Bihar and the less affected districts of the United Provinces. Figures of this inland distribution are published every month in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* and are highly instructive.

These conditions are, however, temporary. With better crops and the consequent fall in prices of food-grains, fresh demand will spring up and the trade in piece-goods will revive. The remedies are many and various, and most of them obvious. A few have been suggested in the above analysis. After all, economists can only enquire and point out. It is for the capitalists to seize the opportunity by the hand, and to act promptly. In the language of Shakspere :

“There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.”

Monomohan Chakravarti

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It is a matter of some gratification to me that so much interest has been shown in India in the question which I raised in my article in *The Contemporary Review* for May. The three papers which appear in *The Indian World* for August deal with the question from different points of view, but each shows very distinctly how vital the question at issue is. I should not have thought of writing again on this matter; only these three articles show that I underestimated public interest in the question when I wrote my paper

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for the July number of this magazine, and in consequence did not take up the main question so seriously as I ought to have done. I purpose then in this article to deal with it from another point of view, so as to make more clear why Christians look forward so hopefully.

In trying to conceive what the future religion of India is to be, I should like to direct the attention of the readers of this magazine to what may be learnt from the Science of Religions. We are dealing here, not with the question of what kind of faith any individual or any particular group of thinkers may adopt for themselves, but what religion this great people is likely to accept as the years go by. History is not likely to be able to tell us what new religious ideas may be evolved by philosophers during the coming centuries, but the history of religions can undoubtedly show us what type of faith is likely to be adopted by a great people.

We all know in general how a religion affects a people. We know how it lays hold of the very life of a nation and moulds it in every aspect with extraordinary power for many centuries. Whether we think of the lowest savages or the most civilized peoples of the earth, we must confess that the action of religion upon the races of man is one of the most mysterious things that come within our knowledge. Conceive what Hinduism has done for the Hindu people. Realise how immeasurable is the power of Mohammedanism to transform races, no matter how different they may be originally to its own likeness. Or think how completely a savage or a barbaric race is under the sway of its religion. Strange also in the extreme is the varied history of religions. What man living in the time of Christ could have ever dreamed that the system which He taught would rise above the hundreds of other faiths which were strong and active in the Roman Empire then, and would survive them all? What contemporary of Mohammed could have ever imagined that Mohammedanism would have the marvellous history it has had? Or let us place ourselves at the moment when Buddhism and Jainism were but struggling philosophic theories among the scores of speculative systems that were then taught in North India: how is it that Buddhism alone rose to power and glory? How is it that Jainism has survived while the majority of the other philosophies of the time are gone beyond recall? Can the science of religions lead us to any understanding of this extraordinary maze?

We all realise that every religion is a theory of God, man and the world. But the converse is not true. Every religion is a theory of God, man and the universe, but every theory of God, man and the

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universe is not fit to be a religion. Other factors are necessary if we are to have the extraordinary results which religion produces. Every system that has laid hold of a people (whether the people be a clan, a tribe, a nation or a group of nations) and has actually done the work of religion among them, has the following two characteristics:—

1. Every real religion contains a belief in a divinity who has in some way or other manifested himself, and has revealed his will to man. In every such system there is an incarnation or at least a theophany, and from the incarnation or the theophany there has come what is held to be a revelation. From these two points it follows that the god of every such system is a personal being.

2. Every system that has proved itself a religion has created a society of its own, governed by the laws implicit in the theory of God, man and the universe enshrined in the faith, and has also been the source of morality to its people.

Let my readers think of all the religions that have been held by clans, tribes or nations on all the face of the earth, and they will find that these two points are true of them. Anthropology has made us thoroughly acquainted with many of the lowest forms of religion among men; and whether they be Animism, Totemism, Shamanism or what not, they show these characteristics in the clearest possible way. The ancient religions of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, and the other peoples around them were all distinctly of this type. Hinduism in its every form, *except the philosophies*, distinctly conforms to this type. There is not a temple to be found in India that has not got its own story of the appearance of the god that is worshipped there; and indeed every god in the Hindu pantheon, with the single exception of the philosophic Brahna, will be found to conform to our definition. Every other great religion also conforms to it,—Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Christianity. Buddhism began as a pure philosophy without anything like an incarnation or theophany, but before it could become a religion, it had to transform itself into a theistic system. Buddha himself took the place of God, and images and temples were soon raised in thousands in his honour. In Mahayana Buddhism, the form of the religion which conquered central and eastern Asia, the life of Buddha and of the former Buddhas is each an incarnation and is consciously regarded as such.

The world has seen many attempts to put philosophy in the place of religion. We speak of the six great systems of India, but in early times there were many more. Babylon and Egypt each pro-

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duced its own philosophy. Some of the greatest chapters in the history of Greece tell of the work of Pythagoras and of Plato, who each founded a system meant to be a religion. Cicero also worked out his own theory in Rome. In modern Europe we need mention only Comte's Religion of Humanity ; but along with him we may also recollect that Akbar attempted to found a universal religion.

Most of these systems are serious, noble and beautiful. No study that I have done in India has given me more delight than my reading of the Upanishads ; and no thinking man can work his way through the Sankhya or the Vedanta system without being stirred to reverence as well as to the highest intellectual admiration. Nor are they merely beautiful and attractive. They have proved of very great value to religion and morality as well as to thought, to literature and to education. Indeed we cannot do without them. They are required to keep religion pure, rational and right. Their influence has usually been of the healthiest and highest kind.

But the point we have to realise is that these systems are not religions. They have never once done the work of a religion. They are not capable of laying hold of all the men, women and children of a race and governing their life from top to bottom as a religion does. Each of these systems is an *extra*, something added to an existing religion. Every one of them has lived under the care and protection of a real religion. Platonism flourished under the aegis of the religion of Greece ; Cicero's religious philosophy had as its background the strong old religion of Rome ; Comte's system has Christianity behind it ; and all the philosophies of India have lived under the nourishing care and helpful protection of their great mother Hinduism. Not one of these philosophic systems can ever do the work of a religion, unless by some means or another it becomes transformed into the story of the appearance of a divine being with a revelation of his will.

Contrast with these philosophies such systems as Hinduism, Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Christianity which have proved themselves religions by the way they have behaved in the world. Under each of these great faiths you find a distinctive society produced, a distinctive morality, a distinctive life and a distinctive worship. All the people of the nation come under the sweep of the influence of these vastly potent and beneficent powers ; from the cradle to the grave every man, woman and child, willingly or unwillingly, is subjected to the inescapable influence of the faith in which they are brought up. On the other side there stand the philosophies, the Vedanta amongst them. Every such system has

been a consolation to thousands of thinking men, and has wielded influence over their spiritual, moral and intellectual life. He would be an unwise man who would wish to minimise the power of religious philosophy over philosophic minds. But there its influence ends. It can never lay its hand upon the life of a nation.

It will probably be a long time before scholars will be able to fully fathom the reason why a religion has to be essentially a story with a theophany or an incarnation in it before it can do the great work of a religion ; but we can readily see part of the reason. The task of a religion is no easy one. The mere presentation of philosophic ideas, no matter how beautiful or how ably reasoned out, will not conquer the average man and woman, and compel them to change their whole life in conformity therewith. Nothing less than the conviction that the divine power behind our human life has intervened, has shown his power and has revealed his will, can ever grip humanity in the average. For what we look to religion for is not merely the quickening and cultivation of the intellect, but "the operation of an authority which commands the whole man and organises his life on a more spiritual basis and according to a higher ideal." But when men believe that God has actually manifested Himself in their life, then the very depths of our human nature are stirred; there is an uprising of those elemental forces within us which express themselves in praise and prayer, in music and ritual, in sculpture and architecture, in the ecstasy of devotion and in the most heroic actions of life. A god that does not reveal himself cannot be worshipped. The few whose minds are built on philosophic lines acknowledge the power of religious speculation, but the average man, even if highly educated, remains unmoved. Philosophies are the loved possession of the few : the people know them not. Even philosophers themselves live their domestic life and train their children in the actual religion which stands behind their philosophy.

We can thus look forward to the religious future of India with the certainty that the religion which its people will finally adopt will not be a bare philosophy, but a formed religion. History is absolutely conclusive in its teaching in this regard. Scores of attempts have been made to substitute philosophy for religion, but the shores of history are strewn with their wreckage : every single attempt has proved an utter failure.

The reason why I said in my former article, " Then when once caste is gone, where will Hinduism as a system be ? " will now be plain. If caste goes to pieces in India, as all three writers in the

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August number of the *Indian World* seem to believe it will, then Hinduism as a system is doomed. There will remain possibly a hundred petty clashing systems each with its own god and its own theory of the universe, but Hinduism the mighty will be no more. Nor will the philosophies be able to take its place. Powerful as a stimulant to philosophic minds, a philosophic system is utterly impotent to play the role of a religion.

The distinction we have drawn between real religions and systems of religious thought will also enable us to understand another point. Mr. Kalinath Ray insists that such ideas as freedom and equality are well known in Hinduism, and that Christianity is not required to teach them to India. The truth is that there has probably never been a literature on the face of the earth that has not contained aspirations towards freedom, equality, progress, universal enlightenment and a lofty philanthropy ; but in most countries these ideas have had comparatively little vogue and power, because they have stood out in clear contradiction to the leading ideas of the religion in which the people were trained. If these great ideas are to be made really influential in the life of people, they must be not only expressed by some thinking man, but must have an organic place in the fundamental principles of the religion of the country. Only in that way can they wield any authority over the mind and spirit of the average man. Even when they have their place in the central shrine of a religion, it is excessively difficult to have them make headway against the inherent selfishness, dullness and obstinacy of our common human nature. Thus, while the idea of equality has certainly found expression in Hinduism, it has never found *effective* expression. To imagine that a people can be brought to any sincere belief in equality, while their religion teaches them daily by practice as well as by precept that caste is a divine institution, is surely one of the most fatuous dreams ever dreamt. Such a thing simply cannot be done. Only when the full force of revelation stands behind it can such a conception have any power over the common life of man. This might be illustrated in a thousand ways.

But Mr. Sircar and the Brahmos believe that the Theism of the Brahmo Samaj has a far greater chance of winning the day in India than Christianity has. It is rather difficult to deal with this question because the Brahmo Samaj occupies an ambiguous theological position. On the one hand it claims to be Hindu, and draws its inspiration from the Upanishads, while on the other side it claims affinity with Christianity, and learns a great deal from the Bible. I need hardly say, however, that these two positions are mutually

exclusive. If the Brahmo Samaj is to accept the Hindu position, and teach the doctrines of transmigration, maya, and such like, then the Christian elements of its teaching will not mingle with its Hinduism. The Christian doctrine of the soul is absolutely different from the Hindu doctrine. But from Mr. Sircar's article one would gather that he leans rather to the Christian, or let us call it the Unitarian, side ; and indeed to an outsider it would seem that that is the stronger factor in the life of the Samaj.

If then we consider Brahmoism to be practically the equivalent of western Theism, what are we to say of it ? Western Theism, or Unitarianism, as it is more commonly called, is simply Christianity robbed of the Incarnation. Like philosophic forms of religion in all countries, it has a great charm for a group of intellectuals, and at certain times it has had a noteworthy influence ; yet, despite the many opportunities it has had it has never become a stable and growing power in the earth.

Unitarianism in some shape or form has been a constant companion of Christianity from very early times ; and the course of its history has a wonderful sameness in all ages. Each movement starts with a fine group of intellectual leaders ; there is a season of blossom and of rich promise ; but it is invariably followed by weakness and failure to grow. At the Reformation, Socinianism made great headway on the Continent in various places ; in the eighteenth century Deism and Unitarianism swept through certain sections of the Church in England and worked great havoc ; in the first half of the nineteenth century all the literature and intellectual life of New England were in the Unitarian Church. Where are the results of these great movements to-day ? There are still churches carrying on the tradition, but they are weak and few and practically without influence. Into the United States there flows a broad and constant stream of emigrants from all parts of Europe : which bodies absorb and train these masses of raw material ? Not the Unitarian Church certainly, but the great evangelical communions.

The contrast is most clearly seen in mission work. All the orthodox Churches have proved their vitality and virility by winning nations for the Cross in Asia, Africa, the South Pacific and elsewhere. Where is there a tribe of savages that have been won and civilized by Unitarianism ? Where is there a people that has been drawn from paganism and lifted to a noble life by Unitarian missionaries ?

Unitarianism is useful and helpful as a corrective, just as philosophy is everywhere, but it has always lived under the shadow of

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orthodox Christianity, and has never shown the power of living anywhere else. So Brahmoism is a most valuable force in modern India. It has played John the Baptist to the Christian Church in more places than one ; it has done a great work in familiarizing the people with monotheistic ideas, and with the main principles of reform. But it will never disturb Christianity anywhere : will the mistletoe drive the oak from the woods ?

After the considerations we have urged, our readers will be able to realize how forcibly Christians feel the parallel which the Roman Empire in the early centuries presents to the state of India to-day. It is not merely a matter of the age of Justinian, as suggested by Mr. Sen Gupta. The revival of paganism and the great reaction against Christianity began in the second century, and was a noteworthy feature of the third and fourth centuries. But I need not enter into the details of the struggle here, as I dealt with it some time ago in a paper which appeared in *The Hindustan Review*, and which has since been reprinted. I would urge, however, upon all my Hindu readers the advisability of considering how close the parallelism is between the condition of the Roman Empire in those times and the state of India to-day.

Both Mr. Sircar and Mr. Ray are inclined to think that Christianity is weakening even in Europe and America, and that it is destined to go down still farther. I would like to point out that at every stage in the history of Christianity this prophecy has been made. One of the most striking instances of this fact is the state of England in the time of Bishop Butler. He begins his famous *Analogy* with the statement that most fashionable people in England were inclined to speak of Christianity at that time as played out. Yet while they were pleasing themselves with this idea, one of the very greatest revivals that England has ever seen was in progress, and from it there came health and strength, not only to the Christian Church, but also to moral life, philanthropy and political life throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. So at this very moment when non-Christians are so sure that Europeans are giving up their faith in the incarnation of the Son of God, the Universities of Britain and America are more frankly Christian than they have ever been before. Certainly there has been no such time in the Universities of Britain since the seventeenth century. The Student Christian Movement has laid hold of hundreds of the finest young men and young women of the Universities, and every year sees the wave rise higher and higher. Their Annual Conference is one of the great events in the American Universities ; to-day nearly

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100,000 students are in Bible classes. If the educated classes of Britain and America are more close to the Cross of Christ than they have ever been before, what chance is there of Christianity dying out of these lands?

Mr. Sen Gupta has pictured to us most clearly what is likely to be the outcome of the present movement of the depressed castes in Hinduism towards Christianity. He has shown that we are likely to see great groups of these Pariah peoples rising up to intelligence and vigour under the inspiration of Christianity. In my original article I showed that the minds of the educated classes of India are filled with ideas which, whatever may have been their origin, are absolutely inconsistent with the principles of Hinduism, and are completely consistent with the ground thoughts of Christianity. We have now shown that the Vedantas cannot take the place of Hinduism, and that Unitarianism has never shown conquering power. What then is to be the outcome of the present state of India, with all its hopes and upheavals, all its changes and surprises? Does the triumph of Christianity seem so very unlikely?

J. N. Farquhar

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA—WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

In the controversy which is being carried on as to the present position and future possibilities of Christianity in India, perhaps sufficient discrimination has not been used as to what Christianity really means. It may be a distinct help to fairly face this question, and endeavour to get some clear conceptions as to what *may be* and what *ought to be* meant by Christianity.

That some confusion should exist need not surprise us. Take a kindred question,—what is Hinduism? Inability to give a ready reply to this does not indicate great density of mind nor does it imply any want of interest in Hinduism. Probably few would feel capable of giving an answer which would be concise, illuminative, and comprehensive.

The writer does not believe that quite the *same* difficulty arises in dealing with the question—what is Christianity? but a *similar* difficulty does, for within the pale of Christianity there are varieties and divergencies of doctrine and of practice. These possibly however are by no means as numerous or as divergent as those which are included in what generally passes as Hinduism. In this, let certain social restrictions be conformed to, and a very wide

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liberty of conduct is allowed and a range of opinion which seems to sweep the horizon of religious thought. Agnosticism bordering on Atheism, Polytheism, Henotheism, Pantheism, Monism, Dualism, Idealism (of various kinds) may be found in books which are written and read under the impression that they represent some phase of Hinduism. And as doctrines concerning God differ, so do doctrines of sin and salvation ; and conceptions of life and duty and destiny exist side by side which have practically nothing in common. Practice also differs widely, and standard of conduct there is none ; some devotees claim a degree of license which amazes a foreigner, and unfortunately the public feeling in India, which ought to make such positions untenable, does not exist.

This subject however need not be followed out. The purport of this paper is not to institute a comparison between Hinduism and Christianity, and these varieties and divergencies of Hinduism have only been touched on in order that writer and readers may seriously face the question as to whether such difficulties meet us when we try to consider—what is Christianity ?

It must be frankly allowed that what claims to be Christianity has assumed various forms in different ages and lands, and the present age is certainly not free from this reproach. At times, possibly, Christianity is misrepresented by foes out of sheer malice, in many other cases it is misrepresented by those who, through ignorance or prejudice, do not understand its essential character ; but not a few of those who claim to be Christians differ widely as to what are the essential elements of Christianity, the absence of which nullifies the claim for the religion to be called Christianity.

An interesting illustration of the divergent conceptions of Christianity which prevail is found in such a statement as is occasionally made about this or that individual that "he is a better Christian than many who are Christians."

This illustration is an exceedingly useful one as it brings well to the front a point which demands special attention. The idea which underlies the above illogical phrase is this, that Christianity may be regarded as a creed or as a life.

And this is the first broad question which should engage our attention—Is Christianity a creed or a life ?

Before attempting a definite answer to this, let us be quite clear what we mean by a " creed." Is it a *confession* of faith or the *faith* which is so confessed ? Confessions of faith have their uses, but they may be as worthless as waste paper. A cheque may represent Rs. 10,000, if there's the money in the bank, or it may be a spoilt

piece of paper, its value *nil*. So likewise if there be a genuine belief, a real faith, its expression in a creed may be of real service. The expression of the belief gives additional definiteness and cogency to it for the man himself, and may help to clear the vague and uncertain thoughts of others. But if the creed be only an expression and confession having no belief behind it, then it may become a snare and delusion.

It may be safer to put our question in this form—Is Christianity a *belief* or a *life*? The reply is perfectly simple, it is both, because both are one. It is true that a man's *creed* does not find in many cases expression in his life, but life does more or less fully express a man's real *belief*. What a man *says* he believes may be a test of his veracity, but cannot be safely taken as the inspiration and ground plan of his life, but what he really believes is an all important matter. The old Indian saying "What a man thinks that is he" is full of searching truth, and belief is thought plus emotion and will. Christianity therefore may be taken as a comprehensive term including the belief and the life which is the outcome of that belief. Another consideration also arises in connexion with belief, there is in first place the belief as a subjective fact, and in the second place the question arises,—Is there an objective fact to which it corresponds? Thus Christianity may be regarded 1. as a *belief* that God has revealed Himself to man in Jesus Christ inviting His trust and love and demanding his obedience, 2. as the objective but spiritual realities which lie at the base of, and justify this belief, 3. The character and life which are the outcome of this belief.

The writer is fully aware that the whole of this statement may not pass unchallenged and we must consider the three aspects given above, though we need not abide by the above order.

That Christianity is a life none would decline to accept, but it is not beyond the domain of controversy as to what constitutes a genuine Christian life. Some would argue that a Christian life is not one grounded and regulated by certain theological views about Jesus Christ, but a life largely in accord with His teaching and approximating to the life which Jesus Christ Himself lived. But should this last position be accepted there is still large room for consideration and discussion. The life of Christ had theological contents. The life which He lived as portrayed in the Gospels was not only one of truth and sweetness and purity and moral beauty and love, not only one of active benevolence, but one in which certain beliefs, and teachings about God, and Sin, and Salvation,

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held a very important place. Christ's love to His Heavenly Father was at the very foundation of His love to men. Piety was at the root of His philanthropy. The Christ of the Gospels is represented as, and declared by, Jesus Himself to be, the expression of God's love to man. The Christian life is that which has the Christian motive. If a life be pure and honest and full of love for others, call it noble and good and beautiful, but if Christian conceptions find no place in it, then Christian is not the fitting adjective. The Christian life is that in which not only Christian conceptions of goodness, but Christian conceptions of God are accepted. It will be safe to go beyond this and to say that the Christian life is that which not only regards Christ as a great teacher but looks to Him as the source of its strength.

The Christian life is not one which is something *like* the life of Christ, but is one which springs *from* Christ, one which is the outcome of the grace and spiritual inspiration of Christ. Many words are capable of two similar lines of meaning ; take, for instance, the word "heavenly"—"a heavenly messenger"—"heavenly beauty." In the first case our thought is directed to one who has his message *from* heaven, in the second the beauty is conceived to be *like* to what we imagine beauty is in heaven. Christianity applied to life means both, it is a life which has Christ for its source and inspiration and therefore becomes like to that of Jesus Christ. The lives are similar because they spring from the same source. Fellowship with God has as an essential a place in Christianity as has philanthropy.

Leaving this point let us pass on to the consideration of Christianity as a belief. We use the word *belief* in preference to *creed* or *dogma* because it conveys more idea of inwardness. Dogma has for some an ill savour and creed is hardly more acceptable. The attitude of some towards these words is, perhaps, hardly to be wondered at. Creeds have, alas ! sometimes been the standards under which men have fought battles as bitter, if not as bloody, as the world has ever witnessed. Dogmas, too, have been, in the hands of some, bludgeons rather than beacons, not helps for enquiring minds but scourges to lay on the backs of recalcitrant thinkers. At the same time, however, it is to be regretted that so much impatience is manifested towards all dogma and creed. Ignorance thwarts us as we try to define divine truths, and uncertainty attends us as we strive to climb the heavenly heights and gain a vision of God and of His ways. But ignorance about some things does not imply ignorance about all, and is not incompatible

with the existence of verities in religion. Uncertainty about the geography of Tibet does not bring doubt about the existence of the Himalays, nor discredit the survey maps of, say, the United Provinces. Beliefs will naturally find expression in something of the nature of a creed, and as men try to co-ordinate their beliefs something akin to dogmas are bound to arise. The danger is that theologians sometimes fill in the gaps in their knowledge with bare language, and allow imagination to fill in details which neither reason nor revelation supply. Men sometimes dare to dogmatize when the expression of doubt and uncertainty would be more seemly. Arrogance, sometimes, and a professed loyalty to God, which he would not own, lead men not only to express their own personal convictions but to utter harsh condemnations, and even damnations, on those who will not agree with them.

Allowing for all this it may still be maintained that something of the nature of creed and dogma will, and ought to be, framed, and they have their distinct use. Why should our religious beliefs remain in a nebulous state? Why should we be kept to the dim grey dawn and have no clear sunlight? We may be quite certain that God *is*, though we cannot comprehend *all* that He is, and does. We may know something of what He has done for us, though other of His ways may be beyond our view. Revelation, reason, and experience have yielded us certainties, and certainties will naturally find expression.

Belief is one of the deepest essentials of religion, it is the inspiration and guide of life, and will seek to find expression in language as well as in conduct.

That inward belief as the inspiration of the Christian life is an essential factor in Christianity can hardly be doubted if Christianity be allowed to speak for itself. Christianity means the religion founded by Jesus Christ and surely the founder and his own disciples and immediate followers were those best able to say what the religion really was. If we decline to receive their testimony as to what are its essential characteristics to whom shall we turn for information?

It would neither be possible, nor desirable, to attempt to set forth in this paper all the doctrinal truths which might be claimed as essentials for the Christian faith. There is moreover the danger of assuming an authority which no man possesses. There is too much danger of men stamping as absolutely essential this or that point which specially appeals to them. We shall only attempt to give some main points which it is believed the great number of those who

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accept Christ as their Master and Saviour would agree in regarding as essential elements in the Christianity of the New Testament. It is a matter for much thankfulness that in the present day a broader spirit and larger charity prevail than was the case a century, or even half a century ago. Orthodoxy is not quite the idol it used to be, rather is there the danger of Heterodoxy being put on its pedestal. It should still however be recognized that it is not fair for men to go on their own ways and yet call themselves followers of Christ. It is to be regretted that many use the name of Christ for conceptions which have little connexion with the Christ of the Christianity of the New Testament. They talk about Christianity, but it is a Christianity which is a modern invention and is neither the Christianity of the founder, nor of the early history of its establishment, nor a fair continuation of these. Nothing but confusion is likely to arise by retaining a name when the conceptions which it was used to connote have been discarded.

Can the writer claim any authority to define the main essentials of Christianity? Certainly not, but authority is of small moment in such matters. The four Gospels, which contain the life and teaching of Christ, are easily procurable, so are the rest of the writings which make up the New Testament. Each reader may verify for himself the statements put forward and consider whether they fairly represent the Christianity taught by Jesus Christ and His first followers.

1. Christianity means a loyal love for, a full trust in, and a hearty obedience to, God as revealed in and by Jesus Christ.

2. Christ is regarded not only as a good man, a true teacher, a great prophet, but as something much more than this. He assumes a position towards men which implies that either He is much more than a man, or has been accorded a place of which He is not worthy, for arrogance ill becomes a great teacher. Christ invites men's fullest trust in Himself, He demands gently but firmly their unreserved obedience, He forgives sins, He speaks of Himself as man's future judge, He claims such a unity with God that He says that "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Christ thus becomes to His followers the incarnation of, and revelation of, God. The union of the Son and the Father, now that Christ has passed beyond the limitations imposed by the incarnation, is such, that though a distinction is maintained in language, thought strives to eliminate it, and to believe in the one God. Jesus Christ *was* God during the incarnation, so far as the divine could find expression in humanity, Christ *is* God now with no limitations whatever.

Christ is thus in Christianity not only founder, teacher, saint, prophet. He is Redeemer, Saviour, God.

3. Christ's present existence and activity are guaranteed to His believing children by the guidance, comfort, and strength of His spiritual presence, realized through the effective working of the Holy Spirit.

4. Faith in Jesus Christ involves a renewed nature in the believer. With the forgiveness of past sins there are vouchsafed grace and strength to lead a holy life according to the will of God.

5. Belief in Jesus Christ brings with it the assurance of a blessed personal immortality.

There is much beyond this which is generally included in Christianity, and rightly so. Christianity is so comprehensive in its scope that every thought and word and deed should be essentially Christian and every department and activity of life infused with its spirit.

It is believed that according to any fair and impartial reading of the Gospels and Epistles the points noted will be regarded as essentials of the Christianity of the New Testament.

The question of the Inspiration of the Bible has not been touched on, not because the writer does not most heartily believe that the writers of the New Testament had the special illumination and guidance of God's Holy Spirit, but, because he believes that any dogma of inspiration will be practically useless until Christianity be accepted, and then it will be felt.

One other division of our subject still demands consideration. Is Christianity only subjective or is it the outcome of objective facts? There are some who would maintain that as a poem is capable of arousing high and noble thoughts, though the subject of the poem may be purely imaginary; so the Gospel is a prose poem of a very high order, and has been effective in greatly helping men to live lofty good lives. It is maintained that whether Christ actually lived or not is a matter of secondary importance. If a belief in the actual resurrection of Christ, and His present personal existence and sympathy and help be found useful to the maintenance of a pure strong life, then let such a belief be cherished, but there may be no such corresponding facts as this belief assumes. Others regard the so-called facts as stepping-stone, helpful in arousing spiritual conceptions of duty and altruism but no longer necessary when those heights have been attained.

Surely there is something extremely futile in such suggestions. If the beliefs are without solid foundation, or to use plain words, if

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such beliefs are false, then how can Christianity remain a vital religion? Christianity affirms that God has spoken to us, has become incarnate and lived upon the earth, it believes that God cares for us, and hears us when we pray, it attributes all that is gracious, tender, true, and brave in the Christian life to the present activity of Christ. Many would go beyond this and say that what is noble and good in the lives of those who have not yet learned to know God in Jesus Christ, springs from Him. Christians thus maintain that the cause, known or unknown, of all goodness is Christ. The cause is known by its effects. Those who deny the objective in Christianity accept as facts effects for which no adequate cause exists.

Christianity held as a creed, but ineffective in the life, might be regarded as an ungrounded assumption, but there is something strangely akin to perversity in maintaining that lives can be transformed and made rich in holiness and goodness by a belief having no fact underlying it.

Christianity is either a group of great spiritual verities and realities capable of acceptance by mind and heart, and effective in life, or Christianity is the profoundest puzzle, a fact built in the air, a towering structure built without foundation, a wide spreading and fruitful tree without a root.

What is Christianity? It is a belief effective in the life because that which is believed is true and divinely operative.

It is confessed that much that bears the name of Christianity is not Christianity at all—only a creed—a name; but there is also a Christianity which is a great fact and this must surely rest on fact not fancy, falsely called belief.

Edwin Greaves

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

BENGAL

Midnapur has filled up the place of honour in the history of Bengal this month. Public attention in these provinces has been centred upon some extraordinary events that have been taking place in that district since last month. On the police story that a conspiracy was being hatched in that unhappy little town to murder all the white officials in the district, a large number of arrests have been made and houses searched and a very wholesale prosecution instituted under the Explosives Act recently passed at Simla. The worst of it is that some of the most respectable men in the district including the Rajah of Narajole have been most unceremoniously arrested and dealt with by the police, though the police has not yet been able to make out any case against most of them. In consequence, the police have already taken two remands and are probably thinking of more. At the bottom of all these troubles stands an unfortunate and clumsy confession made by one Santosh Kumar Das so late as nearly two months ago and one which has subsequently been retracted. We do not know what evidence the police may have got to incriminate all these men in the conspiracy in question, but on the merest belief that the police has a good case against them bail had been refused to all the accused by all the authorities at Midnapur till it came before the High Court for consideration. Mr. Justice Sarfuddin after giving a most patient hearing to the Counsel of the accused has at last granted conditional bail to the Rajah of Narajole and five others. It is not proper at this stage to enter into the merits of this question or to discuss its various phases and development ; but what should we think of the proverbial security of life and property in British India if people can be arrested on the merest suspicion of the police and taken away from home and bail refused even before a *prima facie* case has been made out against them ? The High Court was for a long time considered as the paladium of people's liberty ; but since this acute tension of feeling between the rulers and the ruled has come into play, we have ceased to look up to it with the same eye as before. When the executive and the High Court both fail to accept the innocence of police-challaned accused before their

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guilt is proved, the people have nothing but to resign themselves to their fate.

Excepting the affair at Midnapur there is a lull over the two Bengals which is striking. The two batches of accused in the Manicktolla Bomb Conspiracy Case have been committed to the Sessions ; Kanailal Dutta who confessed to have murdered Narendranath Goswami has been sentenced to be hanged by the District and Sessions Judge of Alipur and does not care to prefer an appeal against the decision ; the case of Satyendranath Bose who is alleged to have been an abetter of Goswami's murder has been referred to the High Court,—that is all the small beer we have got to chronicle this month about Bengal political prosecutions. In connection with the state prosecutions it is somewhat consoling to find that Mr. Jotindranath Bannerjee *alias* Niralamba Swami, who was sometime in the Baroda Army and was the political guide of Mr. Arabinda Ghosh, has got off scot-free and the case against Raja Raicharan Dhabal and five others in the Bankura dacoity case has been withdrawn by the police.

At the instance of the Bengal Government, Mr. Cumming was deputed sometime back to study the industrial conditions and note the industrial progress made in

Mr. Cumming's Report. these provinces since a previous inquiry on the subject. Mr. Cumming's report has now been published and covers more than 100 pages of a recent number of the *Calcutta Gazette*. No one who wants to study the contemporary history of Bengal and know its industrial conditions can do without Mr. Cumming's report —it is so thorough, so careful and so accurate. The Report covers a wide enough field and deserves detailed consideration which we reserve for a future number of *The Indian World*.

The other notable event of the month is the election after a tie of the Maharajah of Durbhangā by the non-official members of the Bengal Council as their representative in the Supreme Council. The

Election of a representative at the Viceroy's Council by the Bengal Council. Maharajah of Durbhangā for aught we know is a most intelligent representative of his class and a most well-informed man and deserves the distinction which has been conferred upon him by the members of the Bengal Council. The return of the same person, term after term, as the representative of one body does not, however, commend itself to us. We hope we shall not be misunderstood, for it is not only in the case of the Maharajah of Durbhangā that we take such an exception.

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL)

Most of our readers remember how singular we have been in the Indian Press to raise our voice against the repeated return to the Imperial Council of Mr. Gokhale by the members of the Bombay Council. We dislike fixtures in any Council. Viceroys come and go ; so do also Commanders-in-chief, Lieutenant-Governors and all other ordinary and additional members of the Council but the Maharajah of Durbhangha has his permanent seat in the Council Chamber. We are not sorry for Mr. Bhupendranath Bose for his defeat, for his integrity and honesty, his ability and judgment, are now recognised all over India. But we are sorry for the men who go against the very principles of popular representation. It appears to us that the system of nominating members to the Bengal Council is responsible for this sort of representation. The Bengal Council is so ingeniously constituted that no predominating influence is allowed to independent public opinion. While it has nearly five representatives of the University, Municipalities and the District Boards, it has nearly the same number of representatives of the Bengal aristocracy and of European trade interests. As a consequence to this arrangement, it always happens that when any election or a contest takes place, the representatives of trade and of landed interests combine against the peoples' men. A few years ago Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea tried in vain to get himself elected as the representative of the Bengal Council. Today Mr. Bhupendranath Bose finds the situation unchanged. Does not the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal consider this sort of election as a matter to be deeply regretted and can he not rearrange the seats in the Council in such a way as to make such repetition impossible or, better still, advise the Government of India to formulate such a scheme of election as may make the return of men like Durbhangha and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu possible at the same time ?

Much interesting information is contained in the report on Emigration from Calcutta and foreign Colonies during the year 1907. From this it appears that 8,415 persons, hailing chiefly from the United Provinces, left Calcutta as emigrants, a decided decrease on the figures of the two previous years. This falling off is largely caused by the decreased demand for labour in Natal, which Colony only took 456 coolies in 1907 against 3,640 in 1906. Indian labour is evidently appreciated in the West Indies, for Trinidad took 1,795 of the Calcutta emigrants, a larger number than any other individual Colony. During 1907 there returned from the Colonies 4,212 emigrants, who brought savings amount-

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ing to an average of nearly Rs. 179 each. As in previous years the immigrants in Natal sent the largest remittances by money orders, the total amount so sent being Rs. 9,95,603.

The Irrigation Department of Bengal has just prepared a statement of irrigation operations for the official year, 1908-09, showing the area leased for irrigation up to end of May 1908. This gives the total approximate area of land irrigated during the year up to the end of the month at 16,382 acres, as against 19,314 acres last year, the total long-term leases at 644,909 acres, as against 632,463 acres last year and the total season leases at 17,851 acres, as against 25,806 acres last year.

The resolution of the Government of Bengal on the report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the year 1907 is of pathetic interest to us. We take the following from Mortality in Bengal. the resolution. Excluding the district of Angul, to which the system of registration of births and deaths has not yet been extended, the number of births registered in the Province was 1,905,425, as compared with 1,885,725 in the preceding year, or 32.70 per mille of population, against 37.32 per mille returned in 1906. The total number of deaths was 1906,192 as compared with 1,823,43 in the previous year and an average of 1,749,995 in the five years 1902-1906. The ratio of deaths per mille was 37.72 against 36.08 in the previous year and 34.63 the average of the previous quinquennium. In remarkable contrast with these figures are those returned for the jails of the province, in which the death rate per mille decreased from 24 in 1905 to 17.5 in 1907.

BOMBAY

It seems that the Bombay Government has at last cried 'halt' in its campaign against sedition. No fresh prosecution has been instituted for sedition in the course of this month either in the city or in the Presidency of Bombay. Of course the conviction of the editor of the *Hind Swaraya* for the second time was a foregone conclusion and Mr. Justice Knight's sentence of 3½ years' rigorous imprisonment upon Mr. Thanawala cannot be considered too severe under the circumstances. Of the Kolhapur cases no man can see the end yet, nor is this the time to make any comments upon their bearings. We hope the accused in those cases will be dealt with lightly, even if they are found guilty, as heavy punishments have been found to overshoot the mark and exasperate the people.

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

Sir George Clarke is at last awakening to the fact that Mr. Justice Davar has dealt rather severely with Mr. Tilak, and as a consequence of this awakening Mr. Tilak has had his fine commuted and the term of transportation reduced to simple imprisonment not outside India. To a man who cares for his caste, it is a mercy to be spared the scruple of crossing the sea in order to be transported to a penal settlement. As for the commutation of the fine it does not very much matter to Mr. Tilak. Rumours are persistent in town that Mr. Tilak was offered full reprieve by the Bombay Government on condition of his giving an undertaking of good behaviour in the future. But Mr. Tilak is too *pucca* a fish to be entrapped by so clumsy a net. It is not difficult to foresee that if Sir George Clarke remains at his post for another couple of years he will see Mr. Tilak released from his prison-home at Mandalay.

Mr. Saparjee Broacha, one of the proprietors of the *Bombay Gazette* and president of the Stock Exchange, has disappointed his enemies. In a speech delivered by him at Edinburgh at a dinner given him by his Parsee friends, Mr. Saparjee Broacha has criticised the Government of India and its administration in a more merciless way than even Mr. Gokhale would venture to do. Mr. Broacha inveighs strongly against the attitude of present day civilians, against the flouting of public opinion by the Government, and against some of the administrative measures carried by Lord Curzon. Mr. Broacha told his audience plainly that the partition of Bengal was a measure of vengeance designed and carried out by Lord Curzon to spite the Bengalees. Altogether Mr. Broacha's criticism is highly refreshing and speaks volume in favour of the independence and integrity of educated and cultured Parsees. And only last year Mr. Broacha was one of the much-maligned men in this Presidency.

Speaking of the Parsees one can not forget their venerable leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In attaining his 84th birth-day, Mr. Naoroji received numerous congratulations from his friends and admirers in different parts of the world. His Excellency the Governor wired a graceful message to which Mr. Naoroji sent in a courteous reply. Though Mr. Naoroji has recovered from his recent illness, no one can hope that he will ever be able to leave his quiet home at Versoba and occupy his position again as the leader of the Indian people. One would therefore like to have from him more of such messages as he thought proper to send to his countrymen on his last birth-day.

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The Indian ladies of Bombay and Poona have taken time by the forelock to express their sympathy, in meeting Sympathy with Mrs. Tilak assembled, with Mrs. Tilak in her present suffering. By itself, the matter is of no sufficient moment; but the fact that even the ladies of India have felt the quickening of the national pulse is one of the most significant signs of the times.

MADRAS

Sir Arthur Lawley has vindicated himself by withdrawing the case of sedition brought against Mr. G. Subramania Mr. G. Subramania Iyer. This is splendid, from the point of view both of the public and of the Government. The Madras administration would not certainly have gained much by sending Mr. Subramania Iyer beyond the seas for a long term—broken down in health as he is and having lost much of his influence by his recent political somersaults. From moderate to extremist and from extremist back to a moderate, Mr. Subramania Iyer has turned his political coat many times during recent years. At one time a full-blown swarajist, at others a qualified autonomist, Mr. Subramania has never commanded during the last six years much respect for his political convictions among either of the two political parties in the Southern Presidency. Yet Mr. Iyer is an outstanding figure in Madras politics and has had a brilliant record of patriotic services. Sir Arthur Lawley has regained much of public confidence by treating such a man in the considerate way he has done. We do not much mind the undertaking Sir Arthur has taken from Mr. Subramania Iyer, for owing to advanced age and the condition of his health Mr. Iyer's political career may be said to be at an end. Under the circumstances we are inclined to congratulate both the Government of Madras and Mr. Subramania Iyer for the happy termination of an ill-stirred prosecution. All's well that ends well.

After much agitation and cogitation, after a rancorous controversy extending over several weeks, the Madras loyal dinner has at last been given up. It reflects great credit upon men like the Hon'ble Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer that they should have manfully stood against and fought out the preposterous idea. The promoters of the loyal dinner have now, to save their face and to prevent misunderstanding and misinterpretation, given a new shape to their idea. This burning anxiety to express the loyalty of the South has now been proposed to take the shape of a Proclamation demonstration. We are in

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hearty sympathy with this idea ; and if Sir Subramania Iyer and his friends can popularise the principles of the late Queen's Proclamation in this Presidency he will have achieved a feat for which his countrymen should ever remain grateful to him.

The Industrial Conference Closely following on the track of Sir John Hewett, our Governor has directed his attention towards the industrial development of this presidency ; and in pursuance to this desire he convened recently an industrial Conference at Ooty to devise means to carry out his idea. Though the results of the deliberations of the Conference have not yet been published, the speech with which it was opened by Sir Arthur Lawley is now before the world. We must admit that Sir Arthur Lawley has taken a most dispassionate view of the industrial situation of the country and of the *Swadeshi* question in particular. In defining the scope of industrial activity in the country, Sir Arthur quoted an important passage from an article contributed by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose to the pages of the *Indian World* of January last which included a measure for the organization of capital and labour. If Sir Arthur can do anything for the revival of the dying and decaying industries of this presidency and can give an impetus to new lines of industrial activity, the Industrial Conference at Ootacamond will remain for a long time an epoch-making event in the history of our provinces.

The Congress It has now been definitely announced that the next session of the Indian National Congress will be held in the Capital of this presidency. I hope it will be no infringement of any Congress secrets to tell your readers that it has also been practically settled to invite the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose to preside over its deliberations. It will be in the recollection of most of your readers that the last Congress held at Madras was also presided over by a distinguished Bengalee gentleman. We have no doubt that Dr. Rash Behary Ghose will prove no unworthy successor to Mr. Lalmohan Ghose and will guide the deliberations of the Congress according to the best traditions of that institution.

The Travancore Council One of the most notable events in contemporary history is the permission given to the pariah class to send one of their representatives to the Travancore Popular Assembly. It is not only a bold but a most statesmanlike and practical step and will go a great way in elevating the condition of the depressed classes. All educated India will watch this experiment with great interest and upon its success will depend the solution of the larger problem of the fusion of the races and castes of India.

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

1. GORDON E. M.—Indian Folk-Tales (2nd edition, Elliot Stock).
2. LLOYD REV. A.—The Wheat among the Tares (McMillan & Co. 3s. 6d.)
3. CREED OF CHRIST, BY THE AUTHOR OF —The Creed of Buddha (Lane, 5s.)
4. THE GOSPEL OF RAMKRISHNA—(The Vedanta Society of New York).
5. ELWIN, EDWARD ELF—Indian Jottings (John Murray).
6. HOERNLE, DR. A. F. RUDOLF, C.I.E.—Studies on the Medicine of Ancient India, Part I. Osteology of the bones of the human body exhibiting the anatomical knowledge of the ancient Indians.)
7. RAM TIRTHA SWAMI—His Life and Teachings (Ganesh & Co., Madras.)
8. CHOUDHURY, N. C.—Jute in Bengal (Mozumdar Library, Calcutta.)
9. STRAUSS, C. T.—A Buddhist Catecism (being an introduction to the teachings of the Buddha Goutama. Authorised English Translation by Suvadha Vishku from the eighth German edition: Mahabodhi Society, Colombo).
10. OLCOTT, H. S.—The Buddhist Catecism (42nd edition. Theosophical Society, Madras.)

THE REVIEWS REVIEWED

The Indian Review

The August number of the *Indian Review* opens with an article on the *Ressurrection of India* by Mr. H. Crossfield who urges the leaders of the present national movement in India not to be too particular about the upholding of India's traditional standards but to purge the Indian Societies of the many evils under which they are labouring, to achieve real success in the work of resurrection of India. The next article is one of a series of articles Prof. Nelson Fraser has undertaken to contribute to this Review on *A Fragment on Education*, showing some specimens of method in the treatment of educational topics. The next article on *The Sultan and the Turkish Constitution* is outside the sphere of the *Indian World*. This is followed by an informing paper on *Local Self-Government in Ancient India* which we have reviewed at length elsewhere. A learned paper on the life and works of *Yamunacharya*, a scholar of the Visistadvaitic School of Srirangam in Southern India, living in the 10th century A.D., is contributed by Mr. T. Raja Gopala Chariar. *The Discontent in India : Its causes and remedies* is the next article contributed by Mr. J. B. Pennington by way of a reply to the Hon. Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya in which he contends that regarding poverty, the condition of India is not worse than other parts of the world and calls the criticism of the Congress against the Government policy of land assessment as "a baseless rhetoric" and looks upon the demand of Self-Government in India with all the horrors of an orthodox ex-Civilian. The writer put in a word of caution to the Government of India : "If the Council is merely advisory, it might be most useful. If it is merely elected to represent His Majesty's opposition—an opposition which is never confronted by the sobering thought of having to undertake the responsibility of Government—it would be a positive danger." *The Prosecution of Mr. G. Subramania Iyer* by the Editor has lost its interest by this time. The next 45 pages of this number are taken up with an account of *Tolstoy*, and of *Textile Schools in the United States* and with notes, comments, reviews and selections of Indian and non-Indian matters.

The Hindustan Review

Of the articles in the September number of this review which have special reference to India, *The Indian Problem in South Africa* is one in which Mr. L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee (London), condemns the ungrateful attitude of

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the "whites" towards the Indians in South Africa to whose labour, the writer observes, Natal owes her present industrial prosperity. In a paper on *India and Western Institutions*, Mr. Naginlal H. Setalvad refutes the argument of those who holds that Western institutions such as Self-Government are incompatible with the traditions of the East and holds that the imposition of tariff to protect infant industries of India, introduction of a system of free education and a much greater attention to Sanitation, are the crying necessities of the day for the Indian population. In a paper on *The Abuse of Newspaper Reading* in India Mr. R. K. Dadachanji discusses the general drawbacks of newspapers and suggest the incorporation of a subject inculcating the true use of newspaper in educational courses of Indian Universities. This is followed by an article on *The Good faith of John Company:—A study in Anglo-Indian History* in course of which an "Indian Book Worm" gives an account of the rise and progress of the East India Company in India and relates how treacherously the English sometimes treated the Indians to show that the vices that have been classified and catalogued as "oriental" cunning and "oriental" deceit by the Albion historian s are not the monopoly of the East. Mr. T. S. Rama Shastri then ably pleads for the furtherance of the *Social Reform and Progress* in India which precedes an attempt by Mr. V. Sundaram Aiyar to show that Lord Dufferin was in sympathy with the Indian National Congress. Mr. Hari Nath Dey follows with a metrical version of a dialogue between a cowherd and Lord Buddha. With the other articles—*Mussalman Art in Asia and Europe*, *Unity of Asia*, *Learning by "doing"* by Saint Nihal Sing—we have but little to do as they have little or no reference to India. *Topics of the day*, *Reviews and criticism &c*, cover the last 32 pages of this number.

The Mysore Review

Mr. O. Kanda Swami opens the August number of the *Mysore Review* with an informing article on *The Maritime Trade of the Madras Presidency* from which we learn that the total value of Foreign Total and the coasting trade of the Presidency during 1907-8 increased by Rs. 253,95 lakhs to Rs. 4370,37 lakhs. This is followed by *Literary Societies in Mysore* by Mr. B. Subbanna who enumerates and describes the various Societies that have grown in Mysore. Chapter X of the long-continued paper on Mr. M. R. S. Sastri's *Chanakya's Artha Shastra* deals only with Chanaky's system of levying fines for various offences and of mortgaging the peasant's lands. This is followed by Part VII of another continued article by Mr. M. A. Srinivashaolan on *the causes of the restoration of Mysore*. Paracelsus—a study of the poetry of Robert Browning—and Satyananda, a story, are two other articles of this number.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

In closing, in this number, the very highly interesting controversy **THE FUTURE OF RELIGION IN INDIA** that has been carried on for the last three months in these pages on the prospects of Christianity in India, it is necessary to draw pointed attention to some of the aspects of the question which have not been very carefully discussed. To arrive at an impartial and right judgment on this question one has to consider the following points :—

- (1) How far the precepts and the moral ideas of Christianity are superior to those of Hinduism ?
- (2) How far the belief in the divinity of Christ and in Christian revelations are conducive to the highest spiritual development of man ?
- (3) To what extent has Christianity gained and lost in India as a moral force ?
- (4) Is there any chance of India having in the future any exclusive religion, and if not, what is to be its religious future ?

On the first point Mr. Farquhar, we think, will admit that there is nothing in the ten commandments given by the Lord to Moses or in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount which has been unknown in India even before or after the days of Christ. Buddha and Asoka insisted between them upon a code of morality which is in no way inferior or less lofty or less pure than the Christian code. Buddha's eight karmas covered a wider field of morality and social virtues than the eight beatitudes of Christ. On points of domestic and social purity, on personal cleanliness and the cleanliness of mind, on doing good to others, even to the extent of caring for the convenience and comforts of worms and insects, on sexual morality and social purity, on brotherhood of man and sisterhood of woman, the Buddhistic and Hindu scriptures have bestowed more attention than can be found in all the literature connected with the religion of Christ. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are full of examples of the best manhood and womanhood known to any history or literature of the world. We have to admit that at a later age the social and moral code of the earlier Indo-Aryans was swept away by many gross ideas and grosser practices. The purity of Christian morality and ethics has likewise suffered a good deal even within the heart of Christendom since the days of Charlemagne. If

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we, Indians, therefore, have to turn from our lowly condition of to-day to a higher plane of morality and ethics we need not go to the pages of either of Socrates or of Seneca or of Marcus Aurelius or Thomas A'Kempis, but we have enough materials to draw inspiration from our own history and our own scriptures and *Puranas*.

On the second point all that we have to say is that the world is progressing at a more rapid rate than Mr. Farquhar seems to believe. The days of blind faith are gone, and people will not in these days take their 'belief' even from the Holy Bible. The theory of divinity of men and of divine revelations is an exploded old-world idea. It may have been *effective* enough idea in the past ages of the world, but before the broader enlightenment of to-day it is no longer wanted or required. Men of the highest culture in every part of the world have now ceased to consider either Christ or Buddha, Mahomet or Sree Krishna as the incarnations of God or even as His privileged or anointed prophets. They were no doubt all very great men—greater than even any we have known of in subsequent times. But we are not prepared to accept the theory that it was, or ever is, at all necessary for God to incarnate Himself—'incarnate' in the sense in which it is generally understood by Christian theologians—in the world at any special periods of its history. Our education and our culture have taught us to take the whole of nature as God's revelation—our trees, our rivers, our mountains, the blue sky above and the deep sea below, men, animals and plants, animate and inanimate objects of creation, —all, all we now take to be things which reveal the nature and the glory of God. There is divinity revealed in the running brook as well as in the greatest man born. We do not therefore like to stop with such revelations only as have found their way into the Bible, but we go much further in accepting everything in earth and heaven, in land and water, as His revelations. Higher Pantheism appeals to humanity to consider the whole of nature as God's great book. That great book of revelation stands before us all day and night and appeals to our senses as much as to our emotions. That revelation is something *material*, *tangible*—no mere philosophic sentiment or impersonal dogma—and opens out the inmost recesses of our heart to the contemplation of its author. No narrow ideas of personal divinity and local revelations need therefore appeal to us or any future generations of Indians as the only and the supreme tie to bind man with God.

In considering the third point mentioned before, we have un-

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fortunately to refer to some political matters. We must admit, as most of our Hindu contributors from Lala Lajpat Rai downwards have all admitted, that our dormant sense of social equality and purity has very much been quickened and brought into play by our contact with Christian Civilization. Christianity has done as much to purify our life and morals in modern times as Buddhism did in an earlier day. Like Buddhism it has again taught us to treat women and depressed classes with greater consideration than our fathers used to treat them with. It has reawakened among us the spirit of sympathy for all distress and misery, no matter where found or under what circumstances. But beyond influencing our life and thoughts in an indirect way and revivifying old ideas, Christianity has failed to establish a position in India as a moral force.

To us, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments stand as the embodiments of Christian ethics, and how disappointing they have been ! Whether we look for Christian charity or for the Christian ideal of justice and equality of men, we are repelled, far from being attracted, by Christian practices in India. What can we think of the *hauteur*, the spirit of distrust, and the sense of inequality with which every Christian official in the land treats every one of us ? What can we think of the Christian missionary or evangelist in India who never cares to raise his voice against failure of justice, against Christian tyranny, Christian repression and Christian high-handedness in this country ? Does Mr. Farquhar think that these are the men and these are the means through which Christianity will establish its position in India ? We for one can not think the prospects of Christianity very encouraging with the present conditions and ideals.

What crimes and iniquities have not been committed in the name of Christian Civilization ! Who can forget the barbarity committed over the Mahdi's tomb and the inhuman bloodshed caused in suppressing the Sepoy Revolt ? In all parts of the world under Christian influence, Justice between man and man is tainted by racial and religious prejudices to an extent unknown either in the Hindu or the Buddhistic world. Then again, there is *more* crime and *less* piety and devotion among the masses of mankind in Europe than there are in India. When we study the history of English and German foreign policy and diplomacy, the cruel and brutal way in which Christian wars are carried on, the heartless and sometimes shameless way in which independent states and peoples are brought under subjection by Christian nations, when we glance

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at the treatment accorded to coloured peoples by Christian powers all over the world, and above all, when we consider the supreme contempt with which all subject peoples are looked down upon by their Christian conquerors, we not only begin to lose faith in Christian civilisation,—but Mr. Farquhar will excuse us for speaking out frankly—we almost begin to have a lurking antipathy against Christianity itself.

If Mr. Farquhar thinks that with the piercing of 'the steel armour' of Hinduism, the future of Hinduism has been undermined, does he not also find that with the attack of Huxley and Tyndall, of Mill and Spencer and most of the French cyclopediasts, much of the basis of Christianity, the basis which Gladstone declared in a memorable controversy with Huxley as an 'impregnable rock,' has also given way to a considerable extent? The future of Christianity, as has been suggested by some of our contributors, is no less dark than that of Hinduism. It may be that more people adhere and subscribe to the tenets of Christianity today than in any earlier period of the world's history,—but Mr. Farquhar must admit that this adherence is merely nominal and there is no 'faith' or 'life' behind it. This is proved by the fact that Christianity as a motive power of action and conduct has ceased to operate upon the bulk of the people and governments of Europe. The evolution of the religious idea, however, may depend, to some extent, upon the development of the Christian doctrine, but it is not likely to follow any particular lines excepting those which are the common possessions of humanity.

The last point is perhaps the most crucial one to discuss. Should India alone in the future have a religion distinct from other parts of the world or in other words an 'exclusive' religion? or is it likely that it should embrace and accept the same religion which the other peoples of the world will do? It seems to us that our Hindu controversialists on the subject, including Lala Lajpat Rai, have relied as much on the permanence and stability of Hinduism as Mr. Farquhar has done on those of Christianity. Mr. Farquhar is right in thinking that the steel armour of Hinduism has been pierced through and through. Yes, indeed, the strength and conservatism of old-world Hinduism, together with the cast-iron rigidity of caste, have yielded to modern influence; and we have no doubt that the salient features of present-day Hinduism shall again have to give way to newer ideas. Likewise with Christianity. Its orthodoxy has given way to modern influence and its very foundations have been shaken by the

researches of Science. When, therefore, a more successful attack is made on Hinduism in the future, it will give way not in favour of Christianity but in favour of the great religion the lights of which have already begun to dawn upon us. The whole of the human race are now coming to a mutual understanding on the first principles of religion. Ideas are broadening all over the world, and, with the breadth of view, all races of mankind are trying to coalesce into the fold of one religion. Animism and Totemism, Zionism and Judaism, Mahomedanism and Sufism, Confucianism and Zoroastrianism are all giving way to the wider and broader Light which includes all the eternal principles that alone can bind and regulate man's relation with the supreme power. Why should Hinduism or, for the matter of that, Christianity alone prove impervious to that Light and be an exception to the rule? That question, we are afraid, has not been boldly faced by our contributors, for there can be only one answer to that question. Not only the other peoples of the world, but Hindus and Christians also, shall have to seek at no distant day their light and consolation in that great universal religion which is slowly but surely overtaking all local old-world beliefs and creeds.

Our controversialists must not consider us as doctrinaire when we speak of a universal religion for the future. Some of the highest and best teachers of mankind from the authors of the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmans* in Hindusthan, from Plato and Socrates in Greece, down to Emerson and Wordsworth in our own age, have proclaimed this religion in different tongues and under different circumstances. It will not do to cry down such an aspiration of the human soul as a mere philosophical dream. Some of the best passages in the *Upanishads* seem almost to be literally translated by Plato and Socrates, and the transcendentalism of the *Vedanta* find a reverberating echo in the writings of Emerson and Wordsworth, of Hegel and Schopenhauer. It has been suggested by Mr. Farquhar that the fate of such attempts at universal religion as made by Comte and Akbar does not encourage us to cherish much hope for the future success of another attempt on that line. If Mr. Farquhar had cared to inquire into the causes of Comte's failure or of the collapse of Akbar's eclecticism, he would have certainly found that the attempt to replace God by Humanity in the one case and to amalgamate different worships in the other was the very negation of religion. In entertaining a fear for the success of an universal religion in the future, Mr. Farquhar has also counted without his host. The culture and education of today are very much different from those of any previous age, and if materialism has done any

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good to the world it has at least prepared all nations of the world to throw away its older creeds and rituals and forms of worship in favour of a simple universal faith, free from all theological or philosophical confusion. In that universal faith preached by so many prophets and seers of so many countries, we shall have no need for personal divinities and revelations nor for the theological traditions of this or that creed. All the world shall meet on that common religious platform not in the narrow basis of miracles or revelations, nor on *maya* or *nirvana*, nor on caste or dogma, but on the broader basis of an intelligent appreciation of man's highest ideals, as conceived by the Mind and sanctioned by Reason. We do not pretend to say that in that universal faith there shall be no room for the highest precepts of either of Christianity or of Hinduism, for, as we have already said, the highest precepts of these creeds are some of the eternal principles of Religion.

When the 'increasing purpose' that runs through the ages shall have fulfilled its object, when 'Light, more Light' shall dawn upon mankind in the course of the evolution of the religious idea—India shall as freely and gladly accept and enjoy that Light as any other nations of the world.

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Regd. No. C 351

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PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VIII]

DECEMBER, 1908

[No. 45

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER

1908

Date

1. King Edward VII sends a message to the People and Princes of India in commemoration of the Anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation.

At a largely attended meeting, the Calcutta Branch of the Indian Telegraph Association expresses disappointment at the scheme of re-organization of the Telegraph Department, proposed by Mr. Newland.

2. An influential deputation of 14 prominent members of the Houses of Commons and Lords wait upon Lord Crewe and Lord Morley to represent before them the grievances of the Transvaal Indians.

The Behar Landholders' Association propose to raise subscriptions for a memorial to Sir Andrew Fraser in the shape of scholarships to encourage education among Beharees.

At a Durbar held at Jodhpur Lord Minto reads the King's Message to the Princes and People of India.

In various parts of India prisoners are released from jails agreeably to the King's wishes.

4. A resolution on the constitution of an Advisory Board on Fisheries is announced by the Bengal Government.

A resolution announcing the steady administrative progress of Feudatory States of Bengal is published by the Bengal Government.

6. A Conference of Indian Extremists is held in Calcutta, at the *Anrita Bazar Patrika* office, to decide upon a plan of action regarding the Congress which has been proposed to be held at Madras during the next Christmas holidays. Certain proposals are made by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu towards the settlement of the differences between the Conventionists and Extremists which are accepted by the latter.

7. A daring attempt is made by Jitendranath Ray Chowdhury, a student of the Scottish Churches' College of Calcutta, to shoot with a revolver Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

8. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson takes over charge of the Imperial Finance Portfolio from Mr. Meston.

9. In the Bezwada *Swarajya* sedition case, the two accused Messrs Bodlu Narayana Rao, M.A., and Harisorowtharma Rao are sentenced by the Sessions Judge of Mussulipatam to 9 and 6 months' simple imprisonment respectively.

The Hon. Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Advocate-General of Bengal, withdraws on behalf of the Bengal Government, for want of evidence, the

THE INDIAN WORLD

29. Sir Edward Baker, the new Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, arrives in Calcutta and receives a warm welcome.

30. Sir Andrew Fraser hands over charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal to Sir Edward Baker.

At the St. Andrew's Dinner tonight in Calcutta, Sir Andrew Fraser, the retiring Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, makes his last public appearance and delivers a sympathetic speech, pleading for greater sympathy and co-operation between officials and non-officials, Indians and Europeans.

Mr. Gokhale, in an address before the New Reform Club in London, states that the condition of India is getting serious and declares that nothing short of the reversal of the Partition of Bengal and a general amnesty for all political prisoners shall ever pacify Bengal.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Loyalty in Excelsis

The Thakore Sahib of Limbdi has ordered his subjects not to subscribe to papers using inflammatory language against the British Raj on pain of a penalty.

A step in Advance

At a special meeting of the Visa Shri-Mali Jain community of Ahmedabad, convened for discussing the question of foreign travel, it was unanimously resolved that restrictions against foreign travel be removed. This makes the way clear for future members of this caste to travel in foreign countries.

In Defence of the Poor Accused

The defence of persons accused of capital offences has attracted the attention of the Judges of the Punjab Chief Court who have commended the suggestion of the Judge of Amritsar that a sum of money should be allotted to each Sessions Court out of which fees of counsel engaged for prisoners not able to employ counsel could be paid.

Remission of Fees for Credit Societies

The Government of India have undertaken to remit all fees payable under the law of registration for the time being in force in respect of instruments executed by or on behalf of any Co-operative Credit Society, for the time being registered under that Act, or by an officer or member of such a Society and relating to the business thereof; but it is provided that the local Government may at any time withdraw such exemption in the case of any society.

Elevating the Depressed Classes

The Salvation Army has, with the approval of Sir John Hewett, set in right earnest to elevate the condition of the Doms of Gorakpur. The scheme contemplates the founding of an industrial settlement and its supervision by a European married officer of the Salvation Army, every effort being made to induce the Doms to take to honest pursuits. The Government is to make a monthly grant of Rs. 150 for the allowances of the staff besides a capital grant of Rs. 2,000 for the purchase of looms, accessories, wrap, weft, carpentry tools, poultry, goats, and other things. For the purpose of the settlement the old police lines and compound at Gorakpur have been placed at the Army's disposal.

Early E. I. Company Records

The Government of Madras have issued two interesting volumes of valuable records of the days of the East India Company relating to the tract of country now comprised in the Kolar, Bangalore and Hoskote Districts of Mysore. The volumes

THE INDIAN WORLD

throw much light on the splendid achievements of an early generation of the Company's servants in the work of consolidation, administration and of settlement of the country which was brought under British control about the end of the eighteenth century. One of these two volumes deals wholly with an account of the manners, customs, traditions, faiths, beliefs, occupations, social institutions and condition of the people, specially compiled, as such knowledge was rightly considered by the Company to be essential in an administrator.

Small-Pox and Vaccination

The protection of the population against the ravages of small-pox by vaccination does not appear to be making as much progress as it should. Indeed, the reports on vaccination from all parts of India convey the same impression. In the Central Provinces, for example, the Chief Commissioner, in reviewing the triennial report on vaccination for the year ending 1907-08, says:—"The one thing certain is that the progress made in protecting the population from small-pox has not been entirely satisfactory, and that inefficiency among the vaccinators and insufficient supervision over them are largely responsible for the lack of progress. The report from the Mandla district, while unsatisfactory in itself, has the merit of throwing considerable light on the unreliability of some of the results claimed and the method of inspection which was followed by the Civil Surgeon might with advantage be followed in other districts also." The use of glycerinated lymph is steadily increasing, 98.62 per cent. of the operations being performed in 1907-08 with this lymph. This is satisfactory, but the results compared unfavourably with other kinds of lymph, which is ascribed to the inexperience of vaccinators.

Police work in Eastern Bengal

The Police in Eastern Bengal and Assam had a rather busy time of last year as there were 54 serious riots which were attended with loss of life. Of these 14 occurred in Faridpur, 10 in Mymensingh, 7 in Tippera, 6 in Sylhet, 5 in Backerganj, 4 in Dacca. In all there were 848 cases of true rioting in which proceedings against nearly 4,000 persons were taken, and in consequence of which nearly 6,000 people were bound over to keep the peace. The majority (5,000) were persons resident in the Dacca Division, some of the riots were political, and some caused by endeavours to enforce the boycott of English goods, in others there were disputes over land. The police force was found to be inadequate for the many duties required of it, and 400 men had to be obtained from other provinces. There were also instances of disturbances on the river steamers which are such a feature of the communications of the province. The organisation of river police presents considerable difficulties, but the question of a proper patrol of the river is engaging the attention of the authorities. The crime on the railways in the province continued to increase, there being 544 cases against 525 in the previous year, and the frequency of thefts and robberies from both passenger and goods trains caused much anxiety to the authorities.

The Roman and the British Indian Empires

In a brilliant article on the present Indian situation, the *North-Eastern Daily Gazette* makes a sensible comparison between the

Roman Empire after the time of Augustus and the British Indian Empire of today and puts forward a vigorous plea for removing all political and social barriers between the rulers and the ruled in India. "Wide is the gulf," says the *Gazette*, "that separates the Roman Empire of the second century from the British-India Empire of to-day. Yet human nature has not organically changed, and the forces that build up and pull down empires are working to-day as powerful as ever. No one, looking at the India of to-day with impartial eyes, can fail to discover many forces, political, social, and religious, which might have an influence as potently disintegrating as those which wrought havoc in the Roman Empire. Can we avert them? We can do so only by lifting the people up so that they shall be participants in the government of the country and by breaking down the political and social barriers which separate the governors from the governed. For no exotic rule ever was or ever can be permanent. It is a stupendous task. No conquering nation has ever yet wholly achieved it. But a great and generous effort is to be made by the British Government, and in this very effort lies the hope, we shall not say of perpetual British rule in India, for there is no perpetuity in human affairs, but of a long mutually profitable association of the British and Indian peoples."

British Power in India

The *Newcastle Journal* thus delivers itself on the future of British rule in India:—No doubt his Majesty's message will give the silencing word to the mischief-makers, the sinister souls who are predicting the day when the British Power in India will be as that of Alexander, of Asoka, and of Siladitya—when our red-coated battalions, having in their turn tramped across the stage, will disappear like the armies of the Baktrians, the Scythians, and the Guptas, leaving as little to mark their passage as the million forgotten gods and the ghosts of the Mahabharata warriors.

All ye as a wind shall go by ;
 So a fire shall ye pass and be past ;
 Ye are gods, and behold, ye shall die !
 And the waves be upon you at last !
 In the darkness of time, in the deeps
 Of the years, in the changes of things,
 Ye shall sleep as a slain man sleeps,
 And the world shall forget you as kings !

Now there is nothing on earth, nor can there be anything, which time will not overwhelm—nothing from the deepest reach of the ocean to the summit of Kinchinjunga ; from extreme to extreme. But the fall of the British Power in India can come to pass only when folly will have blasted British enterprise and cowardice taken the place of British valour, rendering our nation unworthy to be longer the instrument of Providence in the spreading of the blessings of the Christian civilisation.

The Achievements of the British in India

The *Times* of London concludes a three-column retrospect of India under the Crown with a proud summary of the achievements of the British in India. It says : "We have nothing to apologize for. We may have made mistakes, but we can look back upon

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the past half-century with pride. For 30 years we have given the Indian Empire peace, we have saved it from strife and created for it an orderly and settled rule, we have developed its resources, we have made for it a great place in the world. For 50 years a fifth of the whole human race has lived in security and concord and increasing comfort and prosperity, through the labours of a handful of self-reliant and devoted Englishmen. We have tamed and trained the rivers of India, we have won back enormous areas to cultivation, we have conserved her forests, we have created new cities, we have built harbours and roads and railways, we have developed her trade, we have greatly increased her internal wealth, we have protected her borders, we have taught her people the arts of government, we have given them an expanding system of education, we have awakened among them the very ideals which now lead some of them to raise their voices against us. Rome never reared such an Empire, far from her own centre; there is nothing in the world's history that quite compares with the achievements of the British in India. If we have been hard and austere, our vast responsibilities have made us so. We have never for a moment been able to forget that we are a people

The Origin of Indian Municipalities

Municipal Government in India seems to have had a curious history. It dates back as far as the year 1687, when it was first introduced, not in a small, but in a very big way. In that year King James II conferred upon the East India Company by charter the power to organise a Corporation and Mayor's Court at Madras, as this was regarded by the Governor, Sir Josia Child, as the only solution of the difficult question of town conservancy. The idea was to reproduce as far as possible the London system, with Lord Mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, all complete—down to the maces, the scarlet gowns, and the trimmings of the horses. The people however resisted the attempt to raise money from them by direct taxation, and the Mayor was therefore reduced to the expedient of levying an octroi duty on certain articles of consumption, in order to raise the money necessary for cleaning the streets. In 1726, a Mayor's court with aldermen, but no burgesses, was established by Royal Charter in the three Presidency towns, but their functions were judicial rather than administrative. The Charter of 1793, for the first time contained a statutory enforcement of municipal administration, as it empowered the Governor-General to appoint Justices of the Peace for the Presidency towns from among the Company's servants and other British inhabitants, who in addition to the exercise of judicial functions were to provide for the scavenging, watching, and repairing of the streets, the money required for the purpose being provided by an assessment on houses and lands. Between 1840 and 1853 the municipal constitutions were widened and the elective principle introduced to a limited extent. But in 1856 the pendulum took a swing in the opposite direction, and all municipal functions were vested in a body corporate of three nominated and salaried members. The Councils Act of 1861 left the modelling of municipalities to local legislatures, and from this point downwards each of the Presidency towns has its own municipal history.

whose mailed hand keeps the keys
Of such teeming destinies.

It will be an evil day for us if we ever forget it in the years that are to come, and palter with the great trust that has been reposed in us. In the words of the courageous Emperor Baber, we must 'place our foot in the stirrup of resolution and our hands on the reins of confidence in God.'

The Early Days of Indian Railways

Mr. Percy F. Martin, F. R. G. S., writing to the *Railway News* of London, thus describes the early days of Indian Railway :—

"The history of Indian Railway construction, it must be remembered, opened at a particularly stormy period of this country's existence. In 1843, when Sir Macdonald Stephenson first advocated the building of railroads, the Empire was experiencing its first Sikh War, and Gough was meeting with reverses or encountering somewhat Pyrrhic victories, one of which resulted in a loss of 2,400 British troops, killed and wounded. It was not until some six years later that any practical move was made, and then a small private company was formed to construct a line of an experimental nature in Bengal. At the same time, some enterprising capitalists in Bombay floated a small syndicate to build a line from the Port to the base of the Western Ghauts, only some 20 miles in length, but deemed then a undertaking of considerable importance. At this time the Marquis of Dalhousie was Governor-General, or Viceroy, of India, and during his term of office from 1849-1855, some 169 miles of railway were constructed and opened to traffic. The year 1853 saw 20 miles completed ; 1854 a further 51 miles ; and 1855 about 98 miles. Lord Dalhousie, who had previously served as President of the Board of Trade in Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet, from 1843-1846, naturally brought with him some sound, practical experience of railway matters, as they were understood in those days. Under Lord Canning railway extension had made considerable advance, in spite of this period proving one of the stormiest and most trying in the history of India. For those were the days of the horrible tragedy known as the Mutiny, the days when Lawrence, Havelock, Nicholson, Colin Campbell, and Robert Napier were helping to make history. Amid it all, the iron horse continued its slow but certain progress across the face of the country, and at the end of Lord Canning's vice-royalty, we find that the number of miles of track open amounted to some 1,587, of which no fewer than 1,418 had been constructed and opened between 1856 and 1861. . . . Considering the vast distances traversed, the climatic and physical difficulties encountered, the generally long and unproductive tracts of country which have to be faced, and the trying peculiarities of the great bulk of the native passengers, forming nine-tenths of those carried, the Railways of India are, to my mind, to be ranked among the most wonderful and among the best conducted in the world. India is a slow-moving country, and its inhabitants have, from generation to generation, from age to age, treated Time as of little consequence, and progress as of even less. Nevertheless, Railways have advanced in this huge country with such remarkable celerity, and have so consistently improved in points of comfort, equipment, and punctuality that, whereas as recently as in 1889 it took

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thirty-seven and a-half hours to travel the 954 miles between Howrah and Delhi in uncomfortable cars, subject to continual breakdown, and by what were known as the "fast" train (running 25 miles an hour), the same journey is done to-day in a palatially-appointed train, composed largely of Pullman cars, in the space of twenty-eight hours, or, say, 34 miles an hour, and this, moreover, at all seasons of the year. But this is not the limit of improvement reached, for the Postal Express, conveying the passengers and mails from Calcutta to Bombay, a distance of 1,349 miles, is now done in thirty-six and a-half hours, or at the rate of 37 miles an hour, including all stoppages.

A New Society : The "Sons of India"

Mrs. Annie Besant has started a new Society called the 'Sons of India.' This order consists of men and women of all ages, the elders seeking by sympathy and good counsel to guide into channels useful to the country the energies of the youngers, and endeavouring to help them to that self-discipline and self-sacrifice which alone make the citizen worthy to be free. To this end it is sought to wed practice to theory: by the definite and daily rendering of service, thus building the habit of helpfulness by awakening the desire to be useful, and suggesting channels along which that desire may realise itself in action; by cultivating the sense of duty and responsibility, without which Liberty becomes a danger alike to the individual and the State.

The order is divided into two classes, unpledged and pledged, working under officers of graded rank: the unpledged class consists of students in upper Schools; the pledged class consists of students in Colleges and of elder men and women of good moral character.

The following is the Pledge of the Order :

"I promise to treat as Brothers Indians of every religion and every province.

"To make Service the dominant ideal of my life.

"And therefore :

"To seek the public good before personal advantage ;

"To protect the helpless, defend the oppressed, teach the ignorant, raise the down-trodden ;

"To choose some definite line of public usefulness and to labour thereon ;

"To perform every day at least one Act of Service ;

"To pursue our ideals by law-abiding methods only ;

"To be a good citizen of my municipality or district, my province, the Motherland, and the Empire.

"To all this I pledge myself, in the presence of the Supreme Lord, to our Chief, our Brotherhood and our Country, that I may be a true Son of India."

It is an honourable obligation on the part of every member, pledged and unpledged, to repeat daily the Chain of Union, as follows:

"May the One Lord of the Universe worshipped under many names, pour into the hearts of the Brothers and Sisters of this Order, and through them into India, the Spirit of Unity and of Service."

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

New Textile Mills

Two new weaving mills, called the James Weaving Mill and the Shri Ram Krishna Mill, have started work at Ahmedabad, as also has a new hosiery factory, which is to be known as the Guzerat Hosiery Factory.

Indian Mining Industry

The capital invested by mining and quarrying companies in India is over 3 crores of rupees, almost the whole of which is foreign. The Indian gain thus resolves itself into the wages of about 200,000 labourers employed and what the shareholders spend out of the profits in this country.

Indian Coal

The output of coal in British India is steadily increasing. In the ten years ending with 1907, inclusive, production moved on as follows:—

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1898	4,608,196	1903	7,437,387
1899	5,093,260	1904	8,216,436
1900	6,118,692	1905	8,417,739
1901	6,635,727	1906	9,783,250
1902	7,423,342	1907	11,147,339

The Lac Industry

The value of the imports of lac exported from India in the year 1907-08 was £2,635,224. Lac of all sorts is included in the above figures, but the bulk of the trade is in shellac. Lac is produced over wide areas in the provinces and States of North-Eastern India, but statistics of the area and yield are lacking. Unfortunately, much of it comes from forests in the Native States, where no agency exists for conservancy and development, and where wasteful methods of collection are said to prevail. The United States is the principal buyer of lac and bought £896,000 in 1907-08. The market is a sensitive one and prices varied in that year from a maximum of £10 8s. for shellac in April, 1907, to a minimum £4 10s. 8d. a few months later in the same year when the effect of the American financial crisis made itself felt.

The Uses of Indian Timbers

Since the inauguration of the Imperial Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun about a year and a-half ago, a commencement has been made with several important investigations connected with Indian forest economic products, the results of some of which it is hoped to publish shortly. The chief of these investigations deal with the utilisation of the less well-known Indian timbers, the suitability of others for special industries, such as the manufacture of matches, tea boxes, and lead pencils, while the demands of the market for railway sleepers and paving blocks is receiving attention. The seasoning qualities of different woods are being studied, particularly as regards the percentage of contained moisture, and among minor forest products the most practical methods of cultivating lac, and the present market conditions of cutch, oilseeds of forest trees, and other products are receiving attention.

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Manganese Ore

The extraordinary progress of the manganese industry in the Central Provinces of India is described in the last annual report of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India. The mining of the ore was first begun in the Nagpur district in 1899, when some 35,000 tons were raised. Seven years later the output was nearly ten times as great, and in 1907 it was about half million of tons, the increase in that year alone having been 170,000 tons. It is the Nagpur-Balaghat area, of some 3500 square miles, in which the work is most active. Here there are enormous deposits of manganese, the slopes of the hills being covered by boulder ore, beneath which lie inexhaustible beds that are now being exploited by various companies. Chemically the ore is described as one of the richest and purest mines in the world, the percentage of manganese varying from 50 to 55 per cent. From ten to fifteen thousand men find employment at the mines.

Flax Cultivation in India

We (the "Pioneer") have noticed from time to time the possibilities of flax-cultivation in India; and there can be little doubt that if success were gained with certain good varieties a large profit could be cleared in the European market. Beliari seems to be the province best suited for the growing of flax, and experiments are still being carried on there. In 1906-07 the Indigo Planters' Association, assisted by a grant from the Bengal Government, engaged the services of a Belgian expert; and it is now officially stated that his work has had some encouraging results. It has accordingly been decided to retain his services for five years, the Imperial Agricultural Department meeting one-half of his salary and the Provincial Department the other half, all other expenses being defrayed by the proprietors of the Dooriah Indigo Concern. It is to be hoped that complete success will eventually result from the experiments now being carried out.

Indian Trade and Retaliation

In dealing with India, the latest Tariff Commission Report points out that the United Kingdom has ceased to be the chief external market for Indian produce. While our proportion has fallen from 39½ to 27 per cent. in 20 years, the proportion of Germany, United States, France, and other countries has increased from 38½ to 54½ per cent. Indian imports into Great Britain have always exceeded the exports, but whereas 20 years ago the excess of imports of merchandize was 6½ million pounds sterling, or less than 20 per cent. of the total imports, the excess is now 17 millions sterling, or 35 per cent. of the imports. In the case of other principal countries trading with India there is, in each instance, an excess of Indian exports. The Indian exports to Germany are three-and-a-half times the value of the Indian imports from Germany. Under Preference the growth of Indian trade with Great Britain would be considerable, and it is pointed out that if retaliation on Indian produce were adopted by foreign countries it could only operate on raw materials required for their manufactures and now admitted duty free. On the other hand, the imports to India from other countries are almost entirely of manufactures and sugar. India has therefore nothing to fear from the bogey of retaliation.

Jute in Assam

Hitherto the cultivation of jute has not been carried on upon a large scale in Assam, and the industry may be said to be at present in its infancy. As recently as 1906 only some 30,000 acres were under jute in Assam proper, as compared with an area of 3,450,000 acres devoted to jute-growing in Eastern Bengal. The possibility of cultivating jute in both Upper and Lower Assam has lately attracted considerable attention, and the area under this crop is rapidly increasing in the valley of the Brahmaputra, ryots coming from Eastern Bengal to take up jute land in Goalpara, Darrang, and Nowgong. And now comes the promising experiment of growing jute in Kamrup on plantations under European supervision and financed with European capital. Two plantations were started towards the end of last year: one by a company with a comparatively large area at Baroma, some twenty miles to the north-west of Rangia; the other a private concern, far in the jungles, some five miles, as the crow flies, from the new Gauhati-Dhubri Railway and an equal distance from Rangia. Jute grown in this district produce a fibre of the best quality and yields a good average outturn per acre.

The Indian Sugar-Industry

The brief note issued by the Bombay Agricultural Department, says the *Times of India*, explains why India, a large sugar cane-growing country, imports immense and increasing quantities of sugar from abroad. In present conditions it pays far better, in many provinces, to make *gul* than to manufacture sugar. There has recently been introduced into Upper India a greatly improved method of manufacturing sugar, invented by Mr. Hadi. Tests made in the Poona District give some remarkable results. The cost of the Hadi plant for 13 acres of cane is Rs. 2,200; the cost of a *gul* plant for the same area is Rs. 250. The net profit on an acre of cane treated by the Hadi process is estimated at Rs. 184; the net profit on the same area made into *gul* is placed at Rs. 251. There is the case in a nutshell. Of course with an expansion of the area under cane and a change in the economic conditions, the position may be reversed. If that day arrives, then the Bombay Presidency may see sugar made instead of *gul*. But, for the time being, it is absurd to suppose that the easier and more profitable process will be abandoned for one that is more expensive and less remunerative.

Materials for Kashi-Silk

A new industry that has grown up during the last six or seven years in the city of Benares and which is now spreading to other parts of the United Provinces is the production, by hand-loom weaving, of a kind of silk-cloth known as "Kashi-silk." This material is manufactured out of yarn supplied almost exclusively by a Bombay firm, who are the agents of an Italian silk society. Owing to some anxiety among those engaged in the industry as to whether the supply would be able to keep pace with the growing demand for the yarn, the Government of the United Provinces made enquiries in Italy, which revealed the fact that the materials from which the spun yarn is made are the usual kinds of waste and refuse resulting from the several processes connected with silk reeling and throwing, and all the stages through which reeled silk passes in manufacturing, as well as from damaged cocoons, etc.

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From the inquiries made as to the industry in Italy, details of which appear in the *Indian Trade Journal*, it does not appear that there is any likelihood that there will ever be a failure to meet the demand in India, even if such demand were to be increased to the immense extent that would be the case if Kashi silk were to be woven in power-looms.

The Trade on Hides and Skins

During the three years to March 31, 1908, the average exports of raw hides from India were 10,908,000, and of raw skins (Government sheep), 25,196,000. In addition there were shipped on the average 184,456 cwt. of tanned and dressed hides and 147,049 cwt. of dressed and tanned skins. Of the raw hides and skins, about three-fourths are exported from Bengal—the hides principally to Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, the skins mainly to the United States. Of the tanned hides and skins, the bulk are shipped from Madras to the United Kingdom which acts as a distributing agent for the Continental and American markets. The hides are derived either from slaughtered animals or from dead animals, that is those that have died from disease, old-age, or accident. Hindus are not permitted to sell cattle for slaughter, but animals are slaughtered in Mahomedan villages, while municipal towns usually contain slaughter-houses. The hides, as bought in Calcutta, are sorted, trimmed a little, arsenicated if "air dried," cured, and baled for export. They are classified according to origin, quality, and weight, and each large exporting firm has its own marks, which are known in the home market. Germany absorbs about 45 per cent. of the Calcutta hides. The export of hides in normal, that is, non-famine, years has greatly increased, and their average price has risen. In Bengal it is the most important trade next to jute. The value to India of the whole trade in 1907-8 was no less than £7,300,000. There is no doubt that the value would be greatly enhanced by the adoption of more scientific methods of curing, tanning, &c., for the low prices now obtained are due to carelessness and ignorance of preparation.

SELECTIONS

BRITISH INDIA: PAST AND PRESENT

JUBILEE OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S PROCLAMATION

Beginning with a purely commercial company, bent on trade only, the final result of England's activities in the East was an Empire the like of which the Cæsars never knew, and the world had never seen. A few dates will serve as landmarks in this unexampled progress :

Formation of the East India Company	December 31,	1600
Factory established at Madras	...	1640
Bombay ceded to Britain by Portugal	...	1660
Calcutta founded	...	1698
Clive's Victory at Plassey	...	1757
Battle of Buxar	...	1764
Warren Hastings, first Governor of Bengal	...	1772
Seringapatam captured	...	1799
Wellington and Lake's victories	...	1803
Scinde annexed	...	1843
Annexation of the Punjab	...	1849
Annexation of Oudh	...	1856
Indian Mutiny	...	1857
Queen Victoria's Proclamation	...	1858

On May 4, 1493, Pope Alexander VI. divided all the new countries, continents, and islands which had been or were thereafter to be discovered, between Spain and Portugal. A line was to be drawn on the map down the Atlantic Ocean, from pole to pole, passing some three hundred miles westward of the Azores. All new lands east of this line were to be Portuguese, all west of it Spanish. This Bull was hardly fair or politic. Europe was then Catholic, Luther unknown, and the Papacy had no right to shut out England, France, and the Netherlands from a share in the eastern and western worlds. Strange to say, almost a century later Queen Elizabeth "was reluctant to infringe the vested rights which Philip II. enjoyed under the Pope's decree."

There was, happily, a brave little nation that cared neither for Pope Alexander VI. nor for the Portuguese. For a while the latter people had it all their own way in the Far East. Vasco da Gama,

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in 1497, was the first navigator to double the Cape of Good Hope and show the way to India by sea. Unopposed his nation founded an Eastern Empire. "But," says Sir William Hunter, "the Portuguese had neither the political strength nor the personal character required to maintain such an Empire." In 1580 Spain and Portugal were united under Philip II., that gloomy bigot who had married Mary Tudor, sought the hand of Elizabeth—a deceased wife's sister—and later sent his Invincible Armada to reduce this heretical island to submission. The sturdy Dutchmen, the Confederacy of Beggars (Gueux), had at that very time defied Philip's arms and his Inquisition; and now Flemish ships sailed to the East to challenge the commercial supremacy of the greatest Power in Europe. In those days "a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as 150 or 250 carracks." For these the Dutchmen sallied forth, and many a rich galleon was their prize. "They struck out for Java, Sumatra, and Molucca, and returned rich and boastful," writes Mr. Beckles Willson. This was the era in which "John Company" was born.

Two circumstances immediately conspired to bring into existence the East India Company—the Spanish Armada and the price of pepper. When William Shakespeare had been a year or two in London he found its society terribly agitated with talk of the Spanish invasion. Strange that he never made it the subject of a play, but mayhap he refers to it in "King John":

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.

We hardly realise to-day the effect of the Armada. The last of the Spanish galleons had hardly perished amid the hurtling roar of the Orkneys or on the wild shores of Connaught when Englishmen determined to do in the East what Drake had done in the West—defy the power of Spain. In 1591, three years after the Armada, a small British flotilla of three ships, under Raymond and James Lancaster, set sail for India and the Spice Islands. The Dutch followed us, and carried on the fight more persistently. "Between 1595 and 1599 between eight and ten squadrons sailed away from Flanders to the Spice Islands," Canning wrote in that ever-famous despatch.

In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is giving too little and asking too much.

And so it was when, in 1599, "the Dutch raised the price of pepper against us from 3s per pound to 6s and 8s." They had a monopoly

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of the Spice Islands, and they used their power after the manner of monopolists. Whereupon the merchants of London met on September 22, 1599, at Founders' Hall, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and agreed "to form an association for the purpose of trading directly with India." Why depend on the Dutch for our pepper and spices? Are the green islands and glittering seas of the East not for Englishmen as well as for Dutch and Portuguese? From that historic meeting sprang the greatest commercial company the world has ever known. What a strange evolution of events! From the price of pepper in 1599 to the Proclamation, on November 1, 1858, of Queen Victoria, sovereign paramount over all India.

The result of this meeting was a deed, to which those London merchants willing to enter on this new trade would subscribe their names and agree to raise the necessary capital. This document is extant, and is the very first in which mention is made of British trade with India. Thus reads its opening sentence :

"The names of such persons as have written with their own hands to venter on the pretended voiage to the East Indies (the whiche it maie please the Lorde to prosper), and the somes that they will adventure ; the xxij September 1599."

For this venture, the Queen's charter having been granted, on the last day of the year 1600, to the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies," 125 shareholders put down their names, and a capital of £70,000 was raised—equal to eight or ten times that amount in present-day money. Three ships were bought, the Susan, for £1,600, the Hector, and Ascension, and besides these the "General's" ship, the Red Dragon, of 600 tons burthen, and costing £3,700. They had gallant ships in those days. When Elizabeth came to the throne there were in the kingdom two or three vessels of 400 tons and now by the year 1600 there were several vessels of 600 to 800 tons, and in a few years the East India adventurers launched a noble vessel c^r 1,100 tons! Here are figures for comparison with the present day :

	Tonnage.
English shipping in 1572 (Froude)	50,000
British shipping in 1907	16,999,668

On Feb. 13, 1601, the first fleet of the East India Company left the Thames for the Orient. Except the voyage of Columbus, more momentous voyage never was. The Dutch were scornful, and the Portuguese merry, at the idea of Englishmen competing in the East.

Did these adventurers know they were founding an empire?

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No such thought entered their minds. They had heard of enormous profits in the Eastern trade, and they wanted their share : to buy for a penny and sell for a pound. There were great risks of wrecks, of pirates, of Dutch and Portuguese men-of-war, of attacks by natives ; therefore the profits must be large. One of the English ships was captured by the French ; her cargo had cost £42,000, and the captors asked £1,500,000 for its ransom. In another instance, the net profit was 233 per cent. The first flotilla took out with them £28,742 in bullion, and goods worth £6,860 ; the said goods being cloth, lead, tin, cutlery, glass, quicksilver, and Muscovy hides. The first ship to get home again brought 210,000 lb of loose pepper, 1,100 lb of cloves, 6,000 lb of cinnamon, and 4,080 lb of gum lacquer. Later, the return cargoes included also raw silk, fine calicoes, indigo, and mace—these cargoes, it is naively confessed, “ being partly captured from the Portuguese.”

In 1612 the Company sent out its tenth expedition, comprising the old (Red) Dragon, commanded by Captain Best, the Solomon, and the Hoseander. The Solomon was sent to look for trade, the other two ships making for Swally, near the mouth of the Surat river. They bought Surat merchandise, and were progressing pleasantly, when four Portuguese ships, carrying 124 guns, besides a flotilla of small native galleys, swooped down upon them. Unfortunately, the Hoseander could not move, and Best had to do the fighting single-handed. He got to close quarters, and fired a double-broadside into the enemy. Night came on “ after some forty great shot on each side had been fired,” and the battle was renewed in the morning. By and by, Best got his ships out into deep water, and waited for the Portuguese, who in the meantime had been strengthened by other ships and men. After the Armada our men ceased to count the odds. By and by another fight ensued, and Best came off completely victorious. The Company was settled at Surat, and the Portuguese never gave serious trouble afterwards.

It was otherwise with the Dutch. That small nation was the foremost maritime power in the world during the seventeenth century. They stripped the Portuguese in the Eastern Archipelago of all their possessions and set up factories in India, where it seemed as though they would be the dominant European race. But that was not to be. In the middle of the next century Clive ruined their position for ever on the Ganges Delta, and in the Napoleonic wars England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies, though Java and Sumatra were restored later. With the French

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the struggle by sea and land was more equal and more desperate, but in the end it had the same result. The reader must note, however, that during these two centuries the Portuguese trade was a State affair, a royal monopoly ; the Dutch merchants were supported by the State, and their annexations were made in its name ; but the interests of Britain were upheld solely by a private company, for which the British Government did little except to supervise their doings and tax their revenues.

Macaulay makes the complaint that Englishmen have been so indifferent to the story how a handful of their countrymen, separated from their home by an enormous ocean, subjugated in the course of a few years one of the greatest empires in the world. He doubts if one in ten of educated English gentlemen "could tell who won the battle of Buxar" ; yet that victory of Sir Henry Munro laid Oudh at the feet of the victors, and brought the Mogul Emperor a suppliant to the English camp. There is nothing else in history quite like the territorial advance of the British in India. It was silent, progressive, irresistible, and it must be added, undesigned. Nobody with us, like the French genius, Dupleix, was planning an Indian Empire. If we varied Macaulay's question and asked : How did the English get possession of Calcutta, of Madras, of Bombay ? We doubt if so many as one in ten could do more than guess that as usual we captured these great cities. But we did not capture them, we created them. When the East India Company went to India there was no Calcutta, no Madras, no Bombay ; and the manner in which these towns, the greatest emporia of trade in the East, have grown up around the English flag is one of the most notable of the Company's triumphs.

Until the year 1639 the British traders had no footing of their own, so to speak, on the mainland of India. In that year one, Francis Day, obtained permission of the local potentate or Naik to set up a factory, or agency, and build a fort for its protection. It was finished on St. George's Day, April 23, 1640 ; the place was called Madras—nobody knows exactly why ; the fort was named St. George, it was garrisoned by thirty-five Englishmen, and as many blacks ; and it may be said that in its erection Francis Day laid the foundation-stone of the Indian Empire. All honour to Francis Day ; but not so thought Day's masters. They "viewed with extreme displeasure" this expensive proceeding ; they had no relish for the building of forts. Dividends, dividends, not forts !

The beginnings of Calcutta were even more unpromising. In 1640 the company had a factory at Hoogly, or Hugli, which stands

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on a river of that name, a branch of the Ganges. There the traders were so much oppressed that it became a question whether it would not be better to abandon Bengal altogether. The factors did actually leave Hoogly, and settled on the coast of Orissa, when the Mussulman Emperor invited them to return, and granted them the present site of Calcutta. It was a spacious area of mud-banks, formed by the Ganges. There Fort William was built, and around the fort has grown the capital of India.

In like manner, Bombay has thriven round the British flag. The Portuguese had possessed the island of Bombay for a hundred years and made nothing of it. They willingly passed it over to Charles II. in 1661, when the merry Monarch married Catharine of Braganza, as part of the lady's dowry. Charles thought so little of it that he leased the island to the East India Company for £10 a year.

Out of practically nothing these cities have risen to be the capitals of their Presidencies. The subjoined figures of their present populations, and what they were in 1891, are eloquent of progress :

	1891	1901.
Calcutta population	882,116	1,106,738
Bombay (1906) ...	821,764	977,822
Madras ...	452,518	509,346

Excepting Hyderabad and Lucknow, no other town in India is half the size even of Madras. Calcutta, on the mud-flats of the Hoogly, has no rival in Asia, unless it be Canton, of which we are doubtful.

An interval of almost exactly a century separates the two great crises in the history of British India, marked by the battle of Plassey, June 23, 1757, and the Mutiny, 1857-58. In 1746 we were at war with France, the conflict extended to India, and we lost Madras. The French had been in India, with a few scattered factories, as long as we had. Now they had become rivals for Empire. Dupleix, a singularly able and farsceeing man, anticipated Bonaparte by fifty years in planning a grand French-Indian Empire. The struggle began in Southern India. The French set up Chunda Salib as Nabab of the Carnatic : the English put forward Mohamed Ali. These were mere puppets ; the issue was, Shall Southern India be English or French ? The French besieged Trichinopoly, Mohamed's capital. The British, at Madras, were powerless to relieve the place, when a young man, named Robert Clive, who had been a clerk in the company's service, and was now 25 years old, proposed to Governor Saunders to attack Arcot the

enemy's capital. The strategy was worthy of Napoleon. Clive, who had seen some fighting, with eight other "officers," only two of whom had ever been in action, 200 English troops, and 300 Sepoys attacked Arcot, and entered it amid thunder, lightning, and rain. The scared garrison fled, and the enemy, 10,000 strong, left Trichinopoly for Arcot. For fifty days, during which the little garrison lost half its officers and men, they held out. The natives all round were fascinated by this show of resistance. Rajah Sahib made one last determined effort to storm the fort on a great Moslem festival. Elephants, with iron-clad foreheads, were employed to breach the walls, but all in vain. The British bullets turned the beasts round, and they stampeded among the troops. With marvellous tactical skill Clive managed the defence. In a single hour 400 of the assailants fell, and when day broke the enemy were no more.

All Indir was moved by this exploit ; but a greater was to follow. In June, 1756, Suraja Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, captured Calcutta and cast 147 men of the garrison into the "Black Hole" prison, from which only twenty-three came out alive. Early next year Clive retook the place, and in June met the Nabob in battle. The enemy numbered 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, fifty pieces of cannon ; Clive had 1,000 Europeans, 2,100 Sepoys, and nine guns. A river parted the two forces. Clive called a council of war, and the majority, including the victor of Arcot, decided against fighting. The council over, Clive retired to the shade of some trees to think. In an hour he had decided to risk everything, and gave orders to cross the river in the morning. At sunrise on the following day, June 23, the fight began. The English 39th Regiment, the first to take part in Indian warfare—hence their motto, "Primus in India"—bore themselves nobly. Clive's well-aimed artillery told terribly. The very first shock threw the enemy into disorder, which soon became a rout. Bengal was English, and Calcutta was safe.

The victories of Clive in the field were consummated by Warren Hastings in Council. Hastings was the first Governor-General of India ; he held office for thirteen years from 1772, a longer period than any of his successors, and he organised the administration. He was assuredly one of the ablest of India's rulers ; but at the end of his term of office he was accused of extortion, acceptance of bribes, cruelty, interference with justice, and the misuse of his power in allowing British troops to be employed in Rohilkund and elsewhere. His trial, lasting seven years, is historic. Strange to say,

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every man at this heroic period who most distinguished himself, whether serving England or France, met with ungrateful treatment. It was not Louis XV., but Madame Pompadour, who ruled at Versailles. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille; Dupleix, stripped of his fortune, died broken-hearted; Lally was dragged to execution with a gag between his lips. In England Clive was censured by the House of Commons because he had appropriated money made by the arms of the State; but the conscience of the House was better than its logic. When the time came for the motion of censure they carried the previous question. Finally, at the end of a long debate, when the rays of morning were shining through the windows of Westminster Palace, the House, on the motion of Wedderburne, declared without a division, "That Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

Warren Hastings was less fortunate. He was formally impeached, Burke, Grey, Fox, Sheridan being spokesmen for the Commons. Edmund Burke led the way with a speech that has become a classic of British eloquence. He concluded with the words :

"I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden underfoot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all."

What was the effect of this oration ? Macaulay says :

"The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and for a moment seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; snuffing bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit."

What is the judgment on Hastings now ? We venture to say that a jury of the ablest authorities on India to-day would acquit Hastings on most of the charges and greatly extenuate the rest. One of the worst, the Nuncomar case, Sir Fitzjames Stephen has placed in a wholly new light. Burke was probably misled by Sir Philip Francis—reputed author of the letters of "Junius," as is generally believed—a bitter enemy of Hastings; James Mill and Macaulay have kept up the tradition. The

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House of Lords acquitted Hastings, and the future will say they did right.

In the century that elapsed between Plassey and the Mutiny enormous additions had been made to our Indian possessions. By the outbreak at Meerut on May 10, 1857, the whole fabric of British rule seemed to be threatened. No need to dwell on that amazing epoch. On its jubilee last year we devoted pages to the marvellous succession of events, which have had no parallel elsewhere ; this commemoration leading up to a gathering of the heroes still among us who took part in Britain's cause and restored her power—a commemoration that will be historic. The names and deeds of Sir Henry and Lord Lawrence, of General Nicholson, of Havelock and Neill, Sir James Outram, Colonel Greathed, and Lord Clyde, of Generals Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Roberts, Inglis, Sir Hope Grant, of Mitchell and John Jacob, of Edwardes, of Hodson, and many more of their gallant comrades are imperishable. With the Mutiny the East India Company ceased to exist, and the dependency became an integral part of the British Empire.

One of the noblest things Queen Victoria ever did was to insist that the Proclamation to the peoples of India should be generous and large-hearted. Her action in this matter is not, we fear, sufficiently known. Lord Derby was Prime Minister and Lord Canning Governor-General of India. To Canning the Queen wrote :

“The Indian people should know that there is no hatred of a brown skin, none ; but the greatest wish on the Queen's part to see them happy, contented and flourishing.”

When the Proclamation was drafted her Majesty was at Babelsberg Castle near Potsdam and thither Lord Derby forwarded the draft. The Queen did not approve the wording. It was too brusque and not conciliatory enough. She reminded the Prime Minister—

“ That it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than 100,000,000 of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges, which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privilege which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation.”

“ The Queen especially resented her Minister's failure to refer

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with sympathy to native religion and customs." Finally she asked Lord Derby, who had assuredly not been the author of the first draft, to rewrite the Proclamation in "his excellent language," especially giving prominence to her personal regard for the enlightened principles of toleration and conciliation. Never, says Sidney Lee in his biography of the Queen, did her Majesty bring her influence to bear on an executive act of government with nobler effect. Lord Derby's draft "breathed throughout that wise spirit of humanity which was the best guarantee of the future prosperity of English rule in India." The Queen praised it warmly.

What is the Empire of India over which his Majesty now reigns? It is a realm nearly fourteen times the extent, and containing seven times the population, of the whole United Kingdom. Here are the latest statistics :

	Area.	Population.
	Sq. miles.	1901.
British Provinces	... 1,087,204	231,899,507
Native States	... 679,393	62,461,549
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	1,766,597	294,361,056

It is not one country, but many countries ; its population is not of one race, but of several races ; they speak nineteen principal languages, with 147 vernacular dialects ; they profess nine leading religions, besides smaller sects ; and they are increasing at the rate of about a million per annum.

Before 1858 the Governors-General, under the East India Company, were Warren Hastings, Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Sir G. Barlow, the Earl of Minto, Marquis of Hastings, Earl of Amherst, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, Marquis of Dalhousie, and Lord Canning. In the fifty years now passed the Governors-General have been :

Earl Canning	...	1858	Marquis of Ripon	...	1880
Earl of Elgin	...	1862	Marquis of Dufferin	...	1884
Lord Lawrence	...	1864	Marquis of Lansdowne	...	1888
Earl of Mayo	...	1869	Earl of Elgin	...	1894
Earl of Northbrook	...	1872	Lord Curzon	...	1899
Earl Lytton	...	1876	Earl of Minto	...	1905

The Secretaries of State have been Lord Stanley, Sir Charles Wood, Earl De Grey (Marquis of Ripon), Viscount Cranborne (Lord Salisbury), Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh), the Duke of Argyll Viscount Cranbrook, Marquis of Hartington, Earl of Kimberley, Lord Randolph Churchill, Viscount Cross, Sir

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Henry Fowler, Lord George Hamilton, the Hon. St. J. Brodrick and Viscount Morley.

We have given India of our best. The Empire has no more precious asset than the probity and ability of its public servants. Men of different politics, these Viceroys and Ministers, have been loyal to their country and to India. They have deserved well of humanity. Under them this assemblage of nations for half a century has enjoyed internal peace, security, freedom, orderly development, and an administration of justice such as were never known before in the East, and such as the world's annals have not shown in the past for so vast a quota of mankind. The end is not yet; future Viceroys and Secretaries of State will try to live up to the principles of the Queen's Proclamation—principles which, we are certain, will reassert. The great communities which go to form his Majesty's Indian Empire will learn that the good will, justice, and liberty on which that Empire is based are fixed and immutable. (From the *Daily Telegraph* of London.)

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Some slight interest has been aroused lately in attempts towards elucidating the origins of Indian art, with special reference to the influence exercised by early artistic inspiration on its modern developments. Evidence has been produced with the object of showing that Indian art has always been a spontaneous development of Indian feeling, and that the new school of painting is itself a survival or renaissance of the traditional artistic spirit developed by the natural genius of the people. This renaissance of Indian pictorial art is due to a small school of painters in Bengal and it might not be impossible to show that the influence upon its delicate growth of those who call themselves its best friends has not been altogether healthy. Among other somewhat curious contentions, these patrons of Bengali art have sought to minimise the influence of the history of the country upon art in all its forms, drawing particular attention to the very unimportant influence of the Greeks on oriental art generally. In fact one of the principal aims of these critics would seem to be to prove, what all students of world history know to be impossible, that India evolved an art out of her own inner consciousness, being dependent for its style on no extraneous assistance, and quite uninfluenced in any way by external causes.

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As the subject has been treated almost entirely from the point of view of the fine arts in neglect of that almost indefinable field known as industrial art, it may be as well to consider it from this aspect alone. At the same time it may be pointed out that the two are in no way distinct—that it is the same artistic spirit that decorates the metal and paints the picture ; but for the sake of simplicity it is desirable to deal only with Indian painting, this form expressing the highest development of art. The subject, in the broad sense, is not a particularly complicated one ; it requires after all only a study of the nation's history, but as is well-known the early records of the Indian people are sadly deficient, and only within very recent years have inscriptions and coins been forthcoming which throw light on the centuries that correspond to the Dark Ages of the West. And so with the story of Indian art gaps of spaces occur, some periods are blurred through want of information, of the earlier ages no actual specimens have survived, but the thread, though slight, remains and can be traced almost from the dawn of days up to the present time.

The first references are to be found in the epic poems of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and these show that art flourished in almost every form during those golden days. Mainly the industrial arts are emphasised, but there is the quaint story of Sita drawing the portrait of her ravisher Ravana, a clever artistic effort which had a tragic ending. The study of these poems impresses one with the idea that the country developed a most luxuriant form of art during this early period, and although the descriptions indicate that the style was barbaric, there was some magnificent decoration by the people of that age. The thread may then be taken up at the time of the invasion of Alexander and attention directed to the influence of the Greeks on the Aryan art of Northern India. The extent to which this twelve months' sojourn of the army in the Punjab affected the manners and customs of the Indian people will never probably be actually defined, but the virility and forcefulness of the Greek was of such an exceptional nature that it must have had a very far-reaching effect on all with whom it came into contact. It needs considerable assurance to declare that when the last Greek soldier embarked from the shores of Sind he took with him all traces of that art which was so strongly characteristic of his race. But in an indefinite way the statement has been made, with the additional suggestion that not until the effect of this wave of Hellenism had faded were the really great achievements of Indian art produced. Those, however, who have seen

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the miles of mounds covering the sculptures of "Gandara" can form some idea of the extent of the Grecian influence of this period, and realise the strong hold the classic style had on the fine arts of Northern India. The effect of this must have been felt for many years after the sands of time had obliterated the footprints of Alexander's army as it passed out through the deserts of Sind.

From this landmark in Indian history let us turn to the subsequent period when the Buddhist religion was in its zenith. The artist priests, who were all-powerful in those days, did much to develop the religious aspect of art, and by their efforts painting was produced of a very high standard. With their pictures they appealed to the finer instincts of the people, and the marvellous paintings in the caves of Ajunta serve to illustrate the excellent quality of their handiwork. At this time India appears to have been in the fore front of all the countries of Asia as regard religion and art, and it is recorded that Buddhist missionaries travelled all over the East spreading the word of the Enlightened. The monasteries were the home of art (as they are in Tibet to the present day), and the talented monks carried their skill wherever they went. Chinese manuscripts show that the ranks of the painters during the Liang (*circa* 500 A. D.) and other dynasties were swelled by Indian artists, some of whose names have been handed down to us. Here it may be of interest to observe that the Chinese pictorial art of fifteen hundred years ago bears no little resemblance to the new school that has been born almost simultaneously with the Twentieth Century. The same low-toned backgrounds and delicate lights may be noticed, "works of faith rather than art, a mystic dreamland through which the painters' thoughts wandered, peopled with divine spirits."

Then ensued the decline of the Buddhist religion, and possibly a considerable decay in this form of art. We have unfortunately few records of what happened to the artistic world during this period of Indian history, which may be referred to as "the dark age." Dynasties came and went, kingdoms flourished and died, and no doubt art continued more or less on the old Buddhist lines until the advent of the Moghals. From contemporary writings published during the reign of that versatile monarch Akbar, a very fair idea can be formed of the state of painting in India during the early years of the Moghal dynasty. Reading between the lines of the *Ain-i-Akbari* it may be observed that the Moghal Emperor was struck with the artistic aptitude of the Indian people, but he felt that properly to develop this spirit it was necessary to revivify it by the introduction of some of the best artists of Persia, a country that was then at the height of its

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fame, both literary and artistic. We have therefore Mahomedan artists of Hindustan working side by side, the one no doubt influencing the other, and by means of the encouragement of the Moghal Court was evolved the Mahomedan style of Indian painting which has lasted in a form almost to the present day. The work that was produced by the painters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the best that has been handed down to us, and the surviving examples show a keenness of preception and a certain knowledge of drawing that is remarkable. With the decay of the Moghal Court this style of painting declined, but Delhi and Amritsar and a few other places still produce inferior work which may be associated with the artistic movement galvanised into life by the Emperor Akbar. The twentieth century school painting is a revival of this style, combined with a renaissance of the old Buddhist work of the painter priests which found such favour in China during the sixth century. It bears the traditional mythological feeling of the latter, but lacks that strong element of religion that sustained the art of the Buddhist monks. It yet remains to be seen whether it is merely a ghost of the old style passing like a shadow through this matter-of-fact century, to be driven back to the region of shades by an unsympathetic reception, a flash in the pan struck by a school of enthusiasts not remarkable for their robustness or vitality or whether it heralds the birth of a new era, a renaissance of all that is good in Indian art, which is ultimately to develop into the national style of the country (From the *Pioneer*.)

THE AGE OF KALIDASA

[In view of the facts that the prosecution in the Manicktolla Bomb Conspiracy Case has put forward the suggestion that Mr. Aurobinda Ghose was the intellectual leader of the Bengal revolutionary society (christened by certain Anglo-Indian journalists as the 'Bengal School of Murder') and the statement recently made by an English friend of Mr. Ghose that 'he was one of the finest classical scholars in his school at Cambridge and is still thought a great deal of at Home,' we have thought it worth while to reproduce below an article contributed by Mr. Ghose to the *Indian Review* of July 1902, a few years before he threw himself heart and soul into the political struggle of the advanced school of Bengal Nationalists. We are of opinion that the following article is one of the best pieces of literary work that Mr. Ghose or, for the matter of that, any Indian has done in any foreign language in our or any previous generation. Besides being a literary masterpiece, it shows Mr. Ghose's powers of observation and criticism to the best advan-

tage and his penetrating insight into the ancient literature and history of India. There are evidently some inaccuracies and errors of judgment in the article but then the fact must not be forgotten that it was written when Mr. Ghose was only 33. It is needless, perhaps, to point out that the deft hand of a finished classical scholar is visible throughout the article, while the future political and intellectual developments of Mr. Ghose are dimly foreshadowed in it. *Ed., I.W.*]

Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa are the history of ancient India, its sole and sufficient history. They are types and exponents of three periods in the development of the human soul, types and exponents also of the three great powers which dispute and clash in the imperfect and half-formed temperament and harmonize in the formed and perfect. For, their works are pictures at once minute and grandiose of the three ages of our Aryan civilisation of which the first was predominatingly moral, the second predominatingly intellectual, the third predominatingly material. The fourth power of the soul, spiritual, which can alone govern and harmonize the others by fusion with them, had not, though it pervaded and powerfully influenced each successive development, any separate age of predominance, did not like the others possess the whole race as with an obsession. It is because, cojoining in themselves the highest and most varied poetical gifts they at the same time represent and mirror their age and humanity by their interpretative largeness and power, that our three chief poets hold their supreme place and bear comparison with the greatest world-names, with Homer, Shakespeare and Dante.

It has been said, truly, that the Ramayana represents an ideal society and assumed, illogically, that it must therefore represent an imaginary one. The argument ignores the alternative of a real society idealised. No poet could evolve out of his own imagination a picture at once so colossal, so minute and so consistent in every detail. No number of poets could do it without stumbling into fatal incompatibilities either of fact or of view, such as we find defacing the Mahabharata. This is not the place to discuss the question of Valmiki's age and authorship. This much, however, may be said that after excluding the Uttarakanda, which is later work, and some amount of interpolation, for the most part easy enough to detect, and reforming the text which is not unfrequently in a state of truly shocking confusion, the Ramayana remains on the face of it the work of a single mighty and embracing mind. According to the balance of probability, the writer preceded even the original draft of Vyasa's epic and lived before the age of Krishna

and the men of the Mahabharata. The nature of the poem and much of its subject matter justify, farther, the conclusion that Valmiki wrote in a political and social atmosphere much resembling that which surrounded Vyasa. He lived, that is to say, in an age of approaching, if not present, disorder and turmoil of great revolutions and unbridled aristocratic violence, when the governing chivalry, the Kshatriya caste, in its pride of strength, was asserting its own code of morals as the one rule of conduct. We may note the plain assertion of this standpoint by Jarasundha in the Mahabharata and Valmiki's emphatic and repeated protest against it through the mouth of Rama. This ethical code was like all aristocratic codes of conduct full of high chivalry and the spirit of *noblesse oblige*, but a little loose in sexual morality on the masculine side and indulgent to violence and the strong hand. To the pure and delicate moral temperament of Valmiki, imaginative, sensitive, enthusiastic, shot through with rays of visionary idealism and ethereal light, this looseness and violence were shocking and abhorrent. He could sympathise with them, as he sympathised with all that was wild and evil and anarchic, with the imaginative and poetical side of his nature, because he was an universal creative mind driven by his art-sense to penetrate, feel and re-embody all that the world contained ; but to his intellect and peculiar emotional temperament they were distasteful. He took refuge therefore in a past age of national greatness and virtue, distant enough to be idealised, but near enough to have left sufficient materials for a great picture of civilization which would serve his purpose—an age, it is important to note, of grandiose imperial equipoise ; such as must have existed in some form at least since a persistent tradition of it runs through Sanskrit literature. In the frame work of this imperial age his puissant imagination created a marvellous picture of the human world as it might be if the actual and existing forms and material of society were used to the best and purest advantage, and an equally marvellous picture of another non-human world in which aristocratic violence, strength, self-will, lust and pride ruled supreme and idealised or rather colossalised ; brought these two worlds into warlike collision by the hostile meeting of their champions and utmost evolutions of their peculiar character-types, Rama and Ravana ; and so created the Ramayana, the grandest and most paradoxical poem in the world, which becomes unmatchably sublime by disclaiming all consistent pursuit of sublimity, supremely artistic by putting aside all the conventional limitations of art, magnificently dramatic by disregarding all drama-

tic illusion, and uniquely epic by handling the least as well as the most epic material. Not all perhaps can enter at once into the spirit of this masterpiece ; but those who have once done so, will never admit any poem in the world as its superior.

My point here, however, is that it gives us the picture of an entirely moralised civilisation, containing indeed vast material development and immense intellectual power but both moralised, subordinated to the needs of purity of temperament and delicate ideality of action. Valmiki's mind seems nowhere to be familiarised with the stern intellectual gospel of *nishkama dharma*, that morality of disinterested passionless activity, promulgated by Krishna of Dwarica and formulated by Krishna of the Island, which is one great key-note of the *Mahabharata*. Had he known it, I doubt whether the strong leaven of sentimentalism and femininity in his nature would not have rejected it ; such temperaments when they admire strength, admire it manifested and forceful rather than self-contained. Valmiki's characters act from emotional or imaginative enthusiasm, not from intellectual conviction ; and enthusiasm of morality actuates Rama, as enthusiasm of immorality tyrannises over Ravana. Like all mainly moral temperaments, he instinctively insisted on one old established code of morals being universally observed as the only basis of ethical stability, avoided casuistic developments and distasted innovators in metaphysical thought as by their persistent and searching questions dangerous to the established bases of morality, especially to its wholesome ordinaryness and everydayness. Valmiki, therefore, the father of our secular poetry, stands for that early and finely moral civilisation which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit.

Vyasa, following Valmiki, stood still farther on into the era of aristocratic turbulence and disorder. If there is any kernel of truth in the legends about him, he must have contributed powerfully to the establishment of those imperial forms of government and society which Valmiki had idealised. It is certain that he celebrated and approved the policy of a great aristocratic statesman who aimed at the subjection of his order to the rule of a central imperial power which should typify its best tendencies and control or expel its worst. But while Valmiki was a soul out of harmony with its surroundings and looking back to a ideal past, Vyasa was a man of his time, profoundly in sympathy with it, full of its tendencies, hopeful of its results and looking forward to an ideal future. The one was a conservative imperialist advocating return to a better but dead model, the other a liberal imperialist looking forward to a

better but unborn model. Vyasa accordingly does not revolt from the aristocratic code of morality ; it harmonises with his own proud and strong spirit and he accepts it as a basis for conduct, but purified and transfigured by the illuminating idea of the *nishkama dharma*.

But above all intellectuality is his grand note. He is profoundly interested in ideas, in metaphysics, in ethical problems ; he subjects morality to casuistic tests from which the more delicate moral tone of Valmiki's spirit shrank ; he boldly erects above ordinary ethics a higher principle of conduct having its springs in intellect and strong character ; he treats government and society from the standpoint of a practical and discerning statesmanlike mind, idealising solely for the sake of a standard. He touches in fact all subjects, and whatever he touches, he makes fruitful and interesting by originality, penetration and a sane and bold vision. In all this he is the son of the civilisation he has mirrored to us, a civilisation in which both morality and material development are powerfully intellectualised. Nothing is more remarkable in all the characters of the Mahabharata than this puissant intellectualism ; every action of theirs seems to be impelled by an immense driving force of mind solidifying in character and therefore conceived and outlined as in stone. This orgiastic force of the intellect is at least as noticeable as the impulse of moral or immoral enthusiasm behind each great action of the Ramayan. Throughout the poem the victorious and manifold mental activity of the age is prominent and gives its character to its civilisation. There is far more of thought in action than in the Ramayan, far less of thought in repose ; the one pictures a time of gigantic ferment and disturbance ; the other, as far as humanity is concerned, an age of equipoise, order and tranquillity.

Many centuries after Vyasa, perhaps a thousand years or even more, came the third great embodiment of the national consciousness, Kalidasa. Far more had happened between his own time and Vyasa's than between Vyasa's and Valmiki's. He came when the daemonic orgy of character and intellect had worked itself out and ended in producing at once its culmination and reaction in Buddhism. There was everywhere noticeable a petrifying of the national temperament, visible to us in the tendency to codification ; philosophy was being codified, morals were being codified ; knowledge of any and every sort was being codified : it was on one side of its nature an age of scholars, logists, dialecticians, philosophical formalisers. On the other side the enthusiasm and poetry of the nation was pouring itself into things material, into the life of the

senses, into the pride of life and beauty. The arts of painting, architecture, song, dance, drama, gardening, jewellery, all that can administer to the wants of great and luxurious capitals, received a grand impetus which brought them to their highest technical perfection. That this impetus came from Greek sources or from the Buddhists seems hardly borne out: the latter may rather have shared in the general tendencies of the time than originated them, and the Greek theory gives us a maximum of conclusions with a minimum of facts. I do not think, indeed, it can be maintained that this period, call it classical or material or what one will, was marked off from its predecessor by any clear division: such a partition would be contrary to the law of human development. Almost all the concrete features of the age may be found as separate facts in ancient India: codes existed from old time; art and drama were of fairly ancient origin, to whatever date we may assign their development; physical yoga processes existed almost from the first, and the material development portrayed in the Ramayan and Mahabharata is hardly less splendid than that of which the Raguvamsa is so brilliant a picture. But whereas, before, these were subordinated to more lofty ideals, now they prevailed and became supreme, occupying the best energies of the race and stamping themselves on its life and consciousness. In obedience to this impulse the centuries between the rise of Buddhism and the advent of Sankaracharya became, though not agnostic and sceptical, for they rejected violently the doctrines of Charvak, yet profoundly scientific and materialistic even in their spiritualism. It was therefore the great age of formalised metaphysics, science, law, art and the sensuous luxury which accompanies art.

Nearer the beginning than the end of this period when India was systematising her philosophies and developing her arts and sciences, turning from Upanishad to Purana, from the high rarefied peaks of Vedanta and Sankhya with their inspiring sublimities and bracing keenness to the physical methods of Yoga and the dry intellectualism of the Nyaya or else to the warm sensuous humanism of emotional religion,—before its full tendencies had asserted themselves, in some spheres before it had taken the steps its attitude portended, Kalidasa arose in Ujjayini and gathered up in himself its present tendencies while he portended many of its future developments. He himself seems to have been a man gifted with all the learning of his age, rich, aristocratic, moving wholly in high society, familiar with and fond of life in the most—luxurious metropolis of his time, passionately attached to the arts, acquainted

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with the sciences, deep in law and learning, versed in the formalised philosophies. He has some notable resemblances to Shakespeare; among others his business was, like Shakespeare's, to sum up the immediate past in the terms of the present: at the same time he occasionally informed the present with hints of the future. Like Shakespeare also he seems not to have cared deeply for religion. In creed he was a Vedantist and in ceremony a Sivaite, but he seems rather to have accepted these as the orthodox forms of his time and country, recommended to him by his intellectual preference and æsthetic affinities, than to have satisfied with them any profound religious want. In morals also he accepted and glorified the set and scientifically elaborate ethics of the codes but seems himself to have been destitute of the finer elements of morality. We need not accept any of the ribald and witty legends with which the Hindu decadence surrounded his name; but no unbiassed student of Kalidasa's poetry can claim for him either moral fervour or moral strictness. His writings show indeed a keen appreciation of high ideal and lofty thought, but the appreciation is æsthetic in its nature: he elaborates and seeks to bring out the effectiveness of these on the imaginative sense of the noble and grandiose, applying to the things of the mind and soul the same sensuous standard as to the things of sense themselves. He has also the natural, high aristocratic feeling for all that is proud and great and vigorous, and, so far as he has it, he has exaltation and sublimity; but æsthetic grace and beauty and symmetry sphere in the sublime, and prevent it from standing out with the barrenness and boldness which is the sublime's natural presentation. His poetry has, therefore, never been, like the poetry of Valmiki and Vyasa, a great dynamic force for moulding heroic character or noble or profound temperament. In all this he represented the highly material civilisation to which he belonged.

Yet some dynamic force a poet must have, some general human inspiration of which he is the supreme exponent; or else he cannot rank with the highest. Kalidasa is the great, the supreme poet of the senses, of æsthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion. His main achievement is to have taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty. In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eye he has no rival in literature. A strong visualising faculty, such as the greatest poets have in their most inspired descriptive moments, was with Kalidasa an abiding and unfailing power, and the concrete presentation which this

definiteness of vision demanded, suffused with an intimate and sovereign feeling for all sensuous beauty of colour and form, constitutes the characteristic Kalidasian manner. He is besides a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibilities of the Sanscrit tongue a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of the Gods. The note struck by Kalidasa when he built Sanscrit into that palace of noble sound, is the note which meets us throughout all this last great millennium of Aryan literature. Its characteristic features are brevity, gravity and majesty, a noble harmony of verse, a strong and lucid beauty of chiselled prose, above all an epic precision of phrase, weighty, sparing and yet full of colour and sweetness. Moreover it is admirably flexible, suiting itself to all forms from the epic to the lyric, but most triumphantly to the two greatest, the epic and the drama. In his epic style Kalidasa adds to these permanent features a more than Miltonic fullness and grandiose pitch of sound and expression, in his dramatic an extraordinary grace and suavity which makes it adaptable to conversation and the expression of dramatic shade and subtly blended emotion.

With these supreme gifts Kalidasa had the advantage of being born into an age with which he was in temperamental sympathy and a civilisation which lent itself naturally to his peculiar descriptive genius. It was an aristocratic civilisation, as indeed were those which had preceded it, but it far more nearly resembled the aristocratic civilisation of Europe by its material luxury, its aesthetic tastes, its polite culture, its keen worldly wisdom and its excessive appreciation of wit and learning. Religious and ethical thought and sentiment were cultivated much as in France under Louis XIV, more in piety and profession than as swaying the conduct ; they pleased the intellect or else touched the sentiment but did not govern the soul. It was bad taste to be irreligious, but it was not bad taste to be sensual or even in some respects immoral. The splendid and luxurious courts of this period supported the orthodox religion and morals out of convention, conservatism, the feeling for established order and the inherited tastes and prejudices of centuries, and not because they fostered any deep religious or ethical sentiment. Yet they applauded high moral ideas if presented to them in cultured and sensuous poetry much in the same spirit that they applauded voluptuous description similarly presented. The ideals of morality were much lower than of old ; drinking was

openly recognised and indulged in by both sexes ; purity of life was less valued than in any other period of our civilisation. Yet the unconquerable monogamous instinct of the high-class Hindu woman seems to have prevented promiscuous vice and the disorganisation of the home, which was the result of a similar state of society in ancient Rome, in Italy of the Renaissance, in France under the Bourbons and in England under the later Stuarts. The old spiritual tendencies were also rather latent than dead, the mighty pristine ideals still existed in theory, they are outlined with extraordinary grandeur by Kalidasa,—nor had they yet been weakened and disheroized. It was, as has been said of the century of Louis XIV, an age of great sins and great repentances ; for the inherent spirituality of the Hindu nature finally revolted against that splendid and unsatisfying life of the senses. But of this latter phase Bhartrihari and not Kalidasa is the poet. The earlier writer seems to have lived in the full keyday of the material age before the setting in of the sickness and dissatisfaction and disillusionment which invariably follow a long outburst of materialism.

The flourishing of the plastic arts had prepared surroundings of great external beauty for Kalidasa's poetic work to move in. The appreciation of beauty in nature, of the grandeur of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of bird and beast life, had become a part of contemporary culture. These and the sensitive appreciation of trees and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feeling of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still farther romanticised by Kalidasa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeur of background and scenic variety. The delight of the eye, the delight of the ear, smell, palate, touch, the satisfaction of the imagination and taste are the texture of his poetical creation and into this he has worked the most beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality. The scenery of his work is an universal paradise of beautiful things. All therein obeys one law of earthly grace ; morality is aestheticised, intellect suffused and governed with the sense of beauty. And yet this poetry does not swim in languor, does not dissolve itself in sensuous weakness ; it is not heavy with its own dissoluteness, heavy of curl and heavy of eyelid, cloyed by its own sweets, as the poetry of the senses usually is : Kalidasa is saved from this by the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unsleeping artistic vigilance.

As in the Ramayana and Mahabharata we have an absorbing intellect-impulse or a dynamic force of moral or immoral excitement driving the characters, so we have in Kalidasa an orgiastic sense-impulse thrilling through speech and informing action. An imaginative pleasure in all shades of thought and of sentiment, a rich delight in their own emotions, a luxuriousness of ecstasy and grief, an entire abandonment to amorous impulse and rapture, a continual joy of life and seeking for beauty mark the period when India, having for the time exhausted the possibilities of soul-experience attainable through the spirit and the imaginative reason, was now attempting to find out the utmost each sense could feel, probing and sounding the soul-possibilities in matter and seeking God through the senses. The emotional religion of the Vaishnava Puranas, which takes as its type of the relation between the human soul and the Supreme the passion of a woman for her lover, was already developing. The corresponding development of Sivaism may not yet have established itself ; but on a higher philosophical plane the same idea worked itself into Kalidasa's poetry. The Birth of the War-God (the *Kumar-Sambhavam*) is at once the Paradise Lost and the *De Rerum Natura* of this age, its masterpiece and *magnum opus* on the epic level ; and the central idea of this great representative poem is the marriage of Siva and Parvati, typifying undoubtedly the union of Purusha and Prakriti, the supreme soul and its material nature by which the world is created, but also, and more definitely, typifying the soul's search for, and attainment of, God. The two most spiritual and philosophical conceptions possible to religious thought are thus worked out through the sex-idea, and the culmination is one of the most glowing, voluptuous and human pieces of erotic descriptions in literature. We have, therefore, the last stage of the Vaishnava conception in the later Puranas anticipated by Kalidasa ; for, as I have already suggested, while summing up in himself the tendencies of his time, he often anticipates their later developments. Such are the philosophic conceptions, such the religious imaginings, of the mediæval sense-civilisation in India. Of that civilisation, the Seasons (the *Ritu-Samhara*) is the first immature self-expression, the House of Raghu (the *Raghuvansam*) the epic, the Cloud-Messenger (the *Meghadutam*) the descriptive elegy, Shacuntala, with her two sister love-plays, the dramatic picture and the Birth of the War-God (the *Kumar-Sambhavam*) the grand religious and philosophical fable. Kalidasa, who typified so many sides and facets of it in his writings, stands for its representative man and genius, as was Vyasa of the intellectual civilisation and Valmiki the moral.

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It was the supreme misfortune of India that, before she was able to complete the round of her experience and gather up the fruit of her long millenia of search and travail by commencing a fourth and perfect age in which moral, intellectual, and material development should be all equally perfected and all spiritualised, the inrush of barbarians broke in on her endless solitary agony of effort and beat her national life into fragments. We see the first preparatory and initial striving towards such an age in the renovating work of Shankaracharya, restoring intellect and spirituality to their pinnacle high above the emotions, proving matter out of existence ; in the dramas of Bhavabhuti in which the emotions themselves were purified and exalted from the service of sense to the service of the soul, and even sensuousness was forced to share in the general exaltation and obey the summons of purity ; and in the re-assertion in social life of sobriety and purity as ideals imperatively demanded by the national conscience. But the work was interrupted before it had well begun ; and India was left with only the dregs of the material age to piece out her existence. Yet, even the little that was done proved to be much ; for it saved her from gradually petrifying and perishing, as almost all the old civilisations, —Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome,—petrified and perished, as the material civilisation of Europe, unless spiritualised, must before long petrify and perish. That there is still a vitality, that our country yet nourishes the seeds of re-birth and renewal, we owe to Shankaracharya and the men who prepared the way for him. Will she yet arise, new-combine her past and continue the great dream where she left it off, shaking off on the one hand the soils and filth that have grown on her in her period of downfall and futile struggle, and reasserting on the other her peculiar individuality and national type against the callow civilisation of the West with its dogmatic and intolerant knowledge, its still more dogmatic and intolerant ignorance, its deification of selfishness and force, its violence and its ungoverned Titanism ? In doing so lies her one chance of salvation.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN SUBJECTS

INDIA UNDER CROWN GOVERNMENT

Mr. Nisbet urges and faithfully represents in an article, entitled "India Under Crown Government," contributed to the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, the views of the typical Anglo-Indian on the present-day history and affairs of India. The article may conveniently be split up into two parts—the first dealing with the successive viceroyalties in India from the days of the "Act for the Better Government of India" down to the present, and the second concerning the present political and economic situation in India—its causes and remedies.

The first part of the article bears only an historical interest and contains very little that cannot be found, perhaps better arranged, in a schoolboy's Primer. Mr. Nisbet confesses that the historical cartridge over which the fire of the Mutiny broke out was really greased with the fat of cows and pigs—a fact which many English historians have tried to gloss over as a maliciously-invented story. It is interesting to see that the writer, according to the bias of the side he represents, has been extremely severe on the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon and philosophically observes:—

"To these three great measures for which Lord Ripon is responsible—the extension of a representative principle unsuited to the country, the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and the racial antagonism awakened by the Ilbert Bill—are due in no small degree the fact that local conditions are now so very different from what they were when Lord Randolph Churchill could assert in his Budget speech, on the 6th of August 1885, that '*In India there is no public opinion to speak of, no powerful Press, and hardly any trammels upon the Government of any sort or kind.*'"

According to Mr. Nisbet, the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act has paved the way for many of our present troubles. To the prejudiced mind of this retired Anglo-Indian, the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon appears to be especially 'brilliant.' "As regards Imperial ideas," says the writer, "Lord Curzon far out-shone any of his predecessors." The writer avers that the secret of all the hysterics over the 'wise and commonsense redistribution of the work' of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was that Lord Curzon had already made himself extremely unpopular to the educated community in India.

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In the second part of this article, the curtain rises over a widespread seditious movement that marks the Jubilee of the Crown Government in India. The writer enumerates all the blessings of British rule, and asserts that :

" This discontent is not due to any defect in the British administration, whose even-handed justice is almost universally admitted. Nor is it due to bureaucratic oppression, for in this respect the Indian services may well challenge comparison with those of any other country. But conspiracy is rife among the Hindus."

The writer goes on with some show of reason to mention the causes of the present situation :—

" These widespread seditious conspiracies, with dangerous euphemism merely called 'unrest,' are due to four causes : (1) that we are an alien race, because it would be contrary to human nature to expect any nation, or any congeries of nations such as India is, to feel anything but discontented under foreign dominion ; (2) that the system of education on purely Western lines adopted from 1835 onwards has borne very different fruit from what was then expected ; (3) that our difficulties in South Africa in 1899-1901, and the victories of Japan over Russia in 1904-5, have inspired many malcontents with a desire to try and overthrow British rule in India, regardless of what the consequences would be if such schemes were successful : and (4) that the aspirations raised through the Royal Proclamation of the 1st of November, 1858, have only partially been fulfilled in so far as regards the portion which said : ' And it is our further will, that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.' "

The writer further on repeats the well-worn dictum that India was conquered by the sword and must be kept by the sword. In this connection some very interesting statistics and pronouncements are quoted which we give below :—

" In 1856 the Indian army consisted of 45,104 European and 235,221 native troops ; and now, in 1908, it consists of 75,702 Europeans and 148,996 natives. There are thus about 30,000 more European soldiers than before the Mutiny, and 86,000 fewer natives. Despite the very large increase of territory caused by the Burman annexation in 1886, this is actually somewhat less than the standard fixed by the Peel Commission in 1859 : ' There can be no doubt that it will be necessary to maintain for the future defence of India a European force of much greater strength than that which existed

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previous to the outbreak of 1857. The amount of such force should be about 80,000. The amount of native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European, in cavalry and infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively'.

And twenty years later, in 1879, the Eden Commission also said : "We believe that a reduction of the British infantry in India would be the worst form of economy which could be adopted."

Yet in 1882, Lord Ripon allowed the British Army to fall to 10,000 men below its proper strength, a false economy which might have had disastrous results.

The writer next launches into a pretty long diatribe against the introduction of western education into India and sapiently observes that a mistake was made when Macaulay's recommendations were embodied in Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of March 1835, *that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education only.*

The English-educated Bengali Babu, who, disappointed in securing a Government post, takes to sedition-mongering, has his deserved share of castigation from the writer. The crown and glory of the article, however, is the spectre of the "shedding of an ocean of blood in the near future" which is dangled before the startled gaze of the British public in defence of the sternest and the most repressive measures. About the Congress, Mr. Nisbet speaks in measured terms, although sinistly hinting that the Mahomedans do not approve of the Swaraj movement.

The present movement, the writer is of opinion, has two sides—Swaraj and Swadeshi—the one political and the other economic. It is when the writer speaks about Swadeshi that he seems to take an intelligent and sane view of Indian affairs. He does not mince matters in describing at length how the Indian Government has all along been treating British manufactures with a parental partiality. We can do no better than quote the writer at length :—

"As regards Swadeshi, certainly, so far as fiscal matters are concerned, the history of the Indian tariff under Crown Government has been one long and almost continuous betrayal of Indian interests in order to woo the Lancashire vote for party purposes.

During the last days of the East India Company as a trading corporation the Indian tariff was on lines similar to those now desired by fiscal reformers for Britain. In 1852 the import duties levied on many important articles were differentiated for British and foreign manufactures. On British cotton and silk piece-goods, woollen goods, marine stores, and metals there was a 5 per cent. duty, and on cotton thread, twist, and yarn $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; while twice those amounts were levied on foreign goods. Lord Canning first attacked this differentiation in 1857, and proposed to equalise the duties on British and foreign merchandise, and to abolish export duties and increase import duties. Owing to the Mutiny, the consideration of his proposals was deferred till 1859, when the

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import duties on British goods were doubled. Intense dissatisfaction was aroused among British merchants in India, and in 1860 the import duties were reduced and the export duties abolished—a sacrifice of revenue being made at the instigation of the British Cabinet. This change seriously affected local industries, often petty but important to the people, and caused much hardship to the poorer peasantry. In 1870 and 1871 Lord Mayo amended the import and export duties, but no differentiation was made between Britain and foreign countries.

In those days, before the commercial development of America and Germany, the Indian tariff was fixed with a view to secure British interests, for Britain was then still the great producer and distributor of manufactured goods. But Lancashire was jealous of the cotton spinning mills erected at Bombay, and applied political pressure during the parliamentary election of 1874. This resulted in a new Tariff Act in 1875, when a 5 per cent. import duty was retained for revenue purposes, while all export duties were abolished except those on rice, indigo, and lac. But, to conciliate the Lancashire interests, the Conservative Cabinet in November 1875 urged that the import duty on cotton goods should be gradually abolished. Though a strong free-trader, Lord Northbrook declined to sacrifice this necessary revenue, saying: 'It is our duty to consider the subject with regard to the interests of India, and we do not consider that the removal of the import duties upon cotton manufactures is consistent with these interests.'

In 1877 the Lancashire interest got Parliament to pass a resolution that the Indian import duties on cotton goods were 'protective in their nature' and should 'be repealed without delay.' Lord Lytton yielded to this pressure and exempted from duty some cotton imports with which the Bombay mills were supposed to compete. This concession failed to satisfy Lancashire, and further pressure was put upon the Indian Government. Though a large majority of his Council considered that 'the measure has all the appearance of the subordination of the reasonable claims of the Indian administration to the necessities of English politics,' as famine and currency depreciation were now severely straining the Indian finances, yet Lord Lytton overruled his Council, and in 1879 exempted from import duty all coarse cotton goods 'containing no finer yarn than 30s' (i.e. 30 hanks, each 840 yards 1 lb.); and in sanctioning this desired betrayal of Indian interests the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, had also to overrule the majority of the members of his own Council. But this political trick did not save the Conservatives from defeat at the polls in 1880.

Finances improving, Lord Ripon in 1882 abolished all the remaining import duties except those on salt and liquors; and, save for a small duty on petroleum in 1888, no fresh import duties were re-imposed till 1894, after a deficit of two millions in 1893. In 1894 the Herschell Commission reported that 'the re-imposition of import duties ... would excite the least opposition,' and might even be popular; but to avoid irritating Lancashire they added that any re-imposition of cotton duties would be strongly opposed. So the new Tariff Act of March 1894 re-imposed a special import duty on most articles, but exempted cotton, machinery, coal, raw and railway materials, grain, and some miscellaneous articles. This cotton exemption was strongly opposed in the Viceregal Legislative Council; and in December 1894 a new Act was passed applying the 5 per cent. duty to cotton yarns and goods, though Lancashire was favoured by a countervailing excise duty of 5 per cent. being put on the finer classes of yarns above 20s spun in India and likely to compete with British yarns. But Lancashire agitated in Parliament, and in January 1895 the Secretary of State, Sir Henry Fowler, agreed to reconsider the matter 'with a view to carry out loyally the declared intention to avoid protective injustice.'

Before action could be taken, the Conservatives returned to power in June 1895, pledge-bound and anxious to conciliate the British cotton vote. So the new Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, adopted the Lancashire view that there should not be an artificial dividing line at 20s, or any other count, unless import duties were abolished as from 1882 to 1894. Despite strong protests from influential members of the Legislative Council, Lord Elgin yielded to this pressure, sacrificed Indian interests, and passed the Cotton Duties Act of 1896, levying a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise duty on all cotton goods spun at any Indian mill. Coarse Indian fabrics, hardly, if at all, competing with fine-spun British goods, were thus for the first time taxed, thereby raising the price of the scanty clothing of the poorer classes throughout India without benefiting British cotton-spinners, and interfering greatly with the manufacture of yarns and piece-goods in India.

Almost the only spontaneous fiscal action permitted to India has been the imposition in 1899 of a countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar from Germany and Austria which was in 1902 extended to imports from other countries. But,

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as Lord Curzon's Government pointed out in 1904, with regard to the entrance of India into an inter-Imperial preferential scheme for placing protective duties on British manufactures and higher duties on foreign manufactures, this reform would be impracticable owing to past experience having too clearly shown that British manufacturing interests always prevent India from obtaining full fiscal freedom."

We must thank Mr. Nisbet for thus stating the recent fiscal relation of India with England so clearly and for the confessions that he makes in this article. It has always been the case in the history of England's connection with India that, whenever the interests of these two countries have come into conflict, the interests of India have been uniformly sacrificed. This has gone a great way in embittering Indian feeling against England and her fairness.

As a remedy for the present discontent in India, Mr. Nisbet can light upon nothing more efficacious than the abolition of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay which are described as "useless anachronisms." The writer concludes this curiosity of an article on India with a warning to the Government against a likely "general rising of the population, urged on by demagogues." The article, taken all in all, is a very accurate presentation of typical Anglo-Indian views and as such deserves careful perusal.

THE NEW NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Rev. J. T. Sunderland, the liberal-minded American minister who is so very well-known to the readers of Indian periodical literature, has a pretty long article in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly* on *The New Nationalist Movement in India*. The article very ably and fully deals with the cause, justification and the future of this movement. In doing so, the writer gives a very pithy and succinct account of the conditions of Indian life under British rule. "The great, disturbing, portentous, all-overshadowing fact," observes the writer, "connected with the history of India in recent years is the succession of famines." In describing the nature of these famines, the writer quotes Mr. W. S. Lilly, an ex-member of the Indian Civil Service, the author of *India and its Problems* who writes as follows :—

"Suppose we divide the past century into quarters, or periods of twenty-five years each. In the first quarter there were five famines, with an estimated loss of life of 1,000,000. During the second quarter of the century there were two famines, with an estimated mortality of 500,000. During the third quarter there were six famines, with a recorded loss of life of 5,000,000. During the last quarter of the century, what? Eighteen famines, with an

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estimated mortality reaching the awful total of from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000. And this does not include the many more millions (over 6,000,000 in a single year) barely kept alive by government doles."

Referring to the causes of these famines, the writer refuses to fall in with those who hold that these are due to the failure of rains. "Not the lack of food but want of money to buy it with is," according to the writer, the cause why "half the agricultural population do not know from one half-year's end to another what it is to have a full meal." Rev. Sunderland enumerates the main causes of the Indian famines to be five :

(1). Heavy taxation—"According to the latest statistics at hand, those of 1905, the annual average income per head in India is about \$6'00, and the annual tax per person about \$2'00." The writer joins with Herbert Spencer in his indignant protest against the "grievous salt-monopoly" of the Indian Government and "the pitiless taxation which wrings from poor ryots nearly half the products of the soil."

(2). The destruction of her manufactures—"When the British first appeared on the scene India was one of the richest countries of the world. Great Britain wanted India's markets. England had all power in her hands, and so she proceeded to pass tariff and excise laws that ruined the manufactures of India and secured the market for her own goods."

(3). The enormous and wholly unnecessary cost of her government—"The amount of money which the Indian people are required to pay as salaries to the great army of foreign civil servants and appointed higher officials, and then, later, as pensions for the same, after they have served a given number of years in India, is very large. That in three-fourths if not nine-tenths of the positions quite as good service could be obtained for the government at a fraction of the present cost, by employing educated and competent Indians, who much better understand the wants of the country, is quite true."

(4). The enormously heavy military expenses of the government :—"The Indian Army," observes Rev. Sunderland, "is kept at a strength beyond what the defence of the country requires. India is made a sort of general rendezvous and training camp for the Empire, from which soldiers may at any time be drawn for service in distant lands." If such an imperial training camp and rendezvous is needed, the writer approvingly quotes Sir H. C. Bannerman, "justice demands that England should pay

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a portion of the cost of the great Indian Army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide empire."

(5). The steady and enormous drain of wealth from India to England :—"England claims that India pays her no tribute. Technically, this is true ; but, really, it is very far from true. In the form of salaries spent in England, pensions sent to England, interest drawn in England on investments made in India, business profits made in India and sent to England, and various kinds of exploitation carried on in India for England's benefit, a vast stream of wealth ("tribute" in effect) is constantly pouring into England from India."

The writer however suggests that it is the total change of the system of government and not any patch-work of reforms of sundry grievances that is the panacea for all the ills under which India is suffering. "But it is only a part of the wrong," observes Rev. Sunderland, "done to India that she is impoverished. Quite as great an injustice is her loss of liberty,—the fact that she is allowed no part in shaping her own political destiny. As we have seen, Canada and Australia are free and self-governing. India is kept in absolute subjection. Yet her people are largely of Aryan blood, the finest race in Asia. There are not wanting men among them, men in numbers, who are the equals of their British masters, in knowledge, in ability, in trustworthiness in every high quality. It is not strange that many Englishmen waking up to the fact that such treatment of such a people, of any people, is tyranny : is a violation of those ideals of freedom and justice which have been England's greatest glory. It is also short-sighted as regards Britain's own interests. It is the kind of policy which cost her American Colonies, and later came near costing her Canada. If persisted in, it may cost her India." And the right solution of the Indian problem lies, according to the writer, in the removal of "the fundamental difficulty, the fundamental evil, the fundamental wrong that the Indian people are permitted to have no voice in their own Government. Thus they are unable to guard their own interests, unable to inaugurate those measures for their own advancement which must always come from those immediately concerned." "It is hard to conceive of a government," proceeds Rev. Sunderland, "further removed from the people in spirit or sympathy than is that of India. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, as a bureaucracy, it is as autocratic, as arbitrary in its methods, as reactionary in its spirit, as

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far removed from sympathy with the people, as determined to keep all power in its own hands, as unwilling to consult the popular wishes, or to listen to the voice of the most enlightened portion of the nation, even when expressed through the great and widely representative Indian National Congress, as is the Russian bureaucracy."

Having established the proposition that the Indian problem can not be solved by any other means than the infusion into the administration of the country intelligent Indian element sufficient to protect itself in any conflict of interests between the Indians and the English, the writer proceeds to show the hollowness of the common platitude that India is unfit to govern herself. Observes he :

" The truth is, not one single fact can be cited that goes to show that India cannot govern herself,—reasonably well at first, excellently well later,—if only given a chance. It would not be difficult to form an Indian Parliament today, composed of men as able and of as high character as those that constitute the fine Parliament of Japan, or as those that will be certain to constitute the not less able national Parliament of China when the new constitutional Government of that nation comes into operation. This is only another way of saying that among the leaders in the various states and provinces of India there is abundance of material to form an Indian National Parliament not inferior in intellectual ability or in moral worth to the parliaments of the Western World."

All these, the writer considers, are data for understanding clearly the meaning of the "New National Movement in India." Rev. Sunderland puts an eloquent defence of the present movement in India :

" It is the awakening and the protest of a subject people. It is the effort of a nation, once illustrious, and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust, to stand once more on its feet, to shake off fetters which have become unendurable. It is the effort of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country which shall be in some true sense their own, instead of remaining, as for a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power,—in John Sturat Mill's words, England's "cattle farm." It is a demand of the Indian people that India shall be given a place in the Empire *essentially like that of Canada or Australia*, with such autonomy and home rule as are enjoyed by these free, self-governing colonies."

WHAT DOES INDIA WANT?

Mr. H. G. Keene, an Anglo-Indian historian of some reputation, contributes a paper on the above subject to the *Wednesday Review* of the 25th November last. Mr. Keene makes no secret of his desire to perpetuate the supremacy of the British in India and with that view he protests against any attempt at the introduction of western institutions into India in any matter—political, educational or religious. The Colonial form of Self-Government he considers as quite unsuited to the social conditions of India. Mr. Keene repeats the usual Anglo-Indian cant that the East can never be governed unless by an autocratic sovereign, and this cant is maintained in spite of the fact that the character and constitution of the village communities and other popular institutions of ancient India were more democratic than many of their modern prototypes. Against the constant attempt made by extremist reformers, both English and Indian, to introduce western institutions into India Mr Keene thus warns his readers :

"The danger has always existed since the first attempt was made to establish a British Indian constitution. Thus when Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General, a Supreme Court of Judicature was established to administer the law of England as it then existed." Mr. Keene deplored the effect of it says : "The tendency of the judges to extend the powers of the Court into the regions of local law was again manifested in the succeeding generation by the Supreme Court of Bombay who persisted in issuing writs beyond the limits of their appointed jurisdiction ; the Chief Justice declaring from the Bench that he acknowledged no superior but God and the King, and that the East India Company and its local officials would meet with no more deference at his hands than would the meanest suitor." Forsooth ! We can assure Mr. Keene that if all the judicial courts in India were actuated by this tendency which he deplores so much, it would serve to win the hearts of the Indian people more completely and surely than all the silly panaceas that have suggested themselves to Anglo-India during the last quarter of a century. With reference to an illustration in point, Mr. Keene reminds us of the attempt to introduce parliamentary institutions in Persia which he is pleased to describe as an enactment of tragicomedy in Persia. "The singular people of Japan," observes Mr. Keene, "is indeed so far exempt from the ordinary conditions of oriental life that no prediction as to this can be confidently made :" "but so far as India is concerned," continues the writer, "the attempt

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is as unlikely to succeed as the grafting of an apple upon a palm tree." The writer then outlines a comparison between the conditions of India and Europe and says :

" The civilization of India dates from a period coeval with Darius and Nebuchadnezzar, and is closely connected with material conditions. Amongst its principal characteristics are submission to arbitrary Government, the division of society into castes, the subordination of women and an abhorrence of the sea, which once rendered navigation impossible and still surrounds it with great difficulty. How different is the case in Europe need scarcely be pointed out : here society has been evolved from the movements of migratory tribes pursuing maritime commerce or indulging in open piracy : blending the art and science of Greece with the law and patriotism of Rome, the romance of Celts and Teutons and the adventurous restlessness of the Scandinavians ; the whole blended at last in a scheme which with local variations presents a common type of civilisation. That civilisation, however, belongs to its own conditions of soil and climate, springing from its own peculiar evolution ; and none of those conditions can reasonably be expected in the stationary old world of the East."

Though the writer deprecates those who speak in favour of the abdication of the ultimate authority of the English in India, he however favours the suggestion of holding the examination for the appointment of covenanted civil servants in India. Observes Mr. Keene :—

" The unrest of respectable Hindus no less than the animosity of the bomb-throwers has to be accounted for, the reason may perhaps be found in the obsolete system of civil administration which is at once an expression of contempt and a permanent badge of subjugation, That the existence of an imported Civil Staff Corps is resented by many is clear from the demands which have been constantly urged from time to time that the examinations of the Indian Civil Service should be held in India, instead of in London. It is not really of much importance that Hindus are eligible ; for Hindu candidates have to undergo all the expense and annoyance incidental to a long separation from their families, while their training in British Colleges makes them channels of European views almost as much as their British colleagues." But thus far and no farther, for observes Mr. Keene :

" It must, not however, be supposed either that the executive power of the Viceroy's Council or the unlimited direction of Military affairs can be called in question. Whatever may be the ultimate

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form of civil administration, the Government of India must remain supreme. India owes to Britain a very large annual payment, with which Britain cannot be expected to dispense. This payment, indeed, has been the subject of much misrepresentation, being calumniously described as tribute, and as drain of specie: whereas it is in truth nothing but compensation for services rendered to India. A great part of it consists of the interest on loans contracted for the development of resources; and of such loans it is only necessary to remark that they might have been subscribed by Indian capitalists if they had not preferred lending money at 24 per cent. to their impoverished fellow-countrymen, instead of being satisfied with a more moderate rate of interest obtainable in the London market. If, therefore, the repudiation of these and such like charges be one of the things which India wants, it may be some time before that want can be taken into consideration."

CAUSES OF INDIAN UNREST

In the *Daily Telegraph* of the 17th November last appeared an article from the pen of Mr. Perceval Landon, the well-known traveller, on Indian unrest. According to the writer the Brahmins are solely responsible for the unrest.

The writer begins by observing that the aggressive side of the movement has been largely exaggerated. The real importance to the English people, of any existing unrest, goes on Mr. Landon, lies far more in the silent acceptance of some part of its spirit by many obscure but reasonable men than in the hysterical words or actions of those whose folly renders the cause ridiculous and delays its consideration in England.

"The movement was originally conceived and organised, and is now being carried out, by the Brahmins of India. In no part of the country, north, south, east, west, have the Mohamedans had any part or lot with the agitators." The writer thinks that the lower castes have been content to allow their acquiescence to be assumed. But this does not arise from the religious supremacy of the Brahmins. Herein lies the difference, Mr. Landon thinks, between the causes of the great mutiny of 1857 and of the present unrest. In the Mutiny "the two great warring creeds joined forces for a moment" as "the religious superstitions of both Islam and Hinduism were played upon with unfailing assiduity, and throughout Hindustan all castes, in town and country alike, were stirred

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up by the wandering *sannyasis* and *bairagis*, but whose co-operation has been conspicuously absent from the present movement." It may be demurred, goes on the writer, that if religion plays no part in the present agitation, how comes it that the Brahmins are at the root of it all? The answer to this is that the religious sanction of the Brahmins is not, and has never been, the most important of the respected attributes of the class, though their moral supremacy is based upon and enforced by their control of the religious office. But it cannot be assumed that when the Brahmin political leaders agitate for reforms, they are necessarily backed up by the ecclesiastical organisation of this order. The writer, to support his argument, points out the zeal of the *shivait*s of Kalighats and the Mollahs of East Bengal in publicly disowning and denouncing the agitation. "The truth is that between the highly educated and mentally brilliant Brahmin of political life and his religious brother a daily widening gulf is fixed." This has been caused, according to the learned writer, by the fact that, with the spread of the western education in India, the old weapon of superstition has been pierced through and through. Today, according to the writer, the cleverest among this clever race have chosen politics rather than religion as a field for their energies and "we shall make a serious mistake if we do not separate the ecclesiastical aspect of Brahminism from these political activities."

After laying the above proposition, Mr. Landon goes on to describe the causes of the agitation. The true cause, he says, is to be found in the fact that before the English administration of Bengal and other parts of India, the Brahmins were the all-important factors in civil as well as religious affairs. Whatever the nominal sovereignty of the State may have been, it was the Brahmin Viceregent who actually governed, even in Mohamedan Courts. "Low caste men had almost no share in these matters. But the incoming of the English has altered all this. By them the service of the State has been thrown open to every man, high or low, and the knell of Brahmin preponderance has been sounded. At first, the ancient tradition of supremacy in education gave the Brahmins an advantage, but this has vanished with the spread of education, and the ancient *ruling* class of India has had to come down into the arena and struggle with the schooled Vaisya or Sudra for the prizes of official life. What supremacy in these things the Brahmins of to-day have, is indeed a very poor thing compared with what he had a hundred years ago; and all these have been done by the English. They have thus been led to argue,

though not actually to believe in their heart of hearts, that once they can get the English out of the country, the old ascendancy is secured to them." This, according to the observant and thinking writer, is the root cause of the agitation. He goes on to observe that should the reins of government ever fall from the hands of the English, there would arise in India from the Brahmaputra to the Indus a sanguinary class which would have no parallel in history since the days of Jenghiz Khan. The control of the agitation is rapidly passing into the hands of the most openly seditious, and the writer hopes the approaching Congress at Madras "will probably witness the practical extinction of most of the demagogues whose names are known to the public at home. Three years ago a Homeric peal of laughter in two continents greeted the news that, greatly daring, the Babus of Calcutta had crowned a high caste Brahmin, Surendra Nath Bannerjee by name, as King of Bengal. To-day S. N. Banerjee, an uneasy and timid Frankenstein, sees the movement which he helped to organise wholly given over to the charge and direction of men whose reckless propaganda he regards as suicidal to the cause."

Mr. Landon then goes on to point out that the ranks of these seditious Brahmins are yearly swollen by the increasing number of those who have been carefully trained on the European lines; here he supports his statement by quoting a line from Mr. Mohammed Ali, who says that political unrest is common to all those classes which have received a modern English education. The members of these classes present the case "for the opposition with persistence and brilliancy on the platform and in the Vernacular Press, at the bidding and under the general guidance of the Brahmin leaders."

The discontent amongst the educated classes is increased by the fact that only two out of every five educated men can find any office or position in any department of the administration. According to this *sabjanta* writer, the difficulty is increased even more by the fact that, "though on account of their attainments and experience the natives may be taken into many offices, they are permanently disqualified for those offices because in their exercise there is needed, besides mere education, an ability to assume responsibility and need to exercise personal influence, which the Indians lack very much. The native, however learned, wilts before an emergency. He falls back upon the letter of his general instruction; he refers in despair to his immediate superior, who in emergencies must clearly be at a disadvantage upon all the extraordinary facts of

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the case ; he shelters himself from bearing the results of any exercise of his own judgment—all, every man in his office, knows the reason and despises him accordingly."

In the eye of the writer the Mohamedan officers in the army are free from this moral timidity. The Hindus, says Mr. Landon, are like a huge loosely and incompactly woven hawser pulling against the thin steel rope that represents the Mohamedans. It is the duty of the English to hold the strain level between the two. Were the English away, goes on the writer, there could not be a moment's doubt of the issue of the struggle. The seditious are solely found in the side which benefits by the interposition of the English. Mr. Landon believes that the ringleaders of the agitation rely upon the sense of duty of the English, and that they are aware that the dogged determination of the English to maintain equity in India between race and race will to the last preserve them from the result of their disloyalty, and they are confident that the English will still protect them even if every other interest in India has been extinguished for the English. This the writer admits to be true ; but he sadly deplores the strange short-sightedness of the English in the past to foresee the present results of their consistent liberality in India.

The writer concludes by saying that all these have been but a natural outcome of the policy of the English. We cannot refrain from quoting his peroration *in extenso* :—

"Our whole attitude towards the natives, our willingness to educate them, to widen their outlook, to encourage arts and crafts among them, our constant offer of official employment to every Indian who proved his capability, our grant of freedom of speech and of the Press—everything has paved the way for the demand which is now being formulated. It is foolish for us to recognise only now at the last moment that we were but fairy godmothers who forgot the most essential gift of all—character and public spirit and the bond of nationality. It may be urged that these we had no power to give them. But it is vain to raise that point at this late hour. With our eyes open to the ingrained idiosyncrasies of our fellow-subjects we have elected to drag them forward along the path that has suited our own Western natures. If they now claim the consequent privileges sooner than they can be expected to make good use of them, that follows from our original and frequently-reiterated policy of education and liberty. It will be necessary to hold in these immature politicians till the spirit, as well as the letter, of the charter of a national life is understood by them. But, at any rate,

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it is futile to pretend to be surprised at the inevitable results of our own deliberate and, being what we are, inevitable policy."

THE ATTITUDE OF THE MUSSALMANS AND THE PARSES TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

The December number of the *Hindusthan Review* contains two short but interesting articles, entitled " Indian Mussalmans and the Indian National Congress" and " Parsees and the National Politics of India," from the scholarly pens of Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji, Bar-at-law, and Dr. J. N. Bhahadurji respectively. Mr. Tyabji begins his article with a characteristic quotation from the *Pioneer* to the effect that the relations between the Hindus and the Mussalmans are gradually growing friendlier and that the liberalising tendencies of the British administration are setting in a ferment in people's minds. Mr. Tyabji, in opening his article, administers a well-merited reproof to those who have been proclaiming the jingoistic idea of " East is East and West is West." This idea, the writer presumes, has taken a hold of the Mahomedan mind and has led that community to keep aloof from the Congress movement. The specific grounds, however, on which the Mussalmans stand aside from the Congress are thus stated by the writer :—(1) it would be playing false to the Mahomedan ideal of loyalty which demanded of them complete acquiescence in all acts of Government, since they thought it was the Government alone that could decide what share the people should have in the administration, and (2) the Congress being composed mostly of Hindus, it was assumed the Hindus would naturally be inclined to make such demands of the Government as would further their interests at the expense of the Mahomedans.

The writer sees no logic in these evasive pleas and earnestly calls upon his community to hear the answer the East has made to the demand of the Western civilization : " The East has made it clear that its people shall now no longer be governed as so many dumb creatures as was the case in the past, but that they must have a voice in the administration of their country."

The writer next proceeds to answer the pleas urged by the Mahomedan community in defence of their aloofness from the Congress. When even the Turkish Mahomedans have come out into the open against the absolute rule of the Sultan, does it not justify us to hold that loyalty, which is an essential article of the Moslem creed, should not mean a quiet submission to the powers that be ? " To

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be loyal," says the writer, "is to pay due deference to the constituted authorities and to assist them in every way in their efforts to promote the happiness of the people. In doing that, one of the main functions of loyal people is to point out *in time* such grievances as may be in existence and not to let the authorities labour under any misapprehension that there are no grievances to redress, since none are pointed out."

The writer dissociates himself entirely from those who are discontented with the very existence of British rule in India. But the majority of Congressmen have never been discontented with the existence of British rule. They refrain from giving vent to their sentiments of loyalty in season and out of season only out of a sense of self-respect. They consider their loyalty so much as a matter of course as not at all to call for frequent protestations. The very fact that they are anxious to improve the Government implies their loyalty to it.

The writer attributes the present unrest to the delay made by the rulers in granting legitimate reforms to the people and asks :— "Is it not evident to every one that a prolonged delay in giving further rights in the direction of Self-Government, after Lord Ripon had set the ball rolling, is answerable for the mischievous and accursed propaganda which has led to the conspiracies and outrages of which we are having such a full dose? Can the Mahomedans say with a clear conscience that their keeping aloof from the Congress is not to a certain extent responsible for the present unrest, since it prevented the Congress from pressing its claims, which are now admitted on all hands to have been too long delayed, in that impressive manner which would have been the case had it been able to do so with the full accord of Mahomedans?"

Mr. Tyabji next points out the change in the attitude of his community towards politics as evidenced by the formation of the Moslem League. But it would be better, the writer adds, to have one great organisation instead of many. The Mahomedans may discuss purely communal or sectarian questions in their Moslem League, but there is no reason why in matters of common interests they should not join the National Congress.

The real cause of the Mahomedan's indifference to the Congress, according to Mr. Tyabji, is the secret fear that they would not be dealt fairly with by the Hindu majority. But this fear is idle and unwarrantable to a degree.

During the 23 years the Congress has been in existence not a single instance has come to light in which the Hindus have agitated

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for rights that would prejudice the interests of the Mahomedans. Had it been so, men like the late Mr. Baduruddin Tyabji would have been the first to keep himself away from the Congress. The Mussulmans complain that this or that Congressman takes part in a movement displeasing to the general body of the Mahomedans; that the Hindus oppress the Mahomedans in Sindh; that the Hindus agitate for political rights knowing full well that the Moslems, being mostly ill-educated, cannot largely share in them. But these complaints are worthless. The behaviour of an individual Congressman cannot affect the general body of the Congress any more than the fact that some Congresswallahs have been convicted of sedition can lay the Congress open to the charge of sedition.

As regards the Amils and the Sindhis, it is not a question of racial ascendancy, but one of ascendancy of culture and advancement over ignorance and retrogression. In fact, the power of combination can do wonders as seen in America. If the Mahomedans can come up to the Hindus in education, it will no longer be a case of Hindu religion as against Moslem but a competition between brains!

But to some extent the fears of the Mahomedans are not imaginary. It is quite likely that if the majority of government posts be filled by the Hindus they may combine to keep the Mahomedans out. Some, therefore, think it prudent not to displease the government and by that way hope to secure the loaves and fishes of office. Mr. Tyabji very much condemns this suicidal policy and calls it unworthy of the Moslem who can boast of a great past. He asks his co-religionists not to complain of cliques and parties for they are inevitable. "Have the Hindu," he asks, "a monopoly of this? Ask those who served under the late Sir Salar Jang whether it was possible for any but a North-India Mahomedan to get into service then. Do not complain about combinations and parties. They are the results of a natural law whereby likes collect together." The writer holds out the example of the Parsees to show how a race can completely triumph over numerical inferiority.

The last complaint of the Mahomedan publicist is that the Hindu majority claim political rights for themselves, as they do not propose, in fact oppose, class representation. This assumes that "every one must be in favour of class representation and that the Hindu majority objects to it through selfish motives." "Was the answer," asks the writer "given by Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, to the Poona Mahomedan Deputation due to interested motives or simply because it was the only possible one?"

He reutes the analogy of Austro-Hungary which is often put

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forward in support of class-representation. Now that the Congress has been purged of the extremists, the writer sees no reason why the Mahomedans should not join it. "Under the new Constitution framed at Allahabad, Mahomedan interests are absolutely safeguarded by providing (1) that as far as possible one-fifth of the total representatives in the All-India Congress Committee shall be Mahomedans and (2) that no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates object as a body or by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number; and if after discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates as a body or by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number are opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon such resolution shall be dropped; and (3) in any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, *the interests of the minorities shall be duly safeguarded.*"

Mr. K. W. Bahadurji's article on the attitude of the Parsees towards the national politics of India contains very little worth noticing besides the very interesting list of Parsee newspapers that side with the Congress movement.

The *Jam-e-Jamshed*, a daily, and the *Rast Gostar*, a weekly, were at first violently against the Congress, but with the Anglo-Indian paper from which they take their cue they have come round to milder views. Congress views were, however, reflected very ably and forcibly in the *Bombay Samachar*, a very influential Parsi daily with a large circulation amongst the Guzerati speaking Hindus. In the past few years the *Akhbar-i-Soudagar*—also a Parsi daily—has veered to the Congress, while a pugnacious, enterprising, widely circulated evening journal has recently risen in the *Sanj Vartman*, also edited by a Parsi and owned by a Parsi syndicate. It is a vigorous and enthusiastic supporter of the Congress movement, and champions all popular causes as fearlessly as its older contemporaries, the *Samachar* and the *Akhbar*. Of the weekly journals edited and owned by Parsis, which look upon the Congress movement with marked favour, and commend it unhesitatingly to the Parsis, are the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, the *Oriental Review* and the newly-started and ably conducted illustrated paper, the *Parsi*. All these have an almost exclusive Parsi clientele, and both have consistently advanced Congress views in Indian politics.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA

[*The New Spirit in India*—by H. W. NEVINSON, HARPER BROTHERS.]

Book-making is a favourite pastime with English tourists—particularly those who winter in India. We have had in the past ten years a whole host of these tourists and a pretty large library of books containing their fulminations and speculations on all sorts and conditions of things relating to this unhappy land. Most of these books and their authors have well-nigh been forgotten and, excepting Mr. Battersby's *India Under Royal Eyes*, Mr. Sidney Low's *Vision of India* and Mr. Vaughan Nash's *Famines in India*, there is not a single book written on India during our lifetime by any English tourist or Press representative which has any chance of going down to the next generation.

We have now before us another book—the latest published—on India which is not only an work of absorbing interest to the students of contemporary Indian politics, but also seems likely to form a very valuable material for the future history of this country. Mr. Nevinson's *New Spirit in India* is not a new book in the proper sense of the term; for most of the ideas that he preaches and most of the facts that he relates in it were published last winter in some of the principal newspapers of England and were widely read by all educated men in England and India at the time. The series of letters in which Mr. Nevinson communicated his thoughts on India in the English Press have been retouched and rearranged in the book under review and some new matter with a general introduction added to it.

There seems to be a general impression that Mr. Nevinson deals only with the present unrest in India though it is only a portion of his book that concerns itself with political matters. Mr. Nevinson has gone to some of the out-of-the-way places in India and studied some of the out-of-the-way questions and problems of Indian life. There are no descriptions to be found in his book of the Tajmahal of Agra and of the Jumma Musjid of Delhi nor does he care to describe the social gaities of Anglo-Indian life in Calcutta or Bombay. Mr. Nevinson scrupulously avoids the dry-as-dust details of Anglo-Indian administration and makes no attempt at a digest of Indian official publications. We also note with pleasure that Mr. Nevinson is not one of those observers of men and things

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who see only one side of every question and leave the other severely alone. Mr. Nevinson has seen Moderates as well as Extremists, Hindu leaders as well as Mahomedan, officials as well as non-officials. When he hears a non-official version of any thing he at once goes to the official to hear what he has got to say in reply. Likewise he seeks Indian opinion as a corrective of official optimism.

When, therefore, we find Mr. Nevinson harzarding any opinion on any public question relating to India, we can be sure that it is based on a careful consideration of all sides of the question. He views the national politics of India not with the eyes either of a moderate or an extremist but that of a man who has carefully studied both sides of the question and has talked with the representative leaders of both the parties. So also with the partition,—he hears and discusses both the official and non-official version and then goes on to sum up and give his opinion as an impartial judge and apportions blame impartially on the head of the leaders of both wings of the Indian Nationalist party.

But before we return and discuss some of his political opinions it is necessary and fair to tell our readers what else to find in Mr. Nevinson's interesting work. Mr. Nevinson gives us some brilliant pen-pictures of some of the leaders of New India—men such as Mr. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Arabindo Ghosh, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea, His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda and a lot of others. One of the most impressive and faithful descriptions of any personality that we have read for a long time is the portion of this work in which our author gives us a character-sketch of Nabab Salimulla of Dacca, though we doubt the wisdom of Mr. Nevinson's immortalising such a spent-up power as the Nabab of Dacca now is. There is no good kicking at a dead lion and Mr. Nevinson would have done well if he had left the Nabab of Dacca alone to enjoy to his heart's content his brocaded cloak and purple slippers.

Mr. Nevinson does not exhaust himself by describing personalities alone ; for we have very interesting accounts of the Arya Samaj and the Gurukula Academy and of the establishment and programme of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society. Nor does he stop there. He proceeds to describe how the plague is being fought in India, how the boycott is carried, how Indian leaders and pro-Indian Englishmen are shadowed by spies, how the ryots feel, how the people live, and how do they fare when the flood and the famine comes. Lastly he does not forget to describe for his reader the ethics of the worship of Jagannath, the manners of the Mahomedans and the beauty of the 'quiet circuit of streams' in

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Eastern Bengal and of the spring in India when the "mangoe trees are all in bloom and the air full of their smell."

For all these interesting accounts and pictures, we shall refer our readers to Mr. Nevinson's pages directly and shall now turn our attention to his political opinions. Mr. Nevinson summarises the causes of the genesis of a new spirit in India in the following remarkable passage :—" It is the conviction of many that India is now standing on the verge of a national renaissance—a new birth in intellect, social life, and the affairs of State. There are unmistakable evidences of this, not only among educated Hindus, but among educated Mohammedans ; not only among the educated classes, but throughout the masses of the people. Many things have combined to create a new spirit, and we have ourselves contributed much. The long peace that has made development possible, the easy communication by railways, the wide distribution of newspapers, the visits of highly-educated Indians to England, the use of English as a common tongue among educated people of all races and religions, the increasing knowledge of our history and our hard-won liberties, the increasing study of our great Liberal thinkers—all these admirable advantages we have ourselves contributed to the new spirit, and it is useless for startled reactionaries to think of withdrawing them now. We must also take into account the example set to all Oriental nationalities by Japan, and the awakened stirring of Liberalism in England herself, no matter how feeble its efforts and how bitter its failure in Russia, Egypt, Persia and Turkey. These are only broad general causes which have given shape and contour to the whole movement, but the more immediate and predisposing causes are to be sought in recent administrative measures which show a systematic and persistent disregard of Indian opinion and Indian feeling."

With this general summary Mr. Nevinson does not exhaust the point. He gives in his introduction a clear synopsis of the principal political events that have happened in India since Lord Curzon assumed the viceroyalty in India in 1898 and, needless to say, he passes a very severe judgment upon the administration of this great Indian pro-consul. Mr. Nevinson points out, as every close student of contemporary Indian history is bound to point out, that the partition of Bengal has proved to be the last straw to break the Indian people's back. Truly, as Mr. Nevinson observes, despair came upon our people when our "petitions remained unanswered, our public meetings had no effect, and when the partition was carried with despotic indifference to our feelings and interests." But this despair has not

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been entirely fruitless. Out of it has come a life of strenuous activity and grim determination. Says Mr. Nevinson :

"Whatever course our action may take, the *new spirit* has already breathed a fresh life into large classes of Indian peoples and it will continue to afford a high motive for self-devotion and for the moral courage and love of freedom in which the Indian character has hitherto been lacking. For India herself the present unrest holds out a promise of the highest possibilities, no matter how much she may suffer in realizing them."

This is the situation in India—despair followed by a policy of self-help and boycott on the one hand and a policy of bomb on the other and both being met by a policy of repression by the Government. Mr. Nevinson has two remedies to propose for the present state of strain—one being the the re-division of Bengal along lines that would be acceptable to the Bengalis and the other is the change of heart amongst Englishmen in their treatment of Indians. Regarding Mr. Nevinson's first proposed remedy Mr. Caldwell Lipset thus states the position in a recent number of the *Daily Chronicle* ;—"It is almost universally acknowledged now that the original partition was a mistake, the outstanding mistake of Lord Curzon's administration, and most Englishmen in India would put back the clock in that respect three years, if they could ; but is it ever possible to put back the clock, to retrace one's footsteps in this life? To confess that one has made a mistake and to make amends for it is an act of great moral courage, but in practical politics the act must also be judicious. During the past three years we have created fresh responsibilities for ourselves in Eastern Bengal, have resurrected Dacca from the sleep of ages to make it into a new capital, and spent large sums on Government buildings, and made Chittagong into the port of the new province. To retrace our steps now would mean a fresh injustice to these two cities, and, coming on the top of the murder of English women and men by bombs, would be construed by many Indians as a proof of weakness. Can we afford to concede to violence what we did not concede to justice?"

Regarding the second Mr. Nevinson has the support of the present Prince of Wales and the Secretary of State for India.

Whatever the ultimate result of Mr. Nevinson's passionate appeals to his countrymen for justice to India may be, one is bound to appreciate and feel thankful for his absence of bias, his generous and liberal treatment of Indian questions and the philosophic detachment and sympathetic insight which he has brought to bear on his admirable survey and study of men and things in India.

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

ARNOLD, SIR EDWIN—The Light of Asia (Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 15s.)

BUSTEED, H. E.—Echoes from Old Calcutta (Fourth Edition with an Introductory Letter from Lord Curzon. Numerous Illustrations. Thacker & Co. Demy 8vo. 7/-.)

CHAMBERLAIN, JACOB—The Kingdom in India (Fleming H. Revell Company 5 s.)

DURAND SIR MORTIMER—Nadir Shah (Constable & Co. 10 s. 6 d.)

ELSMIE, G. R.—Thirty-Five Years in the Punjab (David Douglas, 9s. net.)

FITCHETT, DR. W. H.—The Tale of the Great Mutiny (Second Edition, enlarged. George Bell and Sons.)

FAY, MRS.—Original Letters from India (with an Introduction and Notes by the Rev. W. K. Frimingham and three illustrations. Rs. 5.)

GIBBON, T. P.—The Lawrences of the Punjab (Dent & Co.)

HOLLAND, SIR T. H.—Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India (Published by the Government of India. Re. 1-2.)

MARSHALL, H. E.—Our Empire Story (Being stories of India and the greater Colonies : with Pictures in Colour. Demy 8vo. Rs. 6-9.)

MANUCCI, NICCOLAS—Storia de Mogar (Mogul India, 1653-1908. Translated with Introduction and Notes by William Irvine. Vols. III and IV. John Murray & Co.)

MALLET, BERNARD—Thomas George, Earl of Northbrook, A Memoir (Longmans)

NEVINSON, H. W.—The New Spirit in India (Harper Brothers : 10 s. 6 d.)

NIVEDITA, SISTER—An Indian Study of Love and Death (1/12).

OSWELL, G. D.—Sketches of Rulers of India (The Mutiny Era and after No I and II. Clarendon Press)

PIRIE, R.—Kashmir (Lane, 21s.)

PENNY, F. E.—On the Coromandel Coast (Smith, Elder & Co ; 10-6 d.)

WOODLEY, E. C.—A Brief Exposition of the Sankhya and Vedanta Systems of Indian Philosophy (Demy 8vo, paper, Re. 1-8.)

ARTICLES

REMEDIES FOR THE PRESENT DISCONTENT

It is now generally recognised by educated and sensible men all over the world that in the history of the human race 'mere repression' has never been, nor is ever likely to be, any remedy for discontent. The experiment that has *not* succeeded in other parts of the world in this or any previous generation is not likely to succeed in India at the present day. It is futile to meet a policy of bomb and boycott by a policy of baton, bullet and boyonet. Nor a policy of wholesale deportations or of legislative and executive interference with institutions or associations or with the course of high education can ever prevent the growth of discontent among a people whose national consciousness has been quickened by an intellectual renaissance and whose energy has found an outlet in organised action. What is then to be done to meet the Indian discontent? What is to be its remedy?

What?—that is what the whole of India is just asking and considering today. In the Council Chamber in Calcutta, the Government of India has just passed a measure which the Anglo-Indian Press has christened as a new Crimes Act and which is intended to provide for the more speedy trial of certain political offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace. This enactment may or may not prove effective in running to earth such dangerous and misguided fanatics who conspire in the dark and are seized with a 'homicidal frenzy' and emulate the cunning and cowardice of a Guy Fawkes. It is very often the misfortune of legislation that it fails to bring to book such offenders as transgress its spirit or injunction; but let us hope that the arm of the law in this case will reach only the guilty and the criminal in the land and will not harass or disturb innocent citizens or institutions.

As you cannot make men or society moral or religious by legislative enactments or executive ukases, so also you cannot make a people loyal or content by adding new Acts to the Statute Book. All the ingenuity and wisdom of Simla and Whitehall cannot forge weapons strong or effective enough to weed out discontent from the people's mind. Fortunately the liberal statesman who now presides over the destinies of India has seen this clearly, and,

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with that view, he has announced a scheme of reform which is intended to allay discontent but which, we regret, does not go far enough to meet the exigency of the situation.

If the responsible rulers of India *cannot* or *will not* devise a scheme of reform which will successfully combat with sedition, it is essential that the public, both in England and India, should know what will. The question as to what will drive sedition, not underground, but out of the country, is more easily put than answered, though certainly one cannot complain of want of materials for a proper consideration of the question.

But before attempting to formulate any scheme of reform and answering the question put forward above, it is necessary to place before our readers some of the most noteworthy remedies that have been proposed from time to time in different quarters to allay Indian discontent.

Foremost among these proposed remedies stand the suggestions made by the Indian National Congress from year to year and now distinctly summarised for the *Nation* (London) by such a stalwart advocate of Indian interests as Sir William Wedderburn :—

The instalment of reforms now asked for by the Congress Party may briefly be summarised as follows: (1) Admission of qualified Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors; (2) enlargement and reform of the Legislative Councils, so as to make them fairly representative, and invest them with substantial powers of control over administration and finance; (3) wider employments of Indians in the higher branches of the public service; (4) extention of local self-government, municipal and local bodies being made wholly popular in their constitution, and village panchayasts being revived for the management of village affairs; and (5) extension of primary education, making it free at once and gradually compulsory.

Next to the Congress proposals, we give prominence to the suggestions made by Lord Ripon—to a very large extent the maker of New India. In the course of a rather long interview granted to Mr. W. T. Stead and published in the last November number of the *Review of Reviews*, the ex-viceroy of India lays considerable stress upon the fuller and further development of local Government which he himself initiated in India nearly a quarter of a century ago. Speaking to Mr. Stead, Lord Ripon said :—

“ I think a native of India would always prefer to be gov-

erned by a tolerable native ruler rather than by the best British administrator. I do not say that he would prefer an intolerably bad native ruler to a good British administrator, but any tolerable government is preferable to foreign rule. Lord Dalhousie was so consumed by the idea of the immense superiority of British administration that he was for annexing everything. His point of view is not that of the native of India. I am all in favour of developing local government in India, if only for the purpose of supplying an opportunity for the utilisation of the trained intellect of the capable natives whom we are turning out every year from our Colleges. But the formula of giving India the same responsible self-government as our colonies is impossible. You can extend the area of local administration, but there are two departments of government which you must keep in your own hands. They are the Foreign Office and the War Office. During my time the Viceroy and Council were continually engaged in considering questions of foreign policy chiefly connected with the Russian advance in Afghanistan, questions which have to be considered with due relation to European politics, and with which the natives of India are not competent to deal. Further remember this, the natural and instinctive loyalty which we all have to the land of our birth and to the Government which we create does not exist on the part of the populations in countries whose government is imposed upon them from without and is not indigenous to the soil. Then again, it is impossible to place the military affairs of India under the control of the people of India. We, and we alone, must decide how many troops it is necessary to maintain there, and what money is needed to keep that force in efficiency. Apart from these two questions, however, I think you can go a very long way in placing the affairs of India in the hands of the people of India."

The next set of proposals we are anxious to present to our readers come from the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, once a secretary and President of the Indian National Congress and now one of the most level-headed political thinkers in India. Mr. Gokhale is not an arm-chair politician but has carefully studied the present conditions of Indian life as closely as any man living and the reforms that he has to suggest are therefore entitled of very close consideration. At a meeting of the East India Association held in London more than a couple of years ago, Mr. Gokhale read a paper in the

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course of which he formulated the following scheme as calculated to satisfy Indian political aspirations :—

1. The enlargement of legislative councils, both imperial and provincial, an increase in the proportion of their elected members, and a widening of their functions, including some sort of control, however limited, over public expenditure.

2. Admission of qualified Indians to the Secretary of State's Council, and to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The nomination of Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council to be made by an electoral college, composed of the elected members of the various legislative councils in India.

3. A free and unfettered career in the public service, involving a large substitution of the economical and equally efficient agency in the higher ranks of all departments, and local competitive examinations.

4. Cautious but steady improvement in the position of Indians in the Army.

5. Decentralisation of district administration and extension of municipal self-government.

6. Separation of executive and judicial functions. Reconstruction of the judicial service by placing it under the control of the High Courts, instead of the executive governments, and by substituting legal practitioners as judges in place of members of the Civil Service.

7. Reduction of military expenditure; also of the heavy cost of the civil administration, due to the higher branches of the public service being a virtual monopoly of Europeans, so as to set free funds to be devoted to the following objects :—

(a) Elementary education, which should be made free at once throughout India and generally compulsory.

(b) Industrial education.

(c) Improved sanitation for the poor.

(d) Abolition of the salt-tax and the opium traffic.

(e) Measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, and the improvement of the cultivator's material condition generally.

From Mr. Gokhale to Lala Lajpat Rai is not a long leap. By the martyrdom conferred upon him last year by Lord Morley and by his close and active association with all political, religious, social and educational movements of New India, Lala Lajpat has come to hold a unique position in the front rank of Indian public

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men of today. Recently he was approached in London by Mr. W. T. Stead to give him a programme of reform which he would like to carry through if he were made the "British Viceroy of India." "If I were a British Viceroy of India," Lajpat Rai says :—

"I would give the people of India first of all in their provincial councils, and secondly in an Imperial assembly, the right of effective control over on the officials and administrators of their respective provinces and of India. I might keep the right to appoint the officials in my own hands but they should be liable to censure and removal by the representatives of the people over whom I have placed them. As a British Viceroy I would keep the control of the Army in my hands till such time as it takes the Imperial Parliament to grant responsible Constitutional Government to India on the Colonial lines. But I would open the Commission to Indians either by selection or by examination. I would create an Imperial Central Assembly by secondary election from the District Councils. This would secure a fairly proportionate representation of the majority. Hindu is to Moslem in India as twenty-four is to six, and the Mahomedans would have one-fourth of the seats. I would revive Lord Ripon's proposal which give the local councils the right of appointing their own chairman and the control of their own proceedings. At present the Deputy Commissioner is *ex officio* chairman and his will is practically law, I would change that by depriving him of his privileged position, and I would give local councils greater power in spending their revenues. I would abolish the monopoly of the British in the Civil and other Services and open all appointments under the Crown to the Indians by holding competitive examinations simultaneously in India and in England. If Indians are not allowed to walk on the side walk in the Transval or to travel freely, or to settle in Australia and Canada, I would refuse Canadians, Australians and South Africans any right to compete for administrative posts in the Indian services and I would not allow them to settle or trade in India. I would abolish the system of forced labour which prevails, contrary to law, in all parts of India. I would pay the subordinate officials sufficient money to enable them to live without levying contributions from their neighbours and when British officials go their rounds in their respective districts they should be made to pay their proper market price for labour."

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It is not necessary, we think, to quote in this article the remedies suggested from time to time by such great friends of India as Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. O'Donnell and others, as they dont differ in any way from the remedies proposed by the Congress and Mr. Gokhale. But there is another body of opinion in England regarding Indian reform which deserves consideration, and as representative of such opinion we shall only quote the suggestions of Mr. Keir Hardie, the leader of a section of the English Labour Party and one of the straightest men now going in England and of the *Daily News*, the great organ of English Liberalism. In the course of an interview granted to a representative of the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Keir Hardie said that :—

Upon the question of reforms he had already submitted to the India Office and to the House of Commons the proposals which he thought might be accepted with perfect safety, and which he knew would be welcome in India, not only by the natives but by the bulk of the Anglo-Indian residents, particularly those engaged in trade and commerce. This included the establishment of Parish Councils, out of which would be elected councils, which in turn would elect provincial councils. This would place the whole of the government upon a basis of popular election. There were two grades of Civil Service in India, the provincial and the Imperial, and he strongly recommended that the men who had proved their fitness in the Provincial service should be eligible for appointment to the Imperial service.

Writing before the announcement of Lord Morley's official scheme, the *Daily News* observed :—

We may hope that the new scheme, cutting itself entirely free from the helpless Simla proposals of last year, may at last bestow upon Indians a genuine share in the administration and finance of their country and their own taxation ; that by the admission of Indians upon the Executive Councils, and a large increase of freely-elected members upon the Viceroy's and Provincial Legislative Councils, a step may at once be taken to remove the feeling of impotence and degradation that has long been so powerful a cause of the unrest among the educated classes and is now among the common people as well."

It would be greatly unfair if we were totally to exclude conservative Anglo-Indian opinion from our consideration. Every educated man, however, knows that Lord Curzon and his favourite henchmen,

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Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Mr. J. D. Rees, have often suggested that the best way to suppress Indian discontent would be to suppress high education and the study of Mill and Burke and gag Indian public opinion by all sorts of legislative and executive measures. One readers, however, must not run away with the impression that all Anglo-Indians are of this mind, for it must not be forgotten that there always is another side to every picture. In another portion of this number of the *Indian World* will be found a summary of an article from Mr. Nisbet, a retired Anglo-Indian, in which, while declaiming Indian aspirations, he pleads for economic and financial justice to India. We have in the same section of this number the opinion of Mr. H. G. Keene in which he advocates strongly the holding of the Civil Service Examination simultaneously in England and India. Now we come to the opinion expressed by Mr. H. C. Irwin, a retired Civilian of the Upper Provinces. The opinion is not very valuable in itself but it has secured the adventitious importance of having been published in the pages of the London *Spectator*. Mr. Irwin is seriously of opinion that the following measures will cure sedition in India :—

“(1) Estimate the average annual number of vacancies in the Government offices of each Provinces (2) Start a Training College at each provincial capital and admit to it, either by examination or selection, a sufficient number of the most promising boys from the high schools to supply the demand. (3) Fix the age for admission at sixteen or at latest seventeen, and the period of training at two years, after which the selected candidates would be absorbed into the service as vacancies occurred. (4) Make it an unalterable rule that the Training College should be the only channel of admission into the subordinate Government service. Posts carrying pay not exceeding Rs. 10 per mensem might be excepted and District Officers might be allowed to nominate for admission a limited number of promising boys of good family. Action on some such lines as these would probably save thousands of intelligent lads from wasting six or seven years in the hopeless pursuit of Government employ only to find themselves at twenty-three or twenty-four with no resource but seditious journalism or treasonable agitation. Disappointment at sixteen or seventeen would be much less disastrous and embittering, and the boy who failed to obtain admission to the Training College would not be too old to

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take up his paternal avocation. The very few who seek education for its own sake would, of course, be at liberty to pursue their studies. Any measure of the kind suggested should, it need hardly be said, be announced several, say, five years in advance to avoid injustice to the reasonable expectations of the present generation of students."

We shall now sum up the evidence which we have collected in the above extracts. Excepting Mr. Irwin, all our authorities agree in holding that the reform of the existing councils and the extension of the principle of representative government all along the line will go a long way in satisfying Indian aspirations. Lord Ripon, Mr. Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, the Indian National Congress and the London *Daily News* would go so far as to give to the people some amount of control over the administration and finance of the country. All the above authorities also recommend the wider employment of Indians in the various public services of the State. In connection with this recommendation we note the suggestion made by Mr. Keir Hardie that the men who prove their fitness in the provincial service should be eligible for appointment to the imperial service. Mr. Irwin's suggestion of starting training colleges at each provincial capital of India and making them the only channel of admission into the subordinate Government service seems to us a very wise one so far as it goes. Mr Keene goes ahead of all these and proposes the holding of the Civil Service Examination simultaneously in England and India as a solution of the Indian problem.

Mr. Gokhale and the Indian National Congress propose the admission of qualified Indians into the Secretary of State's Council in London and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors. So far as the Secretary of State's Council is concerned, already two Indians have been admitted to it by nomination. This nomination Mr. Gokhale would like to be made not by the Secretary of State himself but by an electoral college composed of the elected members of the various Legislative Councils of India.

On another matter, the question of Primary Education, we find both the above two authorities laying particular stress.

About the army we find Lord Ripon and Lala Lajpat Rai almost in the same boat, none of them thinking that the time has come when the people of India can be taken largely into the army or when the control of army administration can be placed in the hands of the Indians, though Lala Lajpat Rai would open the Commission to Indians either by selection or by examination. On this point Lala Lajpat has the qualified support of Mr. Gokhale.

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Besides the above recommendations, Mr. Gokhale pins his faith on the separation of the executive and judicial functions and Lala Lajpat Rai on the abolition of a system of *begar* (forced labour).

We have not quoted the opinions of our authorities on the subject of the partition of Bengal, for, from Lord Ripon downwards, they all condemn it in no uncertain voice and would like to do away with the measure as soon as possible. Speaking recently before the New Reform Club in London, Mr. Gokhale went so far as to pronounce that nothing short of the reversal of the partition of Bengal and a general amnesty for all political prisoners would pacify Bengal.

We thus find a consensus of opinion on the following questions : (1) the reconsideration of the partition of Bengal, (2) the extension of popular and representative Government (3) the control of the people over local and provincial finance and administration and (4) the advisability of admitting duly qualified Indians into all the public services under the State.

So far as a scheme of reform goes, the above is very good. Indeed, nothing better can be suggested in that line. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable satisfaction that Lord Morley has seen his way to embody partially some of these suggestions in his reform proposals, though he proceeds very cautiously. But the question now to be considered is, is an attempt to improve the administrative machinery of the State and introduce a modicum of representative government in the Councils of the Empire just sufficient to allay Indian discontent? We are afraid not. They may, as certainly they will, go a long way in arresting discontent, but the Indian Sphinx will remain unanswered if Lord Morley's reform stops at the above and goes no further.

More important than the above, excepting perhaps the reconsideration of the Bengal Partition, and much more urgent than Government seems to believe are the following : (1) The purification of the administration of Justice, (2) the prevention of high-handed proceedings by executive and police officers, and last, though not the least (3) the restoration of the people's confidence in the security of their life and property. Of late the impressions have gone abroad that Justice, as between Indians and Europeans on the one hand and between the executive and the people on the other, is not administered today in British India with the same amount of conscientious scruple as it was done a generation ago, that instead of checking police vagaries many high-placed officers of the State sometimes connive at them,

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and that with interminable house searches and wholesale deportations our lives have been placed at the complete mercy of the Criminal Intelligence Department. These are bad enough impressions to go and sink into our hearts, and till they are removed no amount of reform can allay the discontent with which the country is now simmering.

There is another point which must be borne in mind in a careful consideration of such a subject,—the restoration of mutual trust amongst the rulers and the ruled in this land. In his new book on India, Mr. Nevinson has drawn forcible attention to this subject. He exhorts his countrymen in India to treat the Indians with greater consideration and kindness and sympathy than are in vogue among Anglo-Indians of the present day. We are at one with Mr. Nevinson on this point and think that as long as the English rulers in India and the people of this country are not prepared to forget and forgive a good deal and to meet together in a spirit of cordiality and co-operation the Indian problem will remain unsolved, do what you may in the meantime.

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Politicus

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II

As education must begin with the impressionable children it naturally develops upwards ; and it is clearly an ill-judged policy to begin constructive reform at the top. Logically speaking, primary and secondary education is the foundation, and university education is the superstructure; and the reconstruction of the foundation should have, in ordinary course, preceded the reconstruction of the latter. But neither reason nor wisdom prevailed with the Government which was determined to proceed on the line of the least financial resistance, steering clear of the most essential, and, therefore, the most costly part of the work, which was left to the chance of more prosperous times. In my own view, and in the view of a large number of parents and guardians who are anxious to provide a suitable and lucrative career for their boys and wards, a sound general education, which provides a substantial groundwork for technical, collegiate or special professional education, should form the corner stone of reform in a country where there is an extensive and pressing need for the general uplifting of the masses. But the persistent neglect of this noble and supreme duty of the Government towards its subjects has now developed into a public scandal. By a grim irony of fate Englishmen's conception of the higher ideals of education

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undergoes a strange transformation on crossing the Red Sea. They forget, on landing on the shores of India, that the education of the people, which they regard as a sacred and inalienable duty in their own country, is a noble mission. The paramount necessity of a broad and popular system of national education is subordinated to the exigencies of other branches of the public service. The Army, the Police, the Telegraph, the Railway and the Civil Service have only to formulate their requirements to get whatever amount of funds is necessary for their execution. The Education Department, on the other hand, has to knock and knock at the door of the Exchequer, and after years of persistent and clamorous demands, and on convincing proofs of the urgency and usefulness of its claims, can only succeed in getting the crumbs of the imperial departments. A distinguished educationist once said : "directing brain-power is as necessary to the national safety and welfare as is a strong navy ; and to secure directing brain-power, it is indispensable to have well taught and intellectually vigorous secondary schools....Strongly staffed and well-taught secondary schools form the intellectual backbone of a system of national education." Unfortunately we have had neither good teachers nor good schools for our children. We have had a variety of rigid and technical subjects crowded into the time-table of our Schools and Colleges without the right man to teach them. Parsimony and narrowness have characterised the policy of the educational authorities ; and there is no reason to be surprised if the calumniators of the Government were to say that its educational policy was of a piece with the policy which governed the relations between an alien ruler and a subject race ; and it would be open to them to say that the directing brain-power for national safety and administration was never intended to be supplied by the secondary schools in India, neither was it specially incumbent on the Government to strengthen the backbone of our nation !

The advancement of knowledge and the application of knowledge to industry are both large problems, the solution of which depends on a liberal provision of funds. The Government of India have always complained that it is beyond their financial capacity to meet all the demands for education which are daily growing in magnitude and insistence ; and have often invoked the generosity of private individuals to supplement their resources. There is some plausibility in this view ; but when closely examined it is found to be devoid of force or logic. The argument that there is an almost unlimited scope for private benefactions in this country is manifestly based on the remarkable phenomena which have developed in

America. I readily admit that her millionaires have founded and sumptuously equipped most of the Universities in the Western States ; but I cannot, at the same time, refrain from pointing out that the Universities and Technical High Schools in Germany, which have completely altered the face of the Empire during the last 30 years, have not only been established by State funds, but that nearly 72 per cent. of the cost of their maintenance is borne by the State. But before the Government thinks fit to accuse the public of parsimony, it is necessary for me to state the circumstances which have induced the American magnates to spend such a large portion of their fortunes on educational endowments. It is, perhaps, well-known that the law of supply and demand works in the domain of education with no less mechanical precision than in the domain of economics. In a country where there is a constant demand for directors, managers, administrators, and for educated men in the superior ranks of the government service, as well as in industrial and commercial concerns, the educational system will naturally adapt itself to the production of such articles. On the other hand, where the demand is for clerks, journeymen, and subordinates, the system, however efficient and well-regulated, cannot fail to manufacture only common-place stuff. In America, there is a growing demand for college men in the great industrial and commercial concerns, and the appreciation shown to college training has stimulated the quantity and the quality of the graduates to a marvellous degree. The liberal and spontaneous inducements offered by the leaders of industry and commerce to college-trained men for the purpose of managing and directing their work have produced an invigorating effect on the whole system of technical education. It is quite natural, therefore, that they should show their active interest in education by founding and equipping great institutions for the technical training of young men, on principles of utilitarian selfishness, in return for the valuable services they are expected to receive from them. Nor is the highly state-aided German system entirely free from such stimulating and inspiring forces. "In Berlin, the manufacturers regularly watch the careers of promising students, and offer them employment, as they leave, in the great chemical and engineering establishments." The manufacturers of explosives in Germany conscious of the high degree of scientific knowledge required in the business, as well as of the fact that no private firm or company can command it, "combined to subscribe about £100,000," and to found close to Berlin an institution which carries on systematic "research in the field of the production of ex-

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plosives, the fruits of which are communicated to the subscribers." To give another instance: Two German brewers after learning the methods of brewing in England returned to their own country and organised an association "for the promotion of the common interests of the German brewers." The result was that "scientific stations were established, notably one at Munich to which technical problems, which confronted the practical brewer could be referred and where those problems were solved.....Brewing schools were founded which are provided with class rooms and laboratories. They have in all cases experimental maltings and a brewery attached to them and their teachers are the most competent that can be procured." The students receive the highest education in brewing and ultimately come out of the colleges as brewer or brewing director in one of the large breweries. The great progress in the manufacture of aniline dyes from coal-tar has been "fostered by research in the University laboratories and by careful teaching in the technical schools," with the result that "the industry has almost wholly shifted to Germany," although the dyers in England are the largest consumers. The new University of Birmingham have faculties for teaching science—including engineering and brewing—arts, medicine and commerce, with the special object of bringing academic life in closer relation with industry and commerce. The instances I have given demonstrate how closely the academic life of a student is associated with and influenced by industrial life and *vice versa*. If we compare the attitude of the commercial community of Germany with that of the commercial community of India in regard to the education of our youths, we are struck by the marked indifference, nay hostility, which characterises the latter. All the technical branches of commerce and industry are virtually dominated by foreign capitalists. Their interest and preference lean on the side of their own countrymen who are imported in large numbers to enjoy the loaves and fishes in their establishments. The sole evidence of their interest in our countrymen manifests itself in the institution of commercial study in the Presidency College for training a class of office subordinates. It is very praiseworthy on the part of the commercial community to recognise the worth of a good article and to pay for it accordingly. But I must be permitted to say that the Government has failed to fulfil the original intention of the establishment of commercial classes in the premier college in Bengal. In para. 35 of the famous Education Resolution of the 11th March, 1904, the Governor General in

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Council regretted that there was "at present no *University course of training* of a specialised description of *business men*." The chief aim of the commercial courses of study was declared to be "to supply practical training for those who are to enter business either in a *superior* or in a subordinate capacity," and increased attention was promised to be given to the "extension of commercial teaching in large centres of commerce and population." It is melancholy to reflect how the original idea embodied in the Resolution has been grossly perverted to one of training office Babus. The classes in the Presidency College are manned principally by Indians who have had no training in practical commerce and it is not at all surprising that the instruction given has failed to meet the aspirations of the youngmen who were attracted thither with a higher object in view. The idea of instituting examinations in commerce corresponding to the London Chamber of Commerce tests (vide para 35 of the Resolution) has frizzled out in four years, and we have been told, with the best grace in the world, in at least two recent resolutions of the Bengal Government, that the classes have failed for want of public support ! The part which the Chamber of Commerce, in friendly alliance with the Government, have played in the development of commercial education is singularly out of sympathy with the growing aspirations of the country ; and it is significant to contrast this part with the part played by the industrial captains of the United States and Germany.

I propose now to describe in what respects our elementary, secondary, and collegiate education is defective with reference to the social and economic needs of the country, which, under the new Regulations, have been completely subordinated to academic culture.

In the first place, agriculture, on which depends the very existence of the millions, finds no place in the curriculum of the primary and secondary schools, and, except perhaps in Bombay, the Universities do not insist on any test in higher agricultural knowledge. In the second place, commerce and economics are no-where taught as a science, and so far as Bengal is concerned a smattering of them is acquired in the best college in the cheapest and most perfunctory manner possible. In the third place, there are no properly equipped technical schools where a large number of average class of students can acquire a knowledge of the application of science to industries which are useful for the development of the country ; neither are there any technical high schools or colleges where instruction in the highest branches of applied science, chemistry, or engineering is imparted. There are no trade schools where the staple industries

of the country—such as weaving, carpentry &c.—are taught by the application of skill and intelligence. Such industries cover a large field of industrial activity and their encouragement is fraught with the greatest advantage to a large class of artizans whose services are now lost to the nation. In the fourth place, there are no colleges where officers of the various State departments, such as the forest, the public works, the railway &c can be trained. There exist splendid opportunities for the training of forest officers in this country where their future work will lie; yet, the Government would prefer to have men trained at Nancy or Munich or Karlsruhe, without ever bestowing a thought on the desirability of transferring the place of training from Europe to India, and establishing a first-class forest school in this country. Observations similar to those I have used in the case of the forest department, apply to the public works department and the Railway and it would be futile to minimise the value of the training received in India, that produced a man like Sir William Willcocks. To whatever direction we turn our attention, we are struck by the sluggishness, the indifference, and the want of sympathy in our system of national education. The University Regulations to quote the words of Roosevelt provide for “the loftier pinnacles of individual attainment,” and do not secure a “broader and sounder base of general education.” In the present stage of popular education, our University authorities should provide freely equal facilities to all boys, irrespective of their means or capacity, for a sound, and not necessarily a high, education, and should not neglect the “mass of ordinary minds” which constitute the most valuable asset of the nation. The production of a few intellectualities has never been known in any country to have solved the great problem of national education. In a country where the mass has already attained a certain stage of educational development, and has learnt to evince a spontaneous desire for higher and higher degrees of progress and enlightenment, it would surely be in harmony with the natural aspirations of the people to raise a few selected men to the highest summit of academic culture; but in India, where the mass is illiterate and superstitious, it is an ill-advised policy to train the most intelligent and to neglect the remainder. In my humble opinion, a universal primary education, a fairly efficient system of secondary education, and a wide provision for technical and industrial education, according to the social and economic needs of particular classes and areas, would be far more beneficial to India than a specialised form of school and college education.

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The Regulations, further, operate as a hardship to students, who select other careers than a life of mere academic scholarship, in another and a more serious manner. The high standard of preliminary training which is required from students intending to study law, engineering and medicine, or qualifying for the public service, is a positive hindrance to their success. A lucrative or an honourable career in life is not invariably determined by the stamp of an University imbued with the idea of the superiority of research to the economic application of science; nor should the absence of such a hall-mark condemn a man to eternal incompetence or ineptitude. The future conduct and character of a man are moulded by social and political environments; and mere intellectual superiority does not, as a rule, count as an indispensable qualification for worldly fitness. It is highly advisable that all young boys of average capacity should be freed from the onerous restraints on the choice of their profession and on the unfettered exercise of their faculties, by the diversification of the methods of study and by bringing them within their means to pursue them. Let those that aspire to literary or scientific careers, or for professorships in colleges, compete for University honours. But the bulk of the population—which in India represents both numerically and politically a substantial national force—should be afforded unrestricted opportunities for a sound general education, which should be accepted as a qualifying test for admission into the liberal professions and other walks of life. How to organise and develop a scheme of high-standard secondary education is a question for educational authorities to decide. But that there is at present an urgent need for such a type of education cannot be denied. The general public have no reasons to deplore the stringent restrictions on high education—if *high* education it is designed to be, with a beggarly grant of state funds and an inefficient staff of teachers. But they have a legitimate complaint against the embargo placed on general education so far as it is calculated to effectually close the avenues to public service and the liberal professions. Moreover, it cannot be expected that high education of the type imparted by the reformed Universities will permanently dispense with the necessity for study in the foreign Universities, and that the intellectual or political aspirations of the rising generation will be satisfied in their own homes. There are other and more weighty reasons why Indians will find it beneficial to resort to the foreign Universities which will continue, for a long time to come, to be regarded as the fountain of western thought,

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western culture, and western politics. And there is decidedly a political advantage in promoting and encouraging freer and closer intercourse between the East and the West. By this means, the bonds of friendship between the Indians and the Europeans will be strengthened, the idea of comradeship will be fostered, sound political thought will be cultivated, and what is best and finest in the national character of the Europeans will be assimilated by our countrymen. I have grave misgivings as to whether the highest type of education can be attained in India in view of the political disabilities under which she now labours and is destined to labour hereafter. It therefore, seems to be necessary that it should be acquired in an atmosphere which in special ways, favours the growth of knowledge in its multifarious branches.

I now come to the most crucial point of the problem, *viz.*, the question of cost. It must be conceded without demur that every great scheme must be encouraged by liberal grants of money. The educational progress of this country can no longer be maintained from precarious surpluses and by a still more precarious policy. I do not see any reason why the Government should divest itself of unlimited pecuniary responsibility for educating the people, when it has freely spent public funds in less profitable directions. No public man who has watched the freaks and extravagances of the Government since a stable currency insured a recurring annual surplus in the Budget can have failed to observe that public expenditure has not been always wisely directed or applied. Extravagance in respect of other services can not be put forward as a plea for stopping the most powerful machinery for national development. Where an efficient system of education and economy are in open conflict, "it is economy that must give way." During the last few years public money has been squandered away less in the interest of the public service than in the interest of special classes of public servants. I remember a time about four years ago when there was such a plethora of money in the Imperial Exchequer that the Hon. the Financial Member literally went a-begging to the Local Governments asking if they wanted any share of it. It was at that time that a sum of 50 lakhs was allotted to Bengal as grant in aid of the Calcutta Improvement Scheme. No financier or statesman ever thought of the claims of education which were to absorb a considerable share of the public revenues in view of the new Universities Act, and no suggestion came from any of our prudent and far-seeing officials to include in the balances of Indian treasuries a sum sufficient to meet the initial cost of equipment of a

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high seminary of technology. As ill-luck would have it, we have lost the opportunity. If money had been saved at a time when the surpluses, as well as the spirit of disposing of them, were very high, there would have been no cause for regret in moments of need.

I have heard a good deal of taunts and abuses levelled against our countrymen for their want of zeal and liberality in the endowment of educational institutions in India ; and a comparison is drawn between the large private contributions made in England and the United States and the poor benefactions made in this country. I am surprised to find that no one has adduced the fur-coat theory to vindicate the luke-warm sympathy displayed by the Indian philanthropists in this particular direction. Those who make the accusation ignores the fundamental principle of self-government which differentiates the social and political conditions of India from those of foreign countries. Experienced Anglo-Indians who presume to understand more about our habits, instincts and character than we do, have been pleased to denounce the capacity of the Indians for self-government. I decline to believe that this defect, if real, is inherent in our national character ; and that there are no Indians who cannot, by training, be fitted to hold the highest posts reserved for Europeans. It is not merely by an accident that some of the best Indian administrators have been produced in Native States ; and it would not be due to accident if under favourable political conditions men of equal ability could not be produced in other parts of the Empire. It would be idle to assert, that administrative ability is the "birthright of the Anglo-Saxon race ;" and that it could not be acquired by educated men, in any other country if they were freed from the incubus of protection. In the domain of self-government, just as in the domain of imperial administration, a sense of duty and responsibility, from which proceeds what is called public spirit, grows by natural evolution. When the public are awakened to a sense of their own needs, private benevolence spontaneously comes to the surface to remove them. We have been in tutelage for the last 150 years : and Europeans have been jealously protected against a possible encroachment by us on the policy and principles of administration. They have taught us how we should think, how we should work, how we should travel, how we should read, but never how we should redress our own grievances, or remove our own wants. We have never been taught nor have we ever realised how far our financial and political responsibility extends, a responsibility which has for years been discharged by our rulers on our behalf. In short, every re-

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form, and every improvement has been carried out by them in their own way ; every financial exigency has been met by taxation imposed according to their own views ; every high post has been given away to men of their own race ; and we have been called upon to swallow cut and dried schemes of reform and taxation without being allowed an effective voice in their suitability or usefulness. The spirit of liberality and of independent action and thought has been curbed by this perpetual tutelage ; and at this stage of our national life it sounds humourous to be told that we have a higher and graver duty than what the Government already has been discharging for us. If self-government is unsuitable for the Indian people, private liberality must also, from the logic of facts, be unsuited to their spirit. The public have no means to distinguish between the scope and object of private and state benefactions. The money in each case proceeds from the pockets of the people. If the people had a voice in the expenditure of public funds, they would have spent them in a way calculated to ensure their highest and best interests. But unless they are satisfied that more is not taken from them than is required for good government, they naturally grow chary of private charity. The stimulation of private benefaction is fundamentally incompatible with the doctrine of bureaucratic rule ; and if we find occasional springs and outbursts, we must attribute them to other than spontaneous causes. There must be self-interest at the bottom of public charity. Before private purses are opened, the benefactor must know whether he is going to benefit his country. Very few Indians feel really interested in their country from the notion, for which there is some justification, that it is governed for them by Englishmen, who alone are believed to be responsible for the good or bad results of their administration. They think, rightly or wrongly, that their liberality will not benefit themselves. It is therefore no wonder that the public are apathetic in regard to the affairs of their own country. In withdrawing aid to public education, it is not fair for the Government of a great dependency to take shelter under the plea of public apathy. Even in democratic America, which is noted for its princely private benefactions, state aid is not shrivelled or withdrawn. In certain States more than half the public expenditure is devoted to education. In Wisconsin "the total income of the colleges is about £130,000 of which only £18,000 comes from fees, the main portion being derived from a state tax of $\frac{8}{100}$ ths. of a penny in the £." In most of the Western States all the elemen-

tary and secondary schools and colleges training are absolutely free ; and in many States, Colleges and Universities are provided free, it being cosidered to be the business of the State to provide equal opportunities to every citizen " irrespective of class, creed, or fortune " for fitting him for life. When, therefore, one feels tempted to compare India with America, one must take into consideration every element necessary for a complete comparison, and should not, in fairness, leave aside certain important features which would make the comparison unfavourable to India.

I shall now suggest the ways and means of a complete and co-ordinated system of education, which may be assumed to cost between 4 and 5 crores of rupees a year. It is out of the question to wriggle out this huge sum from the precarious annual surplus ; and the Government is wasting valuable time by waiting for better and more prosperous times. Out of the surplus, the Government can at best do a little tinkering such as it has tried its best to do in the past. If there is great and continuous pressure on the revenues of India from other sides, the Government cannot be blamed if it complains that its hands are tied. If there is no such pressure in any particular year, it would be unwise to take a bold step and shrink back in the next year. If again, the revenue is not flourishing or expanding sufficiently, it hesitates to initiate big schemes of reform. But at the same time, I feel sure, that if they were started in an exceptionally prosperous year, they were bound to be continued through bad years as well. The situation with which the Government is confronted is this : how to find the large annual expenditure which will inevitably be necessary for carrying out steadily a great and comprehensive programme. The answer is—by the imposition of fresh taxation. I think that in view of the momentous part which education is to play in their national life, the people of India would cheerfully submit to new taxation, provided that the proceeds are religiously devoted to the purpose for which they are raised. The savage Phillipinos are going to introduce a good public school system in the island by the imposition of new taxes ; and I take it for granted that the Indians will not surely lag behind the Phillipinos in their earnestness and enthusiasm to educate themselves. To finance a comprehensive scheme of education, I would not hesitate to suggest the re-imposition of the remitted portion of the salt duty which would re-habilitate the finances by more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. No conscientious patriot will, I dare say, deny that the advantages which the people would derive will more than counterbalance the little hardship that would be caused by

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the re-imposition of the duty. The next source which I suggest is the profit from coinage. We cannot, of course, venture to rely on this as a permanent source of revenue ; but it can be properly utilised for meeting certain items of heavy initial expenditure, such as buildings and equipment for great colleges of science, arts, or technology. A general cess on land will not, it is expected, be an absolutely objectionable form of education tax, because, in reality, the benefits will be largely shared by persons who have an interest in the land. As regards private liberality, it can be successfully tapped by a general appeal, issued under the imprimatur of the Government, such as that addressed in times of famine or in connection with the Victoria Memorial Hall, or the Ranchi College. It can scarcely be expected that public charity will find spontaneous expression in a country where the Government is by tradition and constitution the guardian of the public purse as well as the director of the peoples' destiny. If the objects and reasons of the appeal are properly explained and placed before the wealthy public, it is sure to meet with a generous response. The Government knows full well how to exert its influence on the public ; but as it has not cared to exercise it in matters educational it would not be unjustifiable to attribute the tardy progress in education to its own apathy rather than to the apathy of the public.

Satischandra Ray

AURANGZEB AND SAMBAJI

The reign of Aurangazeb would have ended in glory and prosperity if he had contented himself with the complete conquest of the Mahratta kingdom and followed up the successes he had already gained by the employment of additional forces and resources for the purpose. But he aspired to the conquest of the dual kingdoms of the Deccan, and leaving the Mahratta campaign at this incomplete stage, he left Burhampore in 1685 with his colossal army and marched to Aurangabad and thence to Amadnagar. The magnificent camp which followed him resembled a moving city or a glorious procession. The demoralising luxuries of the Mussalman nobles and the weak discipline of the Mussalman soldiery marred the efficiency of the whole array of forces, which could be counted only in lakhs. The outward splendours and vanities which distinguished the imperial forces without a concurrent vigour of discipline and capacity for a life of hardship, could never hope to succeed in the face of a hardy

race who were fighting for their country, for their honour and for their independence, who did not understand what luxury was and the climate of whose country generated a spirit of contempt for show. But besides the want of efficiency and of discipline which weakened his vast army, there were other reasons of a much more serious nature which went against the prospects of the emperor's success. The rigorous spirit of orthodoxy which he showed as a Mahomedan did not content itself with exclusive solicitude for his own remission of sins and attainment of salvation, but looked upon the men of all other creeds as being the veritable enemies of the supreme powers of heaven. He used the exalted rank of his position in the cause of religion and his bigoted mind could not distinguish the limits of political and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The firmness and folly which he exercised as a spiritual character could not but contribute to the weakening of the foundation of loyalty on which his great-grandfather had built his empire. A blind and fatal egoism goaded him on to attempt by force to instil into the Hindu mind the truths of Islam and hence to proclaim to the world that the public exercise of their idolatrous worship was positively abhorred by the emperor. A firm supporter of orthodox Islam and a great benefactor of the mosque, he dictated a solemn edict which proclaimed that all who professed the heretical religion of Hinduism would have to pay a poll-tax or *Zagya* to the imperial coffers. Glowing with the warm feelings of a religious bigot he forgot his self-interests in his enthusiasm and endangered his sceptre by alienating the vast majority of his subjects. The unjust, insidious and impolitic character of the imposition was naturally conducive to a sudden opposition on the part of the people to his success ; and he therefore had to reckon as his enemies not only the hardy mountaineers of the Maharashtra and the fickle mercenaries of the Bijapur and Golcondah kingdoms but the public opinion of all classes of inhabitants. The Mahrattas were not slow to take advantage of the suicidal unpopularity which the emperor got upon himself by his indiscriminate vigour ; and urged by a friendly population, committed raids and ravages in the recently lost province of Kandesh and carried their degradations to the very gates of Burhampore, so recently the emperor's halting-place. The Senapathi, Hambee Rao, was the soul of these diversions and he retired to Rajagriha only after "leaving the whole of the country from Burhampore to Nasik in a blaze." The feeble efforts of Khan Jahan, the commander who was stationed at Aurangabad to cover these regions, were not equal to the task of meeting the formidable foe.

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Under such auspicious circumstances did Aurangazeb give orders in 1686 to his generals to proceed against Bijapur. Prince Azim had already taken Kholapur and was marching rapidly towards the beautiful city of the Adilshahs; and the emperor himself followed, not having the caution enough to cover the places at his back,—a fact which enabled the Mahrattas to cross the Nerbadah and sack the rich and commercial city of Broach, then the busy emporium of all the trade transactions of the western parts of the empire. But while the emperor was marching with confidence against the capital of the Adilshahi kingdom, he learnt that a close alliance had been formed between the Kutb Shah of Golcondah and Sambaji, prompted by a community of interests and by the diplomatic efforts of Madhunna Punt, the able and statesmanlike minister of Abu Hossain. He therefore sent word to Khan Jehan to proceed to Hyderabad and secure for the time the allegiance of the Mussalman king by a judicious combination of fact and threat. Khan Jehan, on his arrival at the Kutb Shah's capital, found that the government was weakened and distracted by the mutual strifes of two parties, one Hindu and the other Mahomedan, that were clamouring at the time for exclusive power. Strangely enough, Abu Hussain was a firm believer in the loyalty and ability of his minister, Madhunna Punt, the head and soul of the Hindu party, and therefore committed himself to a side which was odious in the eyes of the Islamite faction. The result was that, when the imperial general Khan Jehan arrived at the Kutb Shahi capital, he was welcomed by the party of Mussalmans whose leader and general Ibrahim Khan treacherously handed over the city to the Moghul general. A victim to jealousy, distrust and opposition, Madhunna employed what strength was left to him in resisting the shameful plunder to which the city was subjected by Khan Jehan. But all his painful and loyal efforts were unavailing. On the other hand they only contributed to bring him to misfortune and misery. The Mahomedan party, not contented with playing the traitor, attributed the entire result of their treachery to the alleged incompetence and disloyalty of the Hindu minister. But as Abu Hussain continued unshaken in his regard for Madhunna's character and conduct, the followers of Ibrahim and of Khan Jehan had the hated minister murdered by the secret hired assassins. With the assassination of the man who alone could save the kingdom under such dire circumstances, the hope of Golcondah's strength and prosperity vanished Abu Hussain, deprived of a capable and loyal officer, was compelled by extortion

and intimidation to purchase peace by paying the immense sum of two crores of Rupees.

The Emperor was now free to act against Bijapur. He had already marched to the very walls of the city and commenced to invest it. The defence of the capital was entrusted to a noble named Shirzee Khan, a man whose interest for the kingdom was rather fickle and whose loyalty was based on self-advancement. Instead of aiming at final success Shirzee Khan and other officers silently laboured to sacrifice the semi-independence of their kingdom if they were assured honourable treatment by the emperor. Their ambition was not directed against the frustration of the emperor's operations ; but on the other hand they anxiously looked forward to be bribed with estates and jagirs and with remunerative service in the Empire. The strength of the fortifications was thus impaired by the meanness of their defendants; and the weakness engendered by treason was doubled by the absence of sufficient provisions for a prolonged defence. Consequently a few months' siege was enough to bring the proud and well-adorned city to the feet of the Emperor, the consequences of whose success were disastrous to the very existence of the kingdom. Shirzee Khan reaped the reward of his unscrupulous behaviour by being taken into the Emperor's service ; and all the attributes of regal and territorial sovereignty which the Adil Shahi dynasty possessed for two centuries were taken away. The unfortunate Sikander Shah, young, well-intentioned and the last of his illustrious line, was thrown into prison and murdered three years later by the administration of poison at the instance of his imperial conqueror. Such was the tragic end of the kingdom of Bijapur whose greatness, magnificence and prosperity are even now attested by the noble ruins still extant. One of the most remarkable chapters of Indian history closes with the extinction of Bijapur; and the triumph of Aurangazeb served as a melancholy prelude to the desertion of the busy and well-built streets of the city, the neglect of its splendid architectural works and the ruin of one of the most charming works of man. The noble edifices which had so long attracted by their size and beauty, the tender and liberal cares of royal favour soon became the attractive centres of the historic student and the curious antiquarian.

After the subjugation and dissolution of the kingdom, of Bijapur, Aurangazeb directed his arms against the sister kingdom of Golcondah in spite of the treaty which Khan Jehan had concluded with Abu Hossain so recently. To the emperor's distorted mind, dishonesty and hypocrisy were common means of political gains and

advantages. He did not therefore hesitate to attack a kingdom with whom he had only a few days back concluded a definite engagement. Sending Shirzee Khan to penetrate into the Mahratta country and engage Sambaji, he himself advanced against the last of the Mussulman kingdoms of the Bahmini dynasty. Already his emissaries had corrupted the Golcondah troops with tempting bribes and alluring promises and had even contrived by well-designed intimidation to extort from Abu Hussain all the crown-jewels. But the rapacity of the emperor's agents was not exhausted and their sovereign could not rest contented without destroying the kingdom which had dared to thwart him during the early days of his Deccan Viceroyalty. The profligacy of Abu Hussain, his alliance with the Mahratta king and his appointment of a Brahmin heretic as his minister were given out as the ostensible pretence of a war which had been determined upon years back. Golcondah fell an easy prey to the advancing tide of the imperial legions. The city was reached early in April 1687 and after a siege which lasted for six months was taken and subjected to all the atrocities of a conquest. Thus was subdued the remote kingdom of the Deccan which had been either inaccessible to, or left uninterfered by, the Moghul arms. The feeble Abu Hussain, the last sovereign of his dynasty had to pay the penalty of his weakness by being subjected to a prisoner's life in the fortress of Daulatabad.

The conquests of Bijapur and Golcondah were over. The proud kingdoms of the Adilshahs and Kutb Shabs were humbled to the dust, and made part and parcel of the Moghul Empire. Only one enemy had yet to be conquered. Sambaji was still in the field, carrying fire and sword into the confines of the empire. When Aurangazeb was, immediately after the conquest of Bijapur, marching on Golcondah, he had despatched Shirzee Khan to invade the Mahratta country and keep Shambaji in check. The Mussulman general reached the banks of the Waee, when he was suddenly confronted by the forces of the Senapathi. In the battle which ensued the Moghul army sustained a severe defeat ; but unfortunately for the Mahratta cause the brave Senapathi received in the midst of the fierce contest a wound of a mortal nature, which rendered him unfit for future service. In addition to the serious loss in the form of the disablement of their Commander, the Mahratta cause was weakened by the illsuccess which attended the diversion of Kesava Pantalu and Santajee Gherpury into the Carnatic, by the total disunion among the Mahratta officers in the Coromandel Coast,

by the short-sighted refusal of Venkaji to support his nephew, by the aggressions of the slowly-rising chiefs of Mysore, by the careless intemperance and incompetence of Sambaji and his minister and by the laxity of discipline in the Mahratta ranks. A combination of all these defects would have certainly resulted in the easy conquest of the Maharashtra, had it not been for the great unpopularity which the Moghul Emperor incurred at the time by the imposition of the *Jaezya*, by the imprudent replacement of Hindu Governors and agents by Mussulman ones in the conquered kingdoms and by the untimely discharge of many soldiers who went to swell the ranks of the enemy at a critical period of their history. The Mankurees, the Jaghirdars and the masses too became deadly enemies of the narrow-minded emperor and began to place implicit confidence on the Mahratta leaders, however predatory and random their movements were. But fortune favoured the Moghul Emperor at this crisis. In the year 1689—six years after his leaving Dehli—he arranged a fresh campaign with a view to putting an end as soon as possible to the harrassing and prolonged warfare of the Mahratta race. He despatched three armies to enter the Maharashtra from different quarters and work their way towards the centre. One army was entrusted to the command of Prince Azim ; another under Yatakid Khan, the son of the Prime Minister Asud Khan ; and the third under a singularly lucky officer named Tukurrib Khan. Prince Azim was instructed to invade the Concan and subdue the forts therein ; Yatakid was entrusted with the task of attacking the centre ; and the army of Tukurrib was ordered to march towards Kolapur and the south. Aurangazeb hoped that by fastening this military cord, as it were, round the Mahratta kingdom, he could compel the speedy surrender of the numerous parties and leaders that swept the whole region. But a strange stroke of fortune rendered all these preparations unnecessary and brought into his hands an unexpected triumph for an achievement of which he would have gladly expended thrice the resources which he employed in the elaborate campaign which he just arranged. While the General Tukurrib was in the vicinity of Sangameswar, he heard through the agency of his scouts that the Mahratta sovereign, his minister and several lothars were making themselves merry and joyous by means of drink and other allied sources of self-forgetfulness. Deeming himself peculiarly fortunate to be in possession of such welcome news, the Moghul General set out with a small number of attendants and surprised the Mahratta party in the royal pleasure-house at Sangameswar. Sambaji, Kalusha and twenty four officers

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who were sharing in the bacchanalian orgies of the king were taken as prisoners. The mental state of the imprisoned persons was so darkened and confused by drink that they had no idea of the terrible misfortunes that overtook them. The King and his Minister were then escorted by the military guard to the Imperial Camp at Talapur, sixteen miles to the north-east of Poona, where the emperor had pitched his huge camp. The exuberance of joy and the shouts of triumph with which the emperor's name was mentioned bordered on fanaticism, and the general Tukurrib Khan was idolized as a conqueror and a hero ! The Mussulman power was considered to have been eternally established in its full strength by the capture of Sambaji and the short-sighted flatterers of the imperial court could not gauge the seriousness of the Mahratta nationalism. Sambaji, now recovered from the effects of his intoxicating beverage, was brought before the proud emperor. His bold air and charming personality extorted the admiration of all and his behaviour was an object of curiosity to them. When the Hindu sovereign was brought before the emperor, loaded in chains and escorted by a strong military guard, he was asked to renounce the religion of his ancestors as the price of his life. The haughty son of Sivaji the Great heard the impious and insulting suggestion with indignation and contempt ; and with his characteristic boldness replied that if the emperor gave his daughter to him, he would consider the emperor's suggestion. No words could be more insulting to a Mahomedan, and the angry eyes of Aurangazeb flashed fire. The brutal order was given ; and the eyes of the unfortunate Mahratta king were burnt by red hot iron. The tongue that dared to insult the greatest ruler of the world was cut out ; and the head that designed the guerilla warfare of the Maharatta forces was severed from the body. The minister, faithful and loyal to the last moment of his life, shared the fate of his martyred master. Insinuations are not wanting that trace the capture of the king and the minister to the avarice and meanness of Kalusha himself ; but there is no ground whatever to warrant such an imputation ; and there can be no question that Kalusha, though incompetent and greedy, was certainly not wanting in loyalty and gratitude.

Such was the miserable and tragic death of the eldest son of Sivaji the Great. Not a tear would have escaped the eyes of his subjects and not a sigh would have been heard, but for the brutal and savage manner in which his murder was accomplished. While the people were not sorry for losing a prince who had forfeited their esteem and affection by his mean vices, depraved morals and dis-

graceful administration, they took pity upon the unfortunate monarch who was subjected to such insult at the moment of death. The news of the tragedy therefore instead of subduing the spirit of the Mahrattas and "striking their leaders with terror, aroused their vengeance without alarming their fears (Duff)." A thirst for revenge was stirring the heart and soul of the Mahratta nation ; and the cruel murder of Sambaji was in reality the beginning of Aurangazeb's ultimate downfall.

V. Rangachari

THE MUNDAS

(Continued from the last number)

True, we often miss in the songs of the Munda that perfect harmony between conception and symbol, form and matter, soul and body of poetry, which imparts such graceful symmetry and repose to classic art. In fact, of the three types of Art of the Hegelian classification,—the Oriental, the Classic and the Romantic,—Mundari poetry has hardly yet passed beyond the primitive or Oriental stage. Indeed, with his undeveloped ideas and his crude sentiments, with his want of culture and paucity of artistic materials, it could not have been otherwise. But it may be reasonably expected that with the growth of his mind and art through the fertilising rays of education, this primitive stage of Mundari poetry will be succeeded by the higher stages of poetic art, unless alien influences make the Munda of a future generation give up his own language and adopt that of his Hindu neighbours. And as for the matter of his poetry, from his contemplation of human Beauty, Love, Youth and Death, the Munda will in time, we may be sure, rise to the contemplation of still higher things—of Heaven Eternity, and Immortality. The Munda's love for the beautiful in man will in time, we may fairly expect, widen its horizon and extend beyond one fair face to all that is beautiful and pure and wise, irrespective of age and sex, race and creed, and, in the end, to the Eternal Source of all Beauty—the Father of all Good. And we may picture to our mind the Munda poet of a future generation singing with Tennyson :—

Regret is dead, but love is more,
Than in the summers that are flown,
For I myself with these have grown,
To something greater than before.

There are those who assert that such savage tribes as the Mundas have no conception of love as anything higher than a sexual passion, that the Mundas in fact have no morals. Even if any such assertion

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be true of some tribes in the lowest stage of savagery, the Mundas, it is clear, have long outgrown that stage. To speak of them as having no idea of morality or true conception of love is to betray a lamentable ignorance of the characteristics of the tribe. The reader of the songs cited above will have no hesitation in declaring such an insinuation to be a gross injustice, if not a malignant slander. He cannot have failed to perceive that the Munda has as clear a conception of true love as any civilised man. And no wonder. Has not the French novelist, Victor Hugo, shown us that the mis-shapen Quasimodo—the hunch-backed, bow-legged, one-eyed ringer of Notre Dame—who died to be one in the grave with his adored Esmaralda, had a higher ideal of love than the poet Gringoire, the Archdeacon Claude Frollo, and the refined gallant Captain Phoebus? And has not the author of 'Notre Dame de Paris' put the most accurate definition of true Love in the mouth of Esmaralda, the vagabond girl brought up from her infancy amongst the most depraved set of human beings? It is Esmaralda who with trembling voice and beaming eyes exclaims: "Oh! love! that is to be two and yet but one—a man and a woman mingled into an angel—it is heaven." And with unerring precision this supposed gypsy girl distinguishes Love from Friendship which is "to be like brother and sister, two souls meeting without mingling—two fingers on the same hand." True, we have in some Mundari songs, a frank expression of physical love—at times even verging on coarseness. But it would be a mistake to judge savage races by our own refined standards of morality. Sufficient allowance has to be made for the race, their social environment, their ideals and their low standard of civilisation. It must indeed be painfully confessed that there still exists among the Mundas, though to a much less extent than amongst many other savage races, a certain degree of sexual liberty *within* the clan, and this only *before* marriage.* This state of things is perhaps a survival

* Thus, for example, the Mundas are strangers to the *Dhumkuria* or bachelor's abode (*Yonk-erpa*, as the Uraons call it) existing amongst his Uraon neighbours. The *gitora* or sleeping house in which unmarried Munda girls sleep at night are under the strict supervision of a matronly woman, and men have no access to this house.

After marriage, however, the Munda maintains a high standard of conjugal fidelity. The Mundas inculcate conjugal fidelity to their children just as Hindu parents do. Thus the conversation between a married Munda girl and her parents as represented in the following song might as well be imagined to have taken place in a Hindu home:—

[JARGA]

*Saigo maigo disum,
Saigo-maigo disum,
Kengereo honing,*

*Rengeaga eang
Tetang aga aba
Tetang reo honing,*

of the 'group-communism' * which, as Sir John Lubbock tells us, preceded the institution of marriage.

Already, however, we see the more thoughtful amongst the Mundas realising the immorality of this state of things. The Munda poet is pained at what he sees going on around him. And the poet becomes something of a prophet to his contemporaries. And he delivers his message and his warning in songs like the following :—

[LAHSUAH]

*Nekalom pukako rakab lena,
Jargida banojana, re gatim,
Pukako hijulena, ote sirma perejama
Sirmae sing Bonga kulkeda, regatim
Hore ora kotle ora, babako sohen gojotana
Chimaete asulabu, re gatim ?
Garaloyong rortana, hai sohen gojotana
Ba chandu hai ka namoa, re gatim,
Ji daya banojana, sing Bonga khisjana,
Enamente da banojana, re gatim
Natagota bano uru, nutanaking puru puru,
Jiu jodi rajijana, banohiting, re gatim.*

[TRANSLATION]

This year, O friend, the locusts came,
The rains have ceased to fall.
The locusts came, like clouds obscure'd
The sky, the earth and all.
The Sun-God on yon heaven above,
The Sun-God these did send.
The angry Sun-God sent them down
To punish men my friend.
Surguja, Kurthi, and Kudrum green,
And grains in fields that grow,
Dry up and die in drought severe
Ah ! what to live on now ?
The *garha* lands, once water-logg'd,
—The *garha* lands are dry.

Giti takid akanme
Rengereo honing, *Tetang reo honing,*
Dadoromakanme

[TRANSLATION]

1. In the Saigo-maigo country (where I have been married)
I suffer from hunger, mother
2. In the Saigo-maigo country (where I have been married)
I suffer from thirst, my Father
3. Even if you feel hungry, my child
Even if you feel thirsty, my child
4. Stick there like sand (that scatters down)
5. Even if you suffer from hunger my child,
Even if you suffer from want of drink, my child
6. Stop there like water (inside a vessel)

* In his 'Origin of Civilisation,' Sir John Lubbock calls this 'communal marriage.' [Vide p. 88 &c. of that work.]

† The Sun-God or Sing Bonga is the chief Deity of the Mundas. Truly did the German poet, Schiller, sing :—

So, song—like Fate itself—is given,
To scare the idler thoughts away,
To raise the Human to the Holy,
To wake the Spirit from the Clay †

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The fish die out ; in Flower-month,*
No fish will brooks supply.
Our hearts bereft of kindness,
Evoke the wrath of Hea'en.
The Sun-God's wrath doth light adown,
On Earth we have no rain.
While drinking hard from leaf-cups,† friend
They reck not who is who.
When heart meets heart, they care for naught,
To Reason they bid adieu.‡

Thus, the 'awful soul that dwells in clay,' at length arouses itself and seeks to break the bonds of unholy custom. With the gradual purification of the intellect and the heart by the sanctifying fire of his love of Beauty, the Munda will in time occupy a high place among the aboriginal races of India. For, as Emerson said, "it is in the deep traits of race that the fortunes of nations are written."

When a passionate nature with a strong love for the Beautiful is wedded to seriousness of soul, we have something pregnant with great possibilities. When the possessor of both these attributes is further endowed with a strength of will and fixity of purpose, we have some of the essential elements that go to the formation of the highest human character. The Munda, as we have seen, possesses all these attributes,—and he thus bids fair to take, in the fulness of time, his proper place among the nations of the world. Some of these attributes, no doubt, as yet appear in a crude and undeveloped state in the Munda character. But the ore is there and the refined gold will come out in due time. The beneficent rays of Education and Civilisation will in time drive out the dross and reveal the genuine metal within, in its proper beauty and purity. The so-called education at present sought to be imparted to his children is unfortunately developing certain undesirable traits in the Munda character. But it is to be hoped that with greater experience, a more suitable method of education, secular as well as religious, will be gradually introduced amongst the Munda youth. And, in this way, the depth of his loving heart, the seriousness of his nature, the strength of his will, directed in proper channels, and guided by

* *Flower-month* is the month of Chait in which the Flower Feast or Ba-Parab (the Sarhul) is celebrated.

† Leaf-cup or *dora*, generally made of Sal-leaves, is used by the Mundas in drinking liquor from.

‡ This Song with such Hindi words as 'Jiu' and 'raji' perhaps bears traces of the influence of *Vaisnav* preachers who appear to have once worked among the Mundas. One of them, at any rate, appears to have composed some Songs in Mundari as the mention of the name 'Binand Das' in the concluding lines of several Songs after the manner of *Vaisnav* poets seem to indicate. The well-known song beginning 'Bhatiora pitipiri, honor tanaking juri juri' sung by the Tamar Mundas was composed by this Binand Das of whom nothing is yet known.

the fear and love of God, will gradually but surely lead him on to real greatness.

Those who imagine that greatness and goodness, nobility of soul and rectitude of purpose, are the exclusive heritage of a few favoured races, would do well to ponder over the words of the great American thinker, James Russel Lowell :—

All that hath been majestical
In life or death, since time began,
Is native in the simple heart of all,
The angel heart of man.
And thus, among the untaught poor,
Great deeds and feelings find a home,
That cast in shadow all the golden lore,
Of classic Greece and Rome.

Sarat Chandra Ray

(Concluded)

OFFICIAL PAPERS

THE INDIAN CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT (OR THE NEW CRIMES ACT)

A Bill to provide for the more speedy trial of certain offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace.

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the more speedy trial of certain offences, and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace, It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (Short title and extent). (1) This Act may be called the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

(2) It extends to the Provinces of Bengal and of Eastern Bengal and Assam ; but the Governor-General in Council may, at any time by notification in the *Gazette of India* extend the whole or any part thereof to any other Province.

(3) When extending part 1 to any province under sub-section (2) the Governor-General in Council may declare the operation of the provisions of that Part relating to the constitution of the Special Bench to be subject to such modifications as may in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council be necessary to adopt these provisions to the circumstances of that Province.

PART I. SPECIAL PROCEDURE

2. (1) Application of Part I.—Where a magistrate has taken cognizance of any offence specified in the Schedule, and it appears to the Governor-General in Council or to the Local Government that in the interests of peace and good order the provisions of this Part should be made to apply to proceedings in respect of such offence the Governor-General in Council, or the Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council may make an order in writing to that effect and may by such order direct that the provisions to this Part shall apply to such proceedings.

(2) No order shall be made under sub-section (1) in any case in which an order of commitment to the High Court or Court of Session, has been made under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 ; but save as aforesaid, an order may be made in respect of any offence whether committed before or after the commencement of this Act, or in the case of a Province to which this Part is extended under section I, before or after such extension.

3. Inquiry by Magistrate.—(1) On receipt of an order under section 2 the Magistrate who has taken cognizance of the offence, or any other Magistrate to whom the case has been transferred, shall proceed to enquire whether the evidence offered upon the part of the prosecution is sufficient to put the accused upon his trial for an offence specified in the Schedule, and shall for that purpose record on oath the evidence of all such persons as may be produced in support of the prosecution, and may record any statement of the accused if voluntarily tendered by him.

(2) Where before the commencement of proceedings under this Act the evidence of a witness has been recorded under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in the course of an inquiry into the same

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offence as that to which such proceedings relate, such evidence may be treated for the purposes of this Act as if it had been taken under sub-section (1).

4. Inquiry to be *ex parte*.—The accused shall not be present during an inquiry under section 3, sub-section (1), unless the Magistrate so directs, nor shall he be represented by a pleader during any such inquiry, nor shall any person have any right of access to Court of the Magistrate while he is holding such inquiry.

5. When accused person to be discharged.—When the evidence referred to in section 3 has been taken, the Magistrate shall, if he finds that it is not sufficient to put the accused upon his trial for an offence specified in the Schedule, record his reasons and discharge the accused, unless it appears to the Magistrate that he should be tried or committed for trial under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for any other offence, in which case the Magistrate shall proceed accordingly.

6. Power to send accused for trial.—When upon such evidence being taken, the Magistrate is satisfied that it is sufficient to put the accused upon his trial for an offence specified in the Schedule, he shall—

(a) frame a charge under his hand declaring with what offence the accused is charged,

(b) make an order directing that the accused be sent to the High Court for trial, and

(c) cause the accused to be supplied with a copy of the order and of the charge and of the evidence taken under section 3.

7. Joinder of charges.—In framing any charge under section 6 the Magistrate may also frame a charge for any offence not specified in the Schedule with which the accused may be charged at the same trial, and the procedure of this Act shall apply to any such charge.

8. Charge, etc, to be forwarded to High Court.—When an order for trial has been made under section 6 the Magistrate shall send the order together with the charge, the record of inquiry and anything which is to be produced in evidence to the Clerk of the Crown or other officer appointed in this behalf by the High Court.

9. Power to summon supplementary witnesses.—(1) The Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, summon and examine supplementary witnesses after the order for trial and before the commencement of the trial.

(2) When the Magistrate examines witnesses under sub-section (1) he shall forthwith cause the accused to be supplied with a copy of the evidence of such witnesses.

10. Witnesses for defence.—The accused may at any time before his trial give to the Clerk of the Crown or other officer as aforesaid a list of the persons whom he wishes to be summoned to give evidence on his trial.

11. Procedure in the High Court.—(1) All persons sent for trial to the High Court under this Act shall be tried by a Special Bench of the Court composed of three Judges.

(2) No trial before the Special Bench shall be by jury.

(3) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority of those Judges.

12. Bail.—No person who has been remanded to custody in the course of proceedings under this Act shall be released on bail

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under the provisions of Section 497 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, if there appear to be sufficient grounds for further inquiry into the guilt of such person.

13. Special Rule of Evidence—Notwithstanding anything contained in section 33 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the evidence of any witness taken by a Magistrate in proceedings to which this Part applies shall be treated as evidence before the High Court if the witness is dead or cannot be produced and if the High Court has reason to believe that death or absence has been caused in the interest of the accused.

14. Procedure—(1) The provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall not apply to proceedings taken under this Part in so far as they are inconsistent with the special procedure prescribed in this Part.

(2) When holding a trial under section 11, the Special Bench shall apply the provisions of Chapter XXIII of the said Code with such modifications as may appear to it to be necessary to adapt those provisions to the case of a trial before the High Court without a jury.

PART II. UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATIONS

15. Definitions.—(1) "Association" means any combination or body of persons, whether the same be known by any distinctive name or not; and (2) "unlawful association" means an association—

(a) which encourages or aids persons to commit acts of violence or intimidation or of which the members habitually commit such acts, or

(b) which has been declared to be unlawful by the Governor-General in Council under the powers hereby conferred.

16. Power to declare association unlawful—If the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that any association interferes or has for its object interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or that it constitutes a danger to the public peace, the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the official "Gazette," declare such association to be unlawful.

17. Penalties—(1) Whoever is a member of an unlawful association, or takes part in meetings of any such association, or contributes or receives or solicits any contribution for the purpose of any such association, or in any way assists the operations of any such association, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

(2) Whoever manages or assists in the management of an unlawful association, or promotes or assists in promoting a meeting of any such association, or of any members thereof as such members, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

18. Continuance of association—An association shall not be deemed to have ceased to exist by reason only of any formal act of dissolution or change of title, but shall be deemed to continue so long as any actual combination for the purposes of such association continues between any members thereof.

THE SCHEDULE.

1. Any offence under the following sections of the Indian Penal Code, namely :—

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Chapter VI Sections 121, 121A, 122, 123 and 124.
Chapter VII—Sections 131 and 132.
Chapter VIII—Section 148.
Chapter XVI—Sections 302, 304, 307, 308, 326, 327, 329, 332, 333, 363, 364, 365, and 368.
Chapter XVII—Sections 385, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 431, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 454, 455, 457, 458, 459, and 460.
Chapter XXII—Section 506.
2. Any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 : and
3. Any attempt to commit or any abetment of any of the above offences.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Recent events have demonstrated that it is expedient to provide for the more speedy trial of anarchical offences, and for the suppression of associations dangerous to the public peace. This Bill has been prepared to meet this object. Part I provides for the trial of certain offences by a Bench of three Judges of the High Court. In the procedure there is no formal commitment, but the case is prepared for trial by an *ex parte* inquiry before a magistrate and the trial is without jury. Two special provisions are made applicable to cases to which the Bill will apply. The first is that bail shall be refused so long as there is reasonable ground for further inquiry into the guilt of the accused. The second is that the evidence of witnesses who have been examined by the magistrate may be admitted at the trial if the witness is dead or can not be produced, and the High Court has reason to believe that his death or absence was caused in the interests of the accused.

Part II provides for the suppression of unlawful associations. Such persons as are members of or in any way assist an association which encourages or aids the commitment of acts of violence or intimidation, or of which the members habitually commit such acts, are made liable to punishment, and a severer punishment is provided for persons managing or promoting such associations. Further, the Governor-General in Council is empowered to declare certain associations to be unlawful, and the same penalties are provided for persons who after this declaration maintain their connection with them.

The Bill extends in the first instance to the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Governor-General in Council is empowered to extend it to other provinces.

M. Adamson

The 9th Dec. 1908.

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I

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S DESPATCH

The following is the first portion of the text of the Governor-General in Council's Despatch to the Secretary of State on the reform proposals dated 1st October 1905.

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My Lord,—We have the honour to address you on the subject of the constitutional reforms which were initiated more than two years ago by His Excellency the Viceroy in a minute reviewing the political situation in India. Lord Minto then pointed out how the growth of education, encouraged by British rule, had led to the rise of important classes claiming equality of citizenship, and aspiring to take a larger part in shaping the policy of the Government, and he appointed a Committee of his Council to consider the group of questions arising out of these novel conditions. From the discussions thus commenced there was developed, by stages which we need not detail, the tentative project of reform outlined in the Home Department letter to local Governments, No. 2310-17, dated the 24th August 1907. After receiving your approval in Council, that letter was laid before Parliament and was published in England and India. The local Governments to whom it was addressed were instructed to consult important bodies and individuals representative of various classes of the community before submitting their own conclusions to the Government of India. These instructions have been carried out with great care and thoroughness.

RECEPTION OF THE SCHEME

The provisional scheme thus submitted to the judgment of the Indian public comprised the creation of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils, the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and more ample facilities for discussing the Imperial and Provincial Budgets. Every feature of our proposals has aroused keen interest, and has met with ample and outspoken criticism from the most intelligent members of Indian society, and the voluminous correspondence which we now enclose may be regarded as an adequate and exhaustive expression of the views of those who are qualified to pronounce an independent opinion on the weighty and intricate matters now under consideration. In a country where the separation of classes, castes, races and communities is so marked as in India, and little common national sentiment has as yet been evolved, the natural tendency is, as the Bombay Government have pointed out, for the advocates of each particular class to interest to consider how their own advantage can best be furthered, and to overlook the wider aspects of the subject. This tendency comes out strongly in the non-official opinions forwarded by the local Governments. From the landholders, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, the scheme has met with a generally favourable reception. With very few exceptions, they either approve of the proposals regarding Advisory Councils or make suggestions which leave their principle untouched. They welcome the separate representation of the landowning interest on the Legislative Councils, and many of them lay stress on the conditions that the member elected to represent their class must himself belong to it. The Muhammadans point out that the reforms of 1892 paid no regard to the diversity of the interests involved, and that territorial representation, in so far as it was then introduced, has placed a monopoly of voting power in the hands of the professional class. Most of them express their satisfaction with the scheme of Advisory Councils, and they are unanimous in their commendation of the proposal to assign special seats to Muhammadans on the Legislative Councils, though some of them urge that the measure of representation offered to them falls short of that

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which thier numbers and influence entitle them to demand. On the other hand the leaders of the professional class regard the Advisory Councils as superfluous and illusory ; they protest against class electorates for the Legislative Councils ; and they demand the formation of territorial constituencies on a scale which would render their own influence predominant. Comparatively few opinions have been received from the commercial and industrial classes. But all of them, whether European or Indian, agree in complaining that their interests have received insufficient consideration and that they ought to have more members on the Imperial Legislative Councils.

DESPATCH OF 26TH OCTOBER, 1892

The divergent opinions briefly summarised here bear striking testimony to the wisdom of Lord Lansdowne's Government in describing Indian society as "essentially a congeries of widely separated classes, races and communities, with divergencies of interests and hereditary sentiment which for ages have precluded common action or local unanimity," and in insisting that the representation of such a community could only be secured by assigning to each important class a member specially acquainted with its views. The conditions which existed then are shown by the present correspondence to continue still. Indeed, the advance in general education, that has taken place since 1892, has added to the complexity of the problem by bringing to the front classes which were then backward, and by making them more keenly conscious of their individual interests and more disposed to claim separate representation by means of special electors. In framing the greatly enlarged scheme of reform, which is explained below, we have given careful consideration to the views of all classes, and we desire to acknowledge the value of the opinions which have been submitted by the educated members of all communities who, though their number is relatively small, deservedly occupy a special position by reason of their intellectual attainments and the attention they had given to public questions. With these preliminary observations we pass to the consideration, in fuller detail, of the actual proposals upon which we now submit our final recommendations to His Majesty's Government.

The Government of India's Despatch is too long to be reproduced in full, but we quote the following "General Conclusions":—

In framing the proposals, which we now submit to your decision, we have given ample consideration to the great variety of opinion elicited by our letter of 24 August, 1907. We readily acknowledge the value of many of the criticisms that have reached us, and we believe that no material point has escaped our observation. We have accepted in substance several important suggestions, and we have introduced into our scheme measures of a far more advanced character than have hitherto been proposed. We will now sum up the results of our deliberations. In accordance with the most authoritative opinion we have abandoned the idea of an Imperial Advisory Council as originally planned, and have substituted for it a Council of Chiefs to be appointed by the Viceroy, and utilized by him in the guardianship of common and Imperial interests as the demands of the time may require. We have planned Provincial Advisory Councils on lines which will enable local Governments to avail

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themselves of the advice and co-operation of the leading representatives of the best non-official opinion, and we trust that the proposal will commend itself to popular feeling, and will satisfy the demand for extended opportunities of consultation on matters of local interest. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions, are the widest, most deep-reaching and most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward. Taking first the Imperial Legislative Council, we propose to raise the total strength of the Council, excluding His Excellency the Viceroy, from 24 to 62, and to increase the number of non-official members from 10 to 31, and of elected members from 5 to 28. On all ordinary occasions we are ready to dispense with an official majority and to rely upon the public spirit of the non-official members to enable us to carry on the necessary work of legislation. We have dealt with the Provincial Legislative Councils in an equally liberal manner. The total strength of the Council, and the numbers of non-official and elected members have in every instance, except that of Burma, been more than doubled, in all these cases, while giving fuller play to the elective principle, we have also greatly enlarged its range, and have endeavoured to afford proportionate representation to all classes that have reached a sufficiently high level of education, the land-holders, the Mohamedans, the professional middle class, and the commercial community both Indian and European. To all of them again, we propose to concede the novel right of moving resolutions, and dividing the Council on administrative questions of public and general interest, and of taking part in settling the actual figure of the budget, both by informal discussion and by bringing forward specific recommendations which will be put to the vote. Regarding the scheme as a whole, we consider ourselves justified in claiming for it that it will really and effectively associate the people of India with the Government in the work not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration. It is an attempt to give India a constitution framed on sufficiently liberal lines to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the most advanced Indians, whilst at the same time enlisting the support of the more conservative elements of Indian society. We are not without hope that it will be accepted by all classes in the spirit in which it has been planned, and that it will unite in the common service of India all those, whether officials or private individuals, who have her highest interest at heart.

In conclusion we have one more observation to make. We recognise that the effect of our proposals will be to throw a greater burden on the heads of local Governments, not only by reason of the actual increase of work caused by the longer sittings of the Legislative Councils, but also because there will be considerable responsibility in dealing with the recommendations of those Councils. It may be that experience will show the desirability of strengthening the hands of Lieutenant-Governors in the large provinces by the creation of Executive Councils, as Sir Charles Aitchison suggested in connexion with the proposals of 1888, and assisting the Governors of Madras and Bombay by enlarging the Councils which now exist in those presidencies. But it would be premature to discuss these contingencies until experience has been gained of the working of the new legislative bodies. The creation of Councils

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with executive functions in provinces in which they do not exist would be a large departure from the present system of administration, and is a change that could only be recommended after the fullest consideration with the heads of the provinces concerned.

With regard to the Secretary of State's reference to the date of the Imperial Budget, the Government of India's proposals are that the financial statement should be presented during the last five days of February. The Council will then resolve itself into a committee for the discussion of the budget by blocks. This will be a committee of the whole Council with members of the Government in the chair and the committee will sit from day to-day until its work is completed, which will be on or before the 10 March. Resolutions will be moved upon which divisions may be taken, but the government will not be bound to take any action on any resolution in whole or in part. When the Council sitting in committee has finished its labours, it will be for the Government to decide what alterations if any are to be made in the Budget. These will be carried out in the estimates at once. At the adjourned meeting of the Council the Finance Member will submit the budget in its final form and a general discussion will follow, but no further resolutions will be admissible. The Finance Member will make a general reply and the Viceroy sum up the debate. As now in the provincial councils there will be a standing finance committees, numbering not more than 12. In some of the smaller councils 8 or even 6 may suffice. These will consider the draft budget in private, and make proposals which the local government will consider. Then will come the revised budget, which the council sitting in committee will discuss and finally the financial statement will be presented by the member in charge with a report of the committee's proceedings. A debate will follow as at present.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

The following is the constitution of the new Imperial Legislative Council as proposed by the Government of India :—

Ex-officio :—The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or of the Punjab when the Council is assembled in Simla); the Commander-in-chief and the members of the Executive Council, 8.

Additional :—(A). *Officials*, representing provinces, 8.

(B). *Nominated members* 18, not more than 15 to be officials, the non-officials to be representatives of minorities or special interests or experts.

(C). *Elected members* 28; some of these may at first have to be nominated pending the formations of suitable electorates, but the intention is that all should eventually be elected so far as may be practicable :—(a) By the Provincial Legislative Councils and by the Advisory Council of the Central Provinces, 12 [namely, Legislative Councils of Madras (2), Bombay (2), Bengal (2), United Provinces (2) Punjab (1), Burma (1) Eastern Bengal and Assam (1) and the Provincial Advisory Council of the Central Provinces (1)]; (b) by the landholders of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces 7; (c) by Mahomedans of Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab and (alternately) Madras and Bombay, 5; (d) by the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, 2; (e) by

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representatives of Indian Commerce, 2. [To be nominated by the Governor-General in consultation with Local Governments until a method of election can be devised].

Total 62 or, including His Excellency the Viceroy, 63. :

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

The following is the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Councils as proposed by the Government of India :

Madras :—*Ex-officio* members of the Executive Council 2; Advocate-General 1. Additional : (A) Nominated members 24, not more than 20 to be officials, the non-officials to be representatives of special interests or minorities or experts (B) Elected members 19; (a) by the Corporation of Madras, 1; (b) by the municipalities and district boards 8, voting together in eight groups of about three districts each; (c) by the University, 1; (d) landholders, 4, voting in four groups of about six districts each; (e) by the planting community, 1; (f) by Mahomedans 2, elected or nominated as may be found practicable; (g) by the Chamber of Commerce, 1; (h) by the Indian Commercial Community 1. Total 46, or including the Governor, 47.

Bombay :—*Ex-officio* members of the Executive Council, 2; Advocate-general, Additional :—(A) Nominated members 23, not more than 20 to be officials, the non-officials to be representatives of special interests or minorities or experts. (B) Elected members 20; (a) by the Corporation of Bombay 1; (b) by municipalities, 4; (c) by district boards, 4; (d) by the University, 1; (e) by landholders, 3; (f) by Mahomedans, 3; (g) by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1; (h) by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, 1; (i) by the Millowner's Association of Bombay and Ahmedabad alternately 1; (j) by Indian commercial community, 1. Total 46, or including the Governor, 47.

Bengal :—(A) Nominated members, 26, not more than 23 to be officials, the non-officials to be representatives of special interests or minorities or experts. (B) Elected members, 20; (a) by the Corporation of Calcutta; (b) by municipalities, 4; (c) by district boards, 4; (d) by the University, 1; (e) by landholders 4; (f) by the planting community, 1; (g) by Mahomedans, 2 (h) by the Chamber of Commerce, 1; (i) by the Calcutta Trades' Association 1; (j) by the Indian commercial community, 1. Total 46, or including the Lieutenant-Governor, 47.

United Provinces :—(A) Nominated members 27, not more than 25 to be official, the non-officials to be representatives of special interests or minorities or experts. (B) Elected members 19; (a) by large municipalities, 2; (b) by district boards and smaller municipalities 8; (c) by the Allahabad University, 1; (d) by landholders, 2; (e) by Mahomedans, 4; (f) by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce 1; (g) by the Indian Commercial Community, 1. Total 46, or including the Lieutenant-Governor, 47.

Eastern Bengal and Assam:—(A) Nominated members 21, not more than 18 to be officials, the non-officials to be representatives of special interests or minorities or experts. (B) Elected members, 15; (a) by municipalities and district and local boards, 8, (namely), voting together by divisions, viz., Dacca, 2, Chittagong 2, Rajshahi 2, Brahmaputra Valley Surma Valley 1, (b) by landholders 2; (c) by Mahomedans 2; (d) by tea interests 1; (e) by jute interest 1 (f)

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by commissioners of the Port of the Chittagong 1. Total 36, or including the Lieutenant-Governor, 37.

Punjab :—(A). Nominated members 19, not more than 12 to be officials the non officials to represent Mahomedans, Hindus, Sikhs and other interests.—(B). Elected members 5; (a) by the commercial community 1; (b) by the Punjab University, 1; (c) by the larger cities 3. Total 24, or including the Lieutenant-Governor, 25.

Burma :—(A) Nominated officials, 8. (B) Nominated non-officials 7; (a) to represent the Burmese population, 4; (b) to represent the India and Chinese commercial communities, 2; (c) to represent other interests 1. (C) Elected by the Burma Chamber of Commerce 1. Total 16, or including the Lieutenant-Governor, 17.

II

LORD MORLEY'S DESPATCH

The following is the full text of Lord Morley's despatch, which is headed "Proposals for Constitutional Reform":—

India Office, London, 27th Nov., 1908.
To His Excellency the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council.

My Lord,—I have to acknowledge the important Despatch of the 1st October, 1908, in which I had submitted for approval and decision a group of constitutional reforms, framed by your Excellency in Council in pursuance of a policy initiated more than two years ago. Your proposals in their present shape are the outcome of a tentative project placed in August last year in the hands of Local Governments in India, with instructions to consult important bodies and individuals representative of various classes of the community, before putting their own conclusions before the Government of India. Those instructions, as you are very evidently justified in assuring me, were carried out with great care and thoroughness. After examining, moreover, the enormous mass of material gathered together in a prolonged operation I gladly recognise the admirable industry, patience, thought, and candour, with which that material has been sifted by your Government, and worked out into practical proposals, liberal in their spirit and comprehensive in their scope. I have taken all the pains demanded by their importance to secure special consideration of them in Council. It is a sincere satisfaction to me to find myself able to accept the substantial part of your Excellency's scheme, with such modifications as would naturally occur to different minds, in handling problems of remarkable difficulty in themselves, and reasonably open to a wide variety of solution.

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2. The original proposal of an Imperial Advisory Council was based on the interesting and attractive idea of associating Ruling Chiefs and Territorial Magnates of British India, in guardianship of common and imperial interests, and as a means of promoting more intimate relation among component parts of the Indian Empire. The general opinion of those whose assent and co-operation would be indispensable has proved adverse, and your Excellency in Council now considers that the project should for the present not be proceeded with.

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3. You still favour an Imperial Council composed only of Ruling Chiefs. Lord Lytton made an experiment in this direction, but it remained without successful result. Lord Curzon afterwards proposed to create a Council composed exclusively of Princes contributing Imperial Service troops, and deliberating on that subject exclusively. Opinion pronounced this also likely to be unfruitful and ineffectual in practice. Your Excellency's project is narrower than the first of these two expedients, and wider than the second. I confess that, while entirely appreciating and sympathising with your object, I judge the practical difficulties in the way of such a Council assembling under satisfactory conditions, to be considerable,—expense, precedence, housing, for instance, even if there were no others. Yet if not definitely constituted with a view to assembly, it could possess little or no reality. It would obviously be a mistake to push the project, unless it commands the clear assent and approval of those whose presence in the Council would be essential to its success, and the opinions expressed in the replies with which you have furnished me, lead me to doubt whether that condition can be secured. But in case your Excellency still favours this proposal, which is in itself attractive, I do not wish to express dissent at this stage, and if after consultation with the leading Chiefs you are able to devise a scheme that is at once acceptable to them and workable in practice, I am not inclined to place any obstacle in the way of a full and fair trial. And in any event the doubt I have expressed must not be taken as discouraging consultation with individual Chiefs, according to existing practice; for nobody with any part to play in Indian Government, can doubt the manifold advantage of still further developing not only amicable, but confidential relations of this kind, with the loyal rulers in Indian States possessed as they are of such peculiar authority and experience.

PROVINCIAL ADVISORY COUNCILS ABANDONED

4. Next, I agree with your Excellency in the judgment that the question of a Council of Notables for British India only should not be entertained. I am inclined further more, for my own part, to doubt whether the creation of Provincial Advisory Councils is likely to prove an experiment of any marked actual value. The origin of the demand for bodies of that character, whatever the strength of such a demand amount to, is undoubtedly the desire for greater facilities in discussion of public measures. Your Excellency indicates what strikes me as pointing in a more hopeful direction, in the proposition that this claim for increased facilities of discussion should be "rather by extending the powers of the existing Legislative Councils than by setting up large rival Councils" which must to some extent conflict with them. Large or small, such rivalry would be almost certain to spring up, and, from the first, the new species of Council would be suspected as designed to be a check upon the old. As in the case of Ruling Chiefs, or of Notables in British India, so here too informal consultation with the leading men of a locality would have most, or all, of the advantages of an Advisory Council, without the many obvious disadvantages of duplicating political machinery.

ENLARGEMENT OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

5. From these proposals I pass to what is, and what you declare to be, the pith and substance of the despatch under reply.

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"The enlargement of the Legislative Councils," you say "and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions, are the widest, most deep-reaching, and most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward." This perfectly correct description evokes and justifies the close scrutiny to which these features have been subjected in my Council, and I am glad to believe that the result reveals few elements of material difference.

6. Your Government have now felt bound to deal first with the Imperial Legislative Council and from that to work downwards to the Councils in provinces. I gather, however, from your despatch of the 21st March, 1907, that you would at that time have preferred as Lord Lansdowne had done in 1892, to build up the higher fabric on the foundation of the provincial Councils. In your circular letter of the 24th August, 1907, you observed that most logical and convenient mode of dealing with the question would have been first to discuss and settle the composition, the electorates, and the powers of the provincial Legislative Councils, and then to build up, on the basis of these materials, a revised constitution for the Imperial Council." In the absence of proposals from Local Government and Administrations, you were precluded from adopting this course; and therefore, you set tentatively before them the line on which, first, the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, and thereafter those of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, might be constituted.

7. In your present letter you have followed the same order. But with the full materials before me, such as are now supplied by local opinions, it appears to be both more convenient and, as you said, more logical to begin with the Provincial Councils, and afterwards to consider the constitution of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General.

REPRESENTATION ON PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

8. The first question that arises touches the principle of representation. This is fully discussed in paragraphs 18 to 20, 26 to 31, and 34 of your letter. Citing previous discussions of the subject, and referring to the precedent of the measures taken to give effect to the Statute of 1892, you adhere to the opinion that in the circumstances of India "representation by classes and interests is the only practicable method of embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils." (paragraph 18) You justly observe that "the principle to be borne in mind is that election by the wishes of the people is the ultimate object to be secured, whatever may be the actual machinery adopted for giving effect to it." (paragraph 29) You consider that for certain limited interests (the Corporations of Presidency towns, Universities, Chambers of Commerce, Planting Communities, and the like) limited electorates must exist as at present; and you foresee no serious obstacle in carrying out arrangements for that purpose. Difficulties come into view, when you go beyond these limited electorates, and have to deal with large and widespread interests on communities, such as the land-holding and professional classes; or with important minorities, such as Mahomedans in most provinces in India, and Sikhs in the Punjab. You dwell upon the great variety of conditions in the various provinces of the Indian Empire, and the impossibility of applying any uniform

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system throughout ; and your conclusion generally appears to be that class electorates should be framed where this is practicable and likely to lead to good results, and in their failure or defect it will be necessary to have recourse to nomination.

CLASS REPRESENTATION

9. With the general principles advanced by your Excellency in this chapter of our discussion, I am in entire accord. I agree that, to some extent, class representation must be maintained in the limited electorates to which you refer ; and here, as you point out, no serious obstacle is to be anticipated. I agree, also, that the Legislative Council should reflect the leading elements of the population at large, and that no system of representation would be satisfactory, if it did not provide for the presence in the Councils of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Mahomedans and the landed classes. But in examining your plans for obtaining their representation, I am struck with the difficulty of securing satisfactory electoral bodies under them, and, with the extent to which, as you expect, nomination will be demanded to supply the deficiencies of election. The same awkwardness and perplexity appear in obtaining satisfactory representation of the Indian commercial classes, where, as is found generally throughout India with very few exceptions, they have not established Associations or Chambers to represent their interests.

10. The case of landholders in paragraphs 27 to 29 of your letter, with immediate reference to the Imperial Legislative Council, and the situation is just the same—if separate representation is to be secured—for local Councils. You “find it impossible to make any definite proposal which would admit of general application” (para 27) ; you see difficulties in devising a constituency that should consist only of landholders deriving a certain income from land (para. 28) ; and you point out with much force the objections to election by voluntary associations. In the observations I agree, and especially in your remark that the recognition of associations as electoral agencies should be regarded as a provisional arrangement, to be maintained only until some regular electorate can be formed.

11. The same difficulties, as you observe in paragraph 30, encounter the proposal to have a special electorate for Mahomedans. In some provinces, as in Bombay, the Mahomedans are so scattered, that common organisation for electoral purposes is thought impracticable. In other provinces it is proposed to found a scheme partly on a property qualification and partly on literary attainments. In others, again, it is suggested that recourse might be had to voluntary associations. One difficulty in regard to Mahomedans is not mentioned in your letter ; for the provision in any province of a special electorate giving them a definite proportion of the seats on the Councils might involve the refusal to them in that province of a right to vote in the territorial electorates of which rural and Municipal Boards will afford the basis. If that were not done, they would evidently have a double vote, and this would probably be resented by other classes of the population.

ELECTORAL COLLEGES

12. Without rejecting the various expedients suggested by Your Excellency for adoption, in order to secure the adequate representa-

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tion of these important classes on the Councils, I suggest for your consideration that the object in view might be better secured, at any rate in the more advanced provinces in India, by a modification of the system of a popular electorate, founded upon the principle of electoral colleges. The use of this method is not in itself novel ; it already exists in the groups of District Boards and of Municipalities which, in several provinces, return members to the Provincial Councils. The election is not committed to the Boards or Municipalities directly ; these bodies choose electors, who then proceed to elect the representative of the group. I will briefly describe the scheme that at present commends itself to me, and in order to make the method of working clear, I will assume hypothetical figures for a given province. Let it be supposed that the total population of the Province is 20 millions, of whom 15 millions are Hindus and 5 millions Mahomedans, and the number of members to be elected 12. Then, since the Hindus are to Mahomedans as three to one, nine Hindus should be elected to three Mahomedans. In order to obtain these members, divide the Province into three electoral areas, in each of which three Hindus and one Mahomedan are to be returned. Then, in each of these areas, constitute an electoral college, consisting of, let us say, a hundred members. In order to preserve the proportion between the two religions, 75 of these should be Hindus and 25 Mahomedans. This electoral college should be obtained by calling upon the various electorates, which might be (a) substantial landowners paying not less than a fixed amount of land revenue ; (b) the members of rural or subdivisional Boards ; (c) the members of District Boards ; and (d) the members of municipal corporations, to return to it such candidates as they desired, a definite number being allotted to each electorate. Out of those offering themselves and obtaining votes, the 75 Hindus who obtained the majority of votes should be declared members of the College, and the 25 Mussalmans who obtained the majority should similarly be declared elected. If the Mussalmans returned did not provide 25 members for the Electoral College, the deficiency would be made good by nomination. Having thus obtained an Electoral College containing 75 Hindus and 25 Musalmans, that body would be called upon to elect three representatives for the Hindus and one for the Mahomedans ; each member of the College would have only one vote, and could vote for only one candidate. In this way it is evident that it would be in the power of each section of the population to return a member in the proportion corresponding to its own proportion to the total population.

In the same way the desired proportion could be obtained of any representatives of any particular interest, as for instance, of landowners. All that is necessary would be to constitute the electoral college in such a way that the number of electors representing the land owning interest should bear to the total number the same proportion as the members of Council representing that interest to be elected bear to the total number to be elected.

13. In this manner minorities would be protected against exclusion by majorities, and all large and important sections of the population would have the opportunity of returning members in proportion to their ratio to the total population. Their choice could in that event be exercised in the best possible way, that,

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namely, of popular election, instead of requiring Government to supply deficiencies by the dubious method of nomination.

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14. I do not wish definitely to prescribe such a scheme for adoption whether locally or universally, but I commend it to your consideration. It appears to offer expedients by which the objection against a system of nomination may be avoided, and it would work through a choice freely exercised by the electorate at large instead of by artificial electorates specially constituted for the purpose. No doubt it removes the primary voter by more than once stage from the ultimate choice ; and it does not profess to be simple. I can only say that it is quite as simple as any scheme for representation of minorities can ever be. The system of a single vote, which is an essential part of it, is said to work satisfactorily in places where it is already in existence, and it is easy of apprehension by the electors. It would have several great advantages. It would bring the classes specially concerned within the popular electorate, and so meet the criticism of the Hindus, to which you refer in paragraph 30 ; second, it establishes a principle that would be an answer to further claims for representation by special classes or associations ; third, it would ensure the persons chosen being actually drawn from the locality that the electoral college represents : fourth, it would provide a healthy stimulus to interest in local self-government by linking up local bodies (Rural and Municipal Boards) more closely with the Provincial Legislative Councils. To this end it might be provided that the candidate for election to the Provincial Council must himself have taken part in local administration.

15. The due representation of the Indian mercantile community on which you touch in paragraph 31 of your letter, might be included in the scheme, if the commercial classes fail to organise themselves, as you suggest that they may arrange to do, in associations similar to the European Chamber of Commerce.

16. To meet possible objections sounded on the difficulty of bringing together electoral colleges to vote in one place, I may add that this is not contemplated in the scheme. You refer, at the close of paragraph 28, to the success of the Calcutta University organising the election of Fellows by a large number of graduates scattered all over India. The votes of the electors in each college could, I imagine, be collected in the same manner without requiring them to assemble at a common centre.

NO OFFICIAL MAJORITY

17. From the electoral structure, I now turn to the official element in the constitution of Provincial Legislative Councils, dealt with in paragraphs 33 to 56 of your letter. I first observe that in all of them you provide for a bare official majority, but you contemplate that in ordinary circumstances only the number of official members necessary for the transaction of business shall be admitted to attend. The first question, therefore, is the necessity of maintaining in these Councils the majority of officials.

18. We have before us, to begin with, the leading fact that in the important Province of Bombay there is in the Council, as at present composed, no official majority, and that the Bombay

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Government, even in the smaller of its alternative schemes presented to your Excellency in Council, is willing to dispense with such a majority. Considering the character of the legislation ordinarily coming before a Provincial Council, is it not possible, with due representation given to the various classes and interests to the community, to do without a majority of officials? After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that in Provincial Councils such a majority may be dispensed with, provided that a substantial official majority is permanently maintained in the Imperial Legislative Council.

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19. I do not conceal from myself the risks in such an arrangement. The non-official majority may press legislation of a character disapproved by the Executive Government. This should be met by the exercise of the power to withhold assent, possessed by the head of the Government. Then, although the Local Legislature is vested with power to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories constituting the province, still the range of subject is considerably narrowed by the statutory exclusions now in force. Thus, for example, the Local Legislature may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law—affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor-General in Council for the general purposes of the government of India; or regulating currency of postal or telegraph business; or altering in any way the Indian Penal Code; or affecting religion or religious rites or usages; or affecting the discipline or maintenance of naval or military forces; or dealing with patents or copyright, or the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States.

It is difficult to see how any measure of such urgency, in which delay might work serious mischief, can come before a Provincial Council, for mere opposition to a useful and beneficial project would not come within this description. On the other hand, and perhaps more often, there may be opposition on the part of the non-official members to legislation that the Government desires. With a Council, however, representing divergent interests, and realising together with its increased powers greater responsibility, a combination of all the non-official members to resist a measure proposed by the Government would be unlikely, and some non-officials at least would probably cast their votes on the side of the Government. If, however, a combination of all the non-official members against the Government were to occur, it might be a very good reason for thinking that the proposed measure was really open to objection, and should not be proceeded with.

20. Your Excellency will recall, since you came into the authority of Governor-General, an Act proposed by a local Government which a representative Legislative Council would almost certainly have rejected. Your Excellency's action in withholding assent from the Act shows that, in your judgment, it would have been an advantage if the Local Government had been induced by a hostile vote to re-consider their Bill. If, in spite of such hostile vote, the comparatively rare case should arise where immediate legislation were still thought absolutely necessary, then the consti-

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tution as it at present stands provides an adequate remedy. The Governor General in Council to-day possesses a concurrent power to legislate for any province, and though I strongly favour a policy that it leave to each Local Legislative the duty of providing for its own requirements, still I recognize in this power an ample safeguard, should under exceptional circumstances a real demand for its exercise arise.

21. This decision will make it necessary to modify to some extent the constitution of the several Provincial Councils proposed by you, and will enable you to secure a wider representation. Subject to consideration of these details (which will not involve the postponement of the proposed parliamentary legislation for the amendment of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, and for other purposes) I am ready to accept generally the proposals for number and the constitution of the Councils set forth in your letter.

THE OFFICIAL MAJORITY

22. Your proposal in relation to the Imperial Legislative Council are necessarily entitled to the greatest weight. I am glad to find myself able to accept them practically in their entirety. While I desire to liberalize as far as possible the Provincial Councils, I recognise that it is an essential condition of this policy that the Imperial supremacy shall be in no degree compromised. I must therefore regard it as essential that your Excellency's Council in its legislative, as well as its executive, character should continue to be so constituted, as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes, and must always owe, to His Majesty's Government and to the Imperial Parliament. I see formidable drawbacks that have certainly not escaped your Excellency, to the expedient which you propose, and I cannot regard with favour the power of calling into play an official majority, while seeming to dispense with it. I am unable to persuade myself that to import a number of gentlemen, to vote down something upon which they may or may not have heard the arguments, will prove satisfactory. To secure the required relations I am convinced that a permanent official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council is absolutely necessary, and this must outweigh the grave disadvantages that induce us to dispense with it in the Provincial Legislatures. It need not be in any sense an overwhelming majority, and this your Excellency does not seek; but it must be substantial, as it is certainly desirable that the Governor-General should be removed from the conflict of the division list, and that the fate of any measure of resolution should not rest on his vote alone.

23. I have already dealt in the earlier paragraphs of this Despatch with the elective principle, and it will be for your Excellency to consider how far the popular electorate can be utilized for the return to your Legislative Council of landholders and Mahomedans. Some modification of the scheme suggested for the Provinces will, no doubt, be necessary, and the electoral colleges would probably have to be on the basis of Province and not of Division, and the case of the Central Provinces would probably (in view of the disappearance of Advisory Councils) have to be met by nomination until a Local Legislature is provided.

24. I accept your proposals for securing the representation of Commerce both European and Indian.

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25. I also agree to your proposals as to nomination, but it will be a matter for your consideration whether, to meet the requirement of a substantial official majority, the number of nominated officials should not be raised.

26. Your plan for securing occasional representation for the interest of minorities such as the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Indian Christians, the Buddhists, and the domiciled community, meets with my entire approval, and I am in complete sympathy with your intention sometimes to appoint one or two experts in connection with legislation pending before Council.

FURTHER FACILITIES FOR DEBATE

27. I turn to the proposals contained in paragraphs 57,59 of your Despatch, affording further facilities for debate. This subject, as your Excellency remarks, was not dealt with in the earlier correspondence out of which your present proposals arise; but I am entirely in accord with your Excellency's Government in regarding it as of cardinal importance.

28. The existing law, which confines discussion, except on the occasion of the annual financial statement, to legislative proposals actually before the Council imposes a restriction that I am convinced is no longer either desirable or necessary. The plan of your Excellency's Government contemplates a wide relaxation of this restriction, and, in sanctioning it generally, I am confident that these increased facilities judiciously used will be pronounced of the greatest advantage, not only by Councils and those whom they represent, but also by Government, who will gain additional opportunities both of becoming acquainted with the drift of public opinion, and of explaining their own actions.

29. Taking the proposals in detail, I agree that resolutions to be moved should take the form of recommendations to Government, having only such force and effect as Government after consideration shall deem due to them. The introduction and discussion of resolutions should not extend to subjects removed from the cognisance of the Legislative Councils by Statute, and must obviously be subject to rules and restrictions. These, as your Excellency observes, may best be laid down in the first place when the rules of business are drawn up, and developed thereafter as experience may show to be desirable. Meanwhile, I agree generally with the conditions suggested in paragraph 59 of your Despatch. I must, however, remark upon the first of the suggested conditions, that insolated incidents of administration, or personal questions, may be, and often are, at the same time matters of public and general importance. It would in my opinion be sufficient to lay down that resolutions must relate to matters of public and general importance, inasmuch as the President of the Council will have the power of deciding finally whether any proposed resolution does or does not satisfy this condition.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

30. In respect of rules on the asking of questions, I have come to the conclusion that, subject to such restrictions as may be found requisite in practice, and to the existing general powers of the President, the asking of supplementary questions should be allowed. Without these, a system of formal questions met by formal replies

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must inevitably tend to become unreal and ineffective, and, in an assembly in which, under proper safeguards, free discussion and debate is permitted and encouraged, there can be no sufficient reason for prohibiting that method of eliciting information and expressing indirectly the opinions and wishes of the questioners.

BUDGET DISCUSSIONS

31. Special importance attaches to rules as to the discussion of the Imperial Budget, and I recognise with much satisfaction the liberality of the proposals that you have placed before me. The changes under this head constitute a notable step, in the direction of giving to the representatives of Indian opinion a part in the most important administrative operation of the political year. I approve the dates suggested for the promulgation of the financial statement, and for the beginning and ending of its discussion in Committee ; and I anticipate valuable result from the knowledge which your Government will acquire, in these debates, of the views of those whom the proposed measures will chiefly and directly affect ; and which it will be able to utilise in shaping its final financial proposal for the year. Generally, also, I approve the rules sketched in paragraph 64, for the resolution of discussions in Committee, and of the moving of resolutions ; and I concur in your opinion that the form of procedure should be such as to show clearly that the power of executive action resides exclusively in Government, who, while inviting the free expression of opinion in the form of resolutions, do not thereby forego any part of the power and responsibility which has been, and must continue to be, in their hands.

32. Your proposals for the discussion of the Provincial Budgets seem entirely sound. As in the case of the Imperial Budget, so, with respect to the Provincial finances, I observe with satisfaction that provision is made for full and free discussion, and for the consideration by Government of the results of such discussion before the final proposals for the year are framed ; and I believe that, under the system suggested by you, the Local Governments will retain that ultimate control over the financial policy of their Provinces, without which not only the authority of the Government of India, but also that of the Secretary of State in Council and of Parliament, would inevitably disappear.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

33. Your Excellency claims for your scheme as a whole, " that it will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration." The claim is abundantly justified : yet the scheme is not, hardly pretends to be, a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvement in the existing system, that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted, and that to the best of my judgment, are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the Despatch. It is evidently desirable, your Excellency will agree, to present our reformed constitutional system as a whole. From this point of view it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of local self-government. The principles that should inspire and regulate measures with this aim

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can hardly be laid down in sounder or clearer terms than in the Resolution published by the Government of India on the 18th May, 1882. I do not know where to look for a better expression of views that should govern our policy under this important head, and I will venture to quote some passages in this memorable deliverance. Explaining the proposals for local self-government of that date, the Government of India place themselves on ground which may well be our ground also. "It is not primarily," they say, "with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education." And again, "there appears to be great force in the argument that, so long as the chief executive officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs, or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business. The non-official members must be led to feel that real power is placed in their hands and that they have real responsibilities to discharge." This anticipation has been to some extent warranted by experience. Funds have not existed for an efficient executive staff. The official element within the local bodies has been in many places predominant. Non-official members have not been induced, to such an extent as was hoped, to take real interest in local business, because their powers and their responsibilities were not real. If local self-government has so far been no marked success as a training ground, it is mainly for the reason that the constitution of the local bodies departed from what was affirmed in the Resolution to be "the true principle," that "the control should be exercised from without rather than from within, the Government should revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not dictate them." I make no doubt that the Government of India today will affirm, and actively shape their policy upon the principle authoritatively set forth by their predecessors in 1882 :—

"It would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail; and the respective powers of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies."

A STEP FURTHER

Your Excellency will recall that the Resolution, from which I have quoted, treats the Subdivision, Taluqa, or the Tahsil, as the smallest administrative unit. It is a question whether it would not be wise policy to go further. The village in India (generally) has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system, surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire your Excellency in Council to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life.

34. The encouragement of local self-government being an object of this high importance in the better organisation of our Indian system, it remains to be considered how far in each province it would be desirable to create a department for dealing exclusively

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with these local bodies, guiding and instructing them, and correcting abuses, in a form analogous to the operations of the Local Government Board in this country. That, however, is a detail, though a weighty one, in a question on which, as a whole, I confidently expect that your Excellency will find much light in the forthcoming report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

35. In the closing page of your letter, your Excellency raises a question of a high order of importance. You recognise, as you inform me, that "the effect of our proposals will be to throw a greater burden on the heads of local Governments, not only by reason of the actual increase of work caused by the long sittings of the Legislative Councils, but also because there will be considerable responsibility in dealing with the recommendations of those Councils." You then suggest the possibility that experience may show it to be desirable to strengthen the hands of the Lieutenant-Governors in the large provinces by the creation of Executive Councils, and of assisting the Governor of Madras and Bombay by enlarging the Executive Councils that now exist in these Presidencies.

36. I have to observe, with respect to Bombay and Madras, that the original scheme under the Act of 1833 provided for the appointment of three members to each of the Executive Council in those Presidencies. It seems conformable to the policy of this Despatch to take power to raise to four the number of members of each of these Executive Councils, of whom one at least should be an Indian. I would not, however, propose to make this a provision of statute, but would leave it to practice and usage growing into confirmed rule.

37. As to the creation of Executive Councils in the larger provinces, I am much impressed by both of the considerations that weigh with your Excellency in throwing out the suggestion, and more especially by the second of them. All will depend for the wise and efficient despatch of public business upon right relations between the supreme head of executive power in the province and the Legislative Council. The question is whether these relations will be the more likely to adjust themselves effectively, if the judgment of the Lieutenant-Governor is fortified and enlarged by two or more competent advisers, with an official and responsible share in his deliberations.

38. Your Excellency anticipates longer sittings of the Legislative Council, with increased activity of discussion, and the effectual representation of provincial opinion and feeling as a guide to executive authority, is the central object of the policy of your Excellency's despatch. The aim of that policy is twofold; at once to enable Government the better to realise the wants, interests, and sentiments of the governed, and on the other hand, to give the governed a better chance of understanding, as occasion arises, the case for the Government, against the misrepresentations of ignorance and malice. That double object, as your Excellency fully appreciates, is the foundation of the whole system in India, and all over the world of administration and legislation either through, or subject to, the criticism of deliberative bodies whether great or small.

39. The suggestion for the establishment of Executive Councils for Lieutenant-Governors, as your Excellency is aware, is not

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new. A really new problem or new solution, is, in truth, surprisingly uncommon in the history of British rule in India, and of the political or administrative controversies connected with it. Indeed without for an instant undervaluing the supreme necessity for caution and circumspection at every step and motion in India Government, it may be open to some to question whether in some of these controversies before now even an erroneous conclusion would not have been better than no conclusion at all. The issue we are now considering was much discussed in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State in 1868, by men of the highest authority on Indian questions, and I do not conceive that after all the consideration given to the subject then and since, further consultations could be expected to bring any new arguments of weight and substance into view.

CIVILIAN LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS

40. It has sometimes been argued that the creation of Executive Councils in the major provinces would necessarily carry with it, as in Bombay and Madras, the appointment in each case of a Governor from home. This would indeed be a large departure from the present system of administration, almost amounting to the confusion and overthrow of that system, reposing as it does upon the presence at the head of the highest administrative posts of officers trained and experienced in the complex requirements and diversified duties of Indian government. I take for granted, therefore, that the head of the Province will be, as now, a member of the Indian Civil Service appointed in such mode as the law prescribes.

41. I propose, therefore, to ask for power to create Executive Councils from time to time as may be found expedient. In this connection we cannot ignore the necessity of securing that a constitutional change, designed both to strengthen the authority and to lighten the labour of the head of the Province, shall not impair the prompt exercise of executive power. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider most carefully what degree of authority over the members of his Councils in case of dissent, should be vested in the head of a province in which an Executive Council may be called into being. It was recognised by Parliament more than a century ago that the Government of Madras and Bombay should be vested with a discretionary power of over-ruling the Councils "in case of high importance and essentially affecting the public interest and welfare." A power no less than this will obviously be required in the provinces in which a Council may come to be associated with the head of the Executive, and I shall be glad if you will favour me with your views upon its definition. Your Excellency will readily understand that the use of such a power, while not to be evaded in the special case for which it is designed, is not intended for part of the ordinary mechanism of Government. Rather, in the language of the historical despatch of 1834, it is my belief that, "in a punctual, constant, and even fastidious adherence to your ordinary rules of practice, you will find the best security, not only for the efficiency, but also for the despatch of your legislative proceedings."

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
humble servant, "
(Sd.) MORLEY OF BLACKBURN.

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

BENGAL

St. Andrew's Dinner (or was it Sir Andrew's?) was a veritable farewell meeting this year. Good dishes and Exit Sir Andrew evidently excellent wines were supplemented by the many good things said of Sir Andrew Fraser on the eve of his departure from his field of activities in India. Being in the position of the host as the chairman of the Dinner, Sir Andrew was treated to a surfeit of eulogy just in keeping with the extravagance of the menu. All this good luck Sir Andrew owed to the poor witless youth who made an attempt on his life. That event had very naturally evoked a flood of sympathy for him which but for this he would scarcely have deserved. Judged in the light of the punishment which Terrorism forged for him, his career is surely remarkably harmless. For with all his faults he was certainly not such a dangerous ruler as to be the marked man for those who delight in the murder of kings and governors. He was certainly weak and may not have been overflowing in his sympathy to the people, but this much at any rate can be said of him that he was not directly responsible for any such act as is calculated to make the blood of people boil and which proved to be such a story of shame in the administration of a sister province. There was Police rule certainly and a great deal more of it than was good for the stomach of any but the most bigotted *ap ke waste*, but it was exactly what police rule always is, that is when a free hand is obtained by the police by working upon the *weakness* of the head of the administration by parading lurid pictures of unheard of things by way of atrocities. On the whole it must be said that though Sir Andrew's regime was weak to a degree, yet it was not wicked. So I don't grudge Sir Andrew the surfeit of good things that he received on St. Andrew's Day, even including the high encomiums that his fellow Scotsmen showered upon him in the overflow of a Pan-Scottish sentiment, nor the appreciation of all and sundry which shows sure signs of a fast approaching condensation into a statue. He did not deserve much of this certainly, but that's what you might say of others who have had them before him. And then, he did not deserve the futile shots fired at him either.

I am chary of welcoming new rulers. Three whom Bengalee Sir Edward Baker journals welcomed most viz. Lord Morley, Lord Curzon and Sir Andrew Fraser have given us such disappointments in rapid succession that we had better wait till we see the last of Sir Edward Baker. But Sir Edward is not quite a stranger to us. He holds a golden record alike in the history of the Service and in the hearts of the people all over India. His financial administration of India has been no more lucky than successful. He has relieved all classes of people of a share of their burden of taxation. In the discharge of his high functions he has been very far from ostentatious and those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance report him to be a charming personality. Bengal is

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no stranger to Sir Edward but, as he has himself said, it is his old love. Bengal is not as she used to be before as he must know. During the time he has been away from Bengal she has had more than a modest share of the kicks and buffets of political life and has had the opportunity of playing with a bomb or two. Sir Edward must therefore find her moody. But he knows Bengal such as few other civilians know and if he chooses he can very well leave her a more happy country than she ever has been. The secret of success in this line lies in a policy of self-confidence and confidence in the people. A strong good man at Belvedere who knows his business would calm down the province in less than no time. Sir Edward's antecedents justify us in the hope that we have just the man that we want in the present circumstances. Let us hope that the good luck which was his unfailing attendant and a great factor in his successful administration of the finances of India will attend him here also and to him will be given the delightful task of inaugurating genuine administrative reforms which it would be his proud achievement to direct to most fruitful results. This hope, I say, is justified; but if I cherish this hope it is with a trembling heart. For I realise how much is left to chance: An adverse turn of circumstances no less than an unforeseen freak of a character may lead the best promises to a tragic conclusion. The recent history of Bengal has a decided tendency to make fatalists of us all.

It is to be feared that already a sad fatality has begun to make its influence felt on the promises of Sir Edward. The Anarchist Baker's rule in Bengal. For, with his taking up Act the reins of Government, repressive activity in Bengal has had a new lease of life with the passing of that very unfortunate Act which has been not inaptly dubbed the Anarchist Act. The principal provisions of the Act passed in a frightful hurry to arm the executive with new sweeping powers to cope with what was evidently a great emergency are three. In the first place, it provides for the trial of certain classes of cases at the discretion of the Magistrate by a special tribunal constituted by three High Court Judges. The second provides for the admission of evidence of dead accomplices without cross-examination if his death has been caused in the interest of the defence. The third is to suppress associations with unlawful objects by making all participators in them and all contributors to their funds liable to punishment.

Without for one moment conceding that there was any occasion for amending the ordinary law for the trial of anarchists, I do not quarrel with the provisions relating to the appointment of the special court. One need not complain about a trial by three High Court Judges instead of a Mofussil Judge. But I doubt how far it will be acceptable to the prosecution. Loud complaints have been made about the length of the bomb conspiracy case but no one with half an eye could fail to see that the whole of it was due to the prosecution—it may be, for very proper purposes—but not the least to the defence. Would it suit the prosecution to hurry up with these cases, as they would have to, before a tribunal of High Court Judges? Their Lordships are not likely to be indulgent to the prosecution about postponements and remands as their Worships of the Mofussil Courts. So that, after all, it is a toss up as to who loses by the new

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law, the prosecution or the defence? A very institutive answer to this question is capable of being deduced from the fact that though the Act was passed in such a hurry as to give an impression that a summary trial of several persons could not be delayed by a single day, yet the Government has been proceeding mighty leisurely in bringing any such persons to trial, although several arrests have been made. Some of the incidents of these arrests evidently leave the impression that the Government began to ponder after the arrest and, taking all facts into consideration, found it more profitable to deport the men under the rusty old Regulation of 1818 rather than face an inconvenient trial under the new law. Of that however, more presently.

Now, looking at the other provisions of the Act, I am disposed to feel amused at the nervousness displayed by Approver's Evidence to the Legislature in making the untested deposition of an approver admissible. That it is against all accepted principles of evidence is very clear. And taking a common sense view of things, with the no very exalted idea of the police tactics that I hold, I cannot very well see how it would be expedient to put in the untested evidence of a person whose pardon is conditional and life at the mercy of the police against another who may have roused the suspicion of the police but who, for all that, may be perfectly innocent. It would be strange in any case and irrational in the case of an evidence taken under the new Act before a committing magistrate behind the back of the accused and without his ever having the opportunity to cross-examine him. Under the new Act this provision is altogether unnecessary; because the risk of the approver being known and therefore that of being murdered before the final trial is very small. And in spite of the saving clause that the murder of the approver in the interest of the accused must be proved, and the circumstance that the estimation of the evidence at its proper worth will rest with the Judges, there is a large element of danger to the innocent. Suppose A, B, C, and D are accused of a conspiracy and an approver, E, gives evidence against all of them. A who is really guilty and finds his case hopeless, murders E. Now must B, C, and D, who are innocent suffer for him? And then, if the Act is to be retrospective, how far will Narendranath Gossain's deposition be evidence against those persons, not at that time in the dock, who have had the misfortune to be named by him? These are matters which are left delightfully vague, to be fought out between astute lawyers on the Bench and at the bar.

But the provision which gives dangerous powers to the Executive to harass innocent persons most is that relating to unlawful associations to unlawful associations. Associations which incite violence or intimidation or are dangerous to public peace are of course unlawful. But every association which does no such thing is apt to be rendered unlawful by the fiat of the Government which, properly analysed comes, in ordinary cases, to mean the Police. Participants in such associations are to be punished with imprisonment. So are men who contribute to its funds. It is possible that the Government of India will use its powers with great circumspection, but it may not always be properly informed by its underlings. The result would be the suppression of societies whose objects are not only legitimate but

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perhaps very laudable. Specially ominous is the suggestion of Sir Edward Baker in his speech on this Act which suggests that societies suspected of promoting boycott by social ostracism will be brought under its operation. For myself, I am not a lover of social boycott. It is a primitive and almost barbarous instrument of coercion which may be very much abused. And as a rule, I am against utilising any superstition or any social evil for the furtherance of our political propaganda. They only serve to debase politics and give a long lease of life to an unworthy and dying superstition. But it is a fact that when people feel as strongly as they undoubtedly do in the matter of boycott, they will feel an aversion towards those who differ from them. The result often is that such a person is avoided by all his co-villagers even without any organised effort. To my knowledge there have been cases in which people have been isolated in this way without their being any explicit understanding among the villagers. Such a boycott cannot in any sense of the term be regarded illegitimate or bad. It is highly probable that when such a thing occurs in any village, the Police will get some body into trouble for it and, if there happens to be a *sabha* in the village, as there often is, it will be declared unlawful and the whole village run in for the offence of not having anything to do with a man with whom they have not much in common.

But by far the most mischievous thing about the whole law is the absence of the amendments proposed by Dr. Ghose's Amendments Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the sole dissentient member in the Council. If anybody were to suffer for participating in the work of an unlawful association or for contributing to it, he must be shown to have done it "knowingly." That is common sense and that was what the Irish Coercion Acts provided. But our legislators would not burden the delicate shoulders of the prosecution with the task of proving the knowledge. Sir Harvey Adamson said that the innocent contributor was protected by the general exception of the Penal Code. But, and that is one of the chief beauties of the hasty Act, there is not one word in the entire Act to show that it will have to be read along with the Penal Code and the Judges may very well refuse to supplement the Act by the words of the member in charge. Even granting that they would not, why should the prosecution be given this sort of clean slate? Why should the police have the work made all so easy for them? Why should the Government suppose that something more drastic is required for India than was necessary in Ireland's darkest days? It is very easy to prove knowledge. It is more difficult to prove *bonafides*. A contributor to a Cricket Club which later on turns out to be a bomb factory will usually find very little to prove his ignorance of the real objects of the Society.

The facts unmistakably show that the Government has taken another false step to add to the series of blunders that have brought about the present crisis. The situation in Bengal was very hopeful when Sir Edward Baker took up the reins of Government. Persons of all shades of opinion looked up to Sir Edward to calm down the unrest in West Bengal as Sir Charles Bayley had done in Eastern Bengal. The anarchist was abroad no doubt tracking the footsteps of Sir Andrew Fraser and perhaps also of the Maharaja of Burdwan but they were evidently the last of a dying race. The people of the

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country as a whole, who were deeply discontented and whose discontent was of more moment than half-a dozen anarchist outrages, looked forward hopefully to Lord Morley's reform proposals which were shortly expected and to the well-trusted statesmanship of Sir Edward Baker. The threatened Crimes Act was supposed to have been dropped and a policy of conciliation was hopefully looked for. The Crimes Act gave the first mild shock of disappointment. Sir Edward Baker's speech roused gloomy apprehensions. It was evident that the Government would first stop all discontent by force and then proceed with reforms, if any. That is putting the cart before the horse. The exasperation that is sure to result in such a process will only help to rouse distrust and put off a peaceful solution by methods of conciliation even when they are resorted to at last.

The Act has been quickly followed by several arrests, not, as The arrests might be supposed, under any of its sections, but under Regulation III of 1818. They include respected men like Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitra. Nor have lesser creatures been ignored, the impression being that some people have been dignified by deportation whose activities were far from having any influence on the society at large. The case of the arrest of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra throws an interesting side-light on the whole affair. This gentleman was arrested under the Criminal Procedure Code as a suspect. That was what the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta gave out. But suddenly next day all that pretence was given up and he was deported under Regulation III. Is it that the Police arrested him at first to bring him to trial and then thought better and secured their deportation? A trial of Babu Krishna Kumar would have been very inconvenient for the police. For if there is one man of spotless character—and free from any revolutionary bias amongst our public men, it is Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra. Even the ingenuity of the cleverest evidence-manufacturer would despair of making a case against him more than that he was an ardent patriot of unassailable principles. That may be very offensive to the Police but it has not yet been pronounced as a crime. The same may be said of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and of some others. The Government therefore certainly acted judiciously in avoiding an open trial.

But, if there is such a thing as conscience in politics, those people who have been instrumental in filching away the Occultism and liberty of these men by this backhander must have common-sense been having quite a warm hour with it just now. And the Government! we fail to see why after all the trouble it has taken to provide short and sweet trial of political crimes should fight so shy of it in these cases. It is all very well to say that these gentlemen are very much better in deportation than in jail, but that is begging the whole question—it is assuming that they would be convicted. Honesty as well as criminal law forbids our making any such presumption against any person. Nay more, the very fact that they have not been brought to trial is a *prima facie* evidence of the fact that there is no case against them. Is it that a long public trial is prejudicial to public interests? We deny it, but granting it, it is exactly for this that the new Act has been framed. If even the new Act does not secure a short and swift trial we fail to find why it was passed at all and why the Government did not rely upon its old arms which have been put to use. But it might

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be that these are fearful creatures who work by such subtle means as to elude punishment but are all the same awfully dangerous to the community. That remains to be proved, and the Government, if it is to justify its action before the wide world, will have to show ample grounds for its belief. This we are afraid it is as little likely to do in these cases as in the case of Lala Lajpat Rai. The Government may have some occult sources of information, though in that case it had better remember Banquo's advice to Macbeth before it relied too much on them. But so far as a humdrum worldly knowledge of facts goes, we confess to an ignorance of such elements of danger in the position of affairs as to justify these actions. A comprehensive study of the present situation leaves only a painful feeling that the Government has by its actions initiated a policy which is sure to have evil consequences in the future and that, without it, there was not the slightest possibility of mischief from the men deported.

There is one matter which all the persons arrested have in common, and that is the staunch support given to The Government and Boycott the boycott movement. A question is naturally asked, does the government believe that the boycott is at the root of terrorism? If the Government has permitted itself to be befooled in this way we can only regret the steps it has taken. I should regret it because the Government cannot repress boycott by force if it is not killed by kindness, because the Government by taking this false step would be putting back the real solution of the problem of the administration of Bengal one does not know how far, because it is opening up a new era of disquiet when all should be seeking for peace, because it hampers the peaceful progress of the country and because it will largely counteract the beneficent results the new reforms might have and because the struggle with boycott will have to be arduous and long. Sir Edward Baker and Lord Minto desired to have done with the unpleasant work of coercion before the reform scheme came. But if coercion means suppression of boycott, they may rest assured that they will be only starting a fight which is not likely to be finished in the course of their tenure of office. In Eastern Bengal the fight began four years ago and it has gone on ever since. Boycott has not lost but gained in strength. We trust Sir Edward Baker will not try the same experiment in the western half of the province. Such an attempt will only bring on greater disorder and turmoil. Terrorising over society will upset its balance and drive the country to ruin and the rich promises of the coming reforms will all be thrown to the winds. If the Government will only be reasonable, they should wait and let conciliation have a chance. The efficiency of the police should be improved, crime must be hunted down, society should not be too readily disturbed. After reasonable people have been satisfied, it will be time enough to hunt down the anarchist to his native home. The Government may look for its home now, but it is utterly mistaken if it thinks that it has found it out in the boycott movement. That would be making a mistake which it may be difficult to rectify. The peace and order of the Indian Society should not be too readily upset, either by brainless youngsters or by the Government, for experience shows that it takes a long time in readjusting itself.

'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the pioneer Bengali Academy

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The Bengal Academy of Literature of Literature in the province, opened its splendid new building last week in a public meeting which was a huge success in respect of its attendance, its programme as well as in respect of the very substantial donations it received in support of a permanent fund. Out of an estimated 50 thousand, 14 thousand rupees were promised on the spot by half a dozen noblemen. This is a good beginning and promises a great deal. The *Sahitya Parishad* has done a great deal of useful work in its past career in the way of hunting old manuscripts and tracing landmarks in the history of Bengalee literature as well as in that of the province at large. The collection of these materials of history is certainly a work that the *Parishad* with its scanty means may look back upon with pride. But I trust that, with the increased resources that it now promises to get in the near future, the *Parishad* will find it possible to devote its attention to matters whose interest is not buried in the old musty past. It may have a very useful career in enriching Bengalee literature by useful works on the many living sciences which the country needs most and in which the interest is apt to be very keen. In so doing it would also greatly quicken the intellectual activity of our people by focussing together the academical interests of our alumni. A great sphere of usefulness lies before the *Parishad* in this line and we trust it will make great strides now that it has made its great debut to attain to this greater goal of the ambitions of Bengal's intellectual activities. We desire to see the *Sahitya Parishad* stand out as a field for, and an embodiment of, all the intellectual activity of a new Bengal.

You must not trust newspaper reports when you are dealing with our great men, at any rate with the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Nothing but the official report will pass muster. That is how Mr. A. Chaudhuri got into trouble in the Senate a couple of weeks ago when discussing the proposal to disaffiliate the Law Classes in the T. N. Jubilee Institute. A tempest was blown into a teapot and the Vice-Chancellor got into a temper which Mr. Chaudhuri sharply rebuked in a neat and well merited rejoinder. The proposal to disaffiliate was on the recommendation of the Syndicate whose conditions the said College did not satisfy. Mr. Chaudhuri pleaded that they ought to have been given a chance and not disaffiliated outright. He said that the Syndicate should lay down a standard and not go on disaffiliating right and left. The Vice-Chancellor said that the Syndicate had laid down a standard : Mr. Chaudhuri asked if they were not entitled to know what that standard was. The Vice-Chancellor admitted the claim. The logical consequence of all this would be, as Mr. Chaudhuri claimed, that the consideration of the motion should be postponed till the requirements of the Syndicate were made known to the Fellows. But the strangest part of the thing was that the Vice-Chancellor after his cool admission permitted the motion to go round and after a discussion it was accepted, without the Fellows caring to enquire what blessed standard the Syndicate had laid down. Such a holy thing is autocracy and the charm of a powerful V. C., though legal and academical talents like those of the Advocate-General, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitter and Mr. A. Chaudhuri were set up against him. Would it have

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greatly marred the dignity of the University to have given these colleges just a little time to consider if they should fulfil the desired conditions? Would it have clogged the wheels of progress altogether? By accepting Mr. Chaudhuri's motion, at best two month's respite would have been given to these colleges and they would have been affiliated from June next all the same. The great and the ideal Law College is yet very much in the air. Why then this indecent haste in running down these small fry?

What is it that has been happening in Bettiah? Some cultivators said to be led by some of their betters seems to have risen in revolt against the Indigo factories and several of them have been convicted of causing breach of the peace. That their conduct may have been very *illegal*, I do not deny. But, we might profitably remember sometimes that law is often "an ass." Where powerful Factory wallahs are at issue with humble docile ryots, I confess to a bias in favour of the weaker party and would never believe that they have willingly braved the authority of the *saliblogs* without any grave provocation, until it is proved. The position of affairs is this. The factory people are lessees of the Bettiah Raj and have plenary powers over the ryots. The ryots allege that they abuse these powers by forcing them to produce indigo and sugar-cane for the factories and also to give forced service to the factories. Disobedience was occasionally punished with severe beating and the poor ryots had not courage to resist and did not resist so long as the terms were not such as to be absolutely intolerable. Cultivating indigo and sugar-cane for the factories is not half as profitable as to raise other crops or to sell the sugar-cane in the open market. But still, till the prices of food grains rose as high as now, they did not resist. But as matters stand, the present earnings do not come to a bare subsistence and many cultivators have abandoned their holdings and migrated to Nepal. Others stayed and resisted, ryots occurred and the position of affairs was at the beginning of last month quite alarming. The rising has been quelled with a strong hand and the ringleaders convicted. This story of the ryots is not only very probable on the face of it, but accords completely with the history of all struggles of the weak against the strong and is simply a repetition of the story of the indigo disturbances in Bengal in the fifties of the last century. But whatever may be the truth in this story, the fact remains that the ryots have revolted against the factory. They have all to lose and nothing to gain by revolting against these powerful Factory wallahs. So it is impossible to deny that the ryots must have had some serious grievances or at any rate that they felt they had. The Factory wallahs may have been angels, but this is sure that they have not succeeded in inspiring the tenants with faith in their angelic nature. That being so, it is obligatory on the Government to interfere and set matters right. An officer has been deputed to look into the matter and I suspend further remarks till I see how he grapples with the problem before him.

The latest Government Resolution or Education informs us that Education in Bengal there are 45,699 educational institutions of all classes in the province, in which out of over 80½ lakhs of children of school-going age, 12,93,891 boys and 1,44,304 girls, or 29·8 and 3·5 per cent., respect-

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ively, are receiving instruction, at a total cost of Rs. 124 lakhs, of which the provincial revenues contributed nearly a third. The Government makes some very significant remarks on several phases of the educational problems which we quote below : " In the face of the dearth of funds, which threatens to increase *pari passu* with the increase in the number of educational objects for which funds are wanted, it is worth considering whether a reduction is not possible in the number of colleges directly maintained by Government. It may be remarked in conclusion with regard to the Government Colleges that while much has been proposed for their improvement, comparatively little has been actually done. Progress demands expenditure, and very large sums will have to be provided for men, buildings, and equipment before it can be possible to rest content in the assurance that a lead has been given and an example set to the private colleges in Bengal....The difficulty here (in secondary education) as elsewhere lies in the adequate provision of funds ; but as the improvement of secondary education is a necessary corollary to University reform, it is hoped that the Government of India, which was largely responsible for the latter, will see its way to giving the necessary assistance to provincial revenues." Then we go on to the primary schools, of which there are 33,954, educating over ten lakhs of boys, at the cost of Rs. 27 lakhs. A great deal has been said of late regarding abolition of fees in primary schools. The report contains an interesting resume of opinions, official and non-official, elicited in connection with the Government of India's proposals. The general conclusion arrived at is ominous : " The figures are sufficiently deterrent as they stand, and especially in view of the urgent claims of other branches of education for Government support, affect most powerfully the question of the immediate introduction of free primary education." This knocks the scheme of primary education on the head, so far at least as Bengal is concerned.

The Annual Report on land revenue administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1907-08, just published, shows the lowest percentages of collections on demand on record in the past five years, and the highest outstanding balances. This is explained as being due to bad harvests in certain districts and to the consequent high prices of food grains.

Mr. W. H. Buchan's Report on the working of Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal shows that consolidation rather than extension is not the policy to be adopted in regard to these useful institutions. The number of societies formed is over 11,000 and combination is felt to be necessary in order to ensure continuity of efficient working.

The experiment of sending agricultural students from Bengal to America, there to complete their scientific and practical training, seems to be a success. Four students sent in 1905 returned last year, and the services of one of these were placed at the disposal of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the other three being employed at the Provincial Agricultural College. Two more students have been sent to the Cornell University, and it is gratifying to learn that favourable reports continue to be received in respect of all the young men who are still in America for their two years' course.

The canals of Bengal must be classed among remunerative works,

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while they serve the very useful purpose of enabling crops to be irrigated over large areas during periods of drought and scanty rainfall. From a Resolution by the Lieutenant-Governor in a recent issue of the "Calcutta Gazette," we note that productive irrigation works during the three years ending 31st March, 1908, yielded a gross revenue of Rs. 22,55,718, which is better by Rs. 1,99,173 than that during the previous triennium. The increase is mainly due to larger irrigation returns. The average annual working expenses were Rs. 12,87,595, giving an average annual net revenue of Rs. 9,68,169, which is better than the two previous triennial periods by Rs. 10,516 and Rs. 4,70,455, respectively. It is expected that when all the main canals and tributaries are completed, an area roughly estimated at 127,500 acres will be irrigated.

The Income-Tax Report of Eastern Bengal and Assam for the triennium which ended on the 31st March, 1908, may be taken as an indication of slightly improved prosperity in the case of the superior classes in the new Province during that period. The net revenue from the Tax was in 1906-07 Rs. 10,24,294, and in 1907-08 Rs. 11,20,320. The proportion of persons assessed to population, which was one in 1,858 in 1905-06, was one in 1,675 in 1907-08. These results, though no doubt due, as the Report says, partly to an increased vigilance on the part of the officers engaged in the work of assessment, and perhaps to some extent also to a rise in rupee incomes, consequent on a rise in prices and fall in the value of paper, show a gradual advance in the trade and prosperity of the Province. In the Dacca Division the increase is attributed partly to certain European jute merchants having returned larger profits.

MADRAS

Within less than a fortnight the Indian National Congress will meet at Madras under the Presidency of Dr. The Congress Rashbehary Ghosh and under the new rules adopted for it by the Convention Committee at Allahabad. Along with this there will be a Session of the Industrial Conference, one of the Social Conference, one of the Theistic Conference, one of the Temperance Association and what not. Whatever may be said of the Indian Congress by its detractors, critics and candid friends, no educated Indian can speak aught in disparagement of the allied Conferences which have naturally come to be regarded as very valuable adjuncts of the Congress. The city of Madras is making all necessary preparations to hold these Conferences in peace and to receive their delegates as guests. After a long time Madras is again looking busy and active and I only hope that some of these activities will survive the enthusiasm of the last week of December.

The death of Sir Bhasyam Iyengar and of Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu has removed from amongst us two Obituary of our most distinguished and typical citizens. From the lowest rank of a ministerial office, Sir Bhasyam Iyengar fought his way up, stage by stage, to the highest legal office in the Province in the gift of the State. In judicial knowledge and forensic ability, Sir Bhasyam has had no equal in his day in all India excepting perhaps

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Dr. Rashbehary Ghose of Calcutta. Sir Bhasyam gave up all his time for law and besides law he owned no master. His emotions and sentiments were not highly developed, and the city of Madras and the Southern Presidency have very seldom been benefited either by his wisdom or by his purse. Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu was a man of a different stamp—genial, frank, open and highly patriotic. He gave his best to the public interest of his country—his time and his purse. One of the pioneers of the Congress movement in India, Mr. Charlu never failed to answer any call of duty on behalf of his country. He gave up six most valuable years of his professional life in pleading for justice on behalf of his countrymen in the Council Chamber of Calcutta. The best trait in Mr. Charlu's life is to be found in his attitude towards the Congress which will shortly meet at Madras. As soon as the fact of a Congress Session was announced, Mr. Charlu joined the protest which was numerously signed by his fellow-citizens of Madras. But when it was pointed out that there was no other alternative than to hold the present session of the Congress at Madras, Mr. Charlu as readily withdrew his protest. Though Mr. Ananda Charlu was not a brilliant man or a politician, his geniality and good humour and strong common sense gave him a unique distinction among his fellow-workers.

THE PUNJAB

Owing to the exceptionally heavy rainfall all over the Punjab during the last summer months a very severe outbreak of malarial fever has unhappily occurred this autumn in an epidemic form throughout the province. Taking the principal stations in the province, it has been noted that Rawalpindi has had 19 inches beyond its average rainfall ; Delhi, Lahore, and Sealkote, 14 inches above the normal. In the usually dry districts in the South West, Montgomery recorded 25½ inches, instead of a normal between 7 and 8, and Kushab had double its usual supply. This abnormal rainfall was common practically to the whole of the Western Punjab and brought about extensive water-logging of the soil in the various districts. The rains suddenly stopped about the middle of August and a powerful September sun caused fever to develop at an alarming rate. Since October last most of the cities in the Punjab have suffered terribly from this outbreak of malaria, whole villages and towns being stricken with this fever. At Amritsar, Delhi and Lahore there has been a considerable increase of mortality owing to this epidemic. The medical authorities of the Punjab, both civil and military, are doing their level best to meet the situation ; but beyond the quinine treatment there is nothing else to fall back upon. We now learn that the Punjab Government has engaged the services of four Hakims to disseminate sanitary lessons for preventing the malaria and the plague, and that it has ordered four itinerant dispensaries to be equipped and to be placed under competent charge in tracts where malaria is rife.

There has been a rather unseemly controversy going on in the Press of this Province regarding the appointment of Mr. Shahdin as a judge of the Chief Court. We all regret that Mr. Lalchand's claim has been

An Apple of
Discord

PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)

overlooked by the Punjab Government, but still more do we regret that this should have formed the bone of contention between two such rival communities as the Hindus and Mahomedans. For this recrudescence of racial controversy we think our Hindu friends are to blame; for they have no reasons to think that such appointments are ever their monopoly. Besides, it should always be borne in mind that we have now reached a stage of our national life when we can *not* afford to fight with each other for such trifles as official patronage. It does us more harm than good and gives our Anglo-Indian enemies opportunities to laugh at our expense.

While political activity is at lull in the Punjab, Mr. Hardyal is inveighing violently against the Congress and its leaders in the columns of the *Punjabee*. We are told that a National Congress is a bastard issue of Western education and most of its leaders are no better than "political buffoons and mimics." The Punjab or, for the matter of that, the rest of India can afford to treat such silly observations with the contempt that they deserve. But we can not turn aside so lightly from the complaints that Lala Lajpat Rai has preferred against us from England. Lala Lajpat grievedly complains that we in the Punjab have thoroughly been demoralised by the recent events in India and that though there may now yet be a sort of public opinion here, there is not much of sincerity or honesty of purpose in our public life. Every other man in the Punjab is either acting as a spy or keeping his counsel to himself,—there is no trusting even intimate friends and consequently any organization of public life has well-nigh become impossible. We must confess we are in a sad plight today. This must be admitted for the sake of truth that this demoralization of public life is increasing owing to the absence in the Punjab of some of its trusted leaders, including Lala Lajpat Rai himself. No body here yet knows when the Lala is coming back to India, and until he and his friends change there sphere of activity from London to Lahore, no organization of public life can even be thought of here.

The first public auction of American cotton grown in the Punjab American Cotton Canal Colonies has been a success and the experiment will now go forward. The price obtained was about 25 per cent better than the price obtainable for Indian cotton.

Returns published by the Punjab Government show that the Income Tax come Tax revenue in that province has increased from nine lakhs in 1886 to over thirteen lakhs last year, in spite of the fact that the taxable limit of income has been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 in that period. The Punjab Government claim this as indicating steady development in the non-agricultural income of the province, though the significant fact is added that a sixth of the revenue derived from the tax in the Punjab is only a reduction in salaries paid by Government and local authorities.

The returns of trans-frontier trade for 1907-08, so far as the Trans-Frontier Trade North-West Frontier Province is concerned, are quite satisfactory. Its value was 304 lakhs, or more than two millions sterling, and there were at last an improvement in the trade with Afghanistan. The value of this was nearly 105 lakhs, or an increase of over 7½

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lakhs in the year. Indian tea accounted for nearly two lakhs of this rise in value and there was a much greater demand for salt. The lowering of the duty on salt has had its effect across the Frontier generally, the quantity exported in the past year having risen by some 65,000 maunds. The caravans which carry the trade with Dir, Swat and Bajour were particularly active, and when the Nowshera Dargai line is converted to the broad-gauge this trade is likely still further to expand.

The increased commercial activity of the Punjab is taken by Commercial activity the Lieutenant-Governor to be indicated in the figures contained in the Triennial Report on the

Administration of the Stamp Department. The proceeds of the sale of non-judicial stamps, excluding the one-anna receipt stamps which were unified with the postage stamp in October 1905, have risen steadily from eleven lakhs in 1902-03 to 13½ lakhs in 1907-08.

BOMBAY

Universal grief is felt for the death of Lady Clarke so shortly after her arrival in India—an event which has cast a gloom over all phases of life in this presidency. All classes of the people here have expressed their deep sympathy with His Excellency the Governor in his bereavement. We hope the death of his beloved consort will not lead him to take the extreme step of throwing up the reins of office. For a long time we have not had such a discerning and popular Governor as Sir George Clarke.

The Native Piece Goods Association of Bombay possess great power and influence and are able to organise strong measures and hold together in any emergency. The Piece-goods Association's Ultimatum They have recently addressed a circular to European import firms declining to order goods except under new invoices, and they have also decided to buy no goods even on the new contract terms, either from the stocks in Bombay or goods on the way, and to make no new contracts until such time as they determine otherwise.

No doubt the decision is the result of the large supplies lying at their risk in Bombay at the present moment. So long as the Lancashire lock-out lasted they were of the opinion that there was every probability of relief, and from their point of view the stoppage did not last long enough.

The above Association has not stopped by giving an ultimatum to Lancashire only but has followed it up by a memorial to the Viceroy praying for the remission of income tax in view of low prices and slump in the market. "All our attempts to make both ends meet," The Piece goods Association's Memorial urge these dealers in foreign cloth, "has been baffled by the fall in the prices of piece goods; and there is such an unprecedented collection of stock lying uncleared that almost all warehouses are full to the brim, not to speak of those lying in individual private godowns. There is comparatively a very scanty demand for the same." Glorious, if true.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

THE VINDICATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

The unexpected has happened at last—Lord Morley has succeeded in satisfying the better mind of India by his reform scheme. The reforms just announced by the Liberal Secretary of State for India will certainly not allay Indian discontent or remove the spirit of unrest in the country, but unquestionably

they will go a long way in restoring people's faith in the sense of justice and righteousness of England. Lord Morley has not only vindicated the best traditions of British rule in India by his epoch-making concessions but has also justified his position as a disciple of Mill and friend and biographer of Gladstone.

It is well, however, to begin by pointing out what has escaped general notice that the reform scheme, as published, does not aim at reforming the entire administration of the country, but is only an attempt to extend the functions and alter the constitutions of the various Legislative and the Executive Councils and the Municipal and District Boards existing at present. We, however, take the present scheme as the first instalment of Lord Morley's general reform proposals and hope that the second instalment, modifying the Bengal Partition, purifying the administration of justice and checking police oppression and high-handedness, will immediately follow the publication of the Report of the Decentralisation Commission.

The present scheme can be conveniently divided into two parts—the constructive and the destructive sections. It seems to us that the destructive portion is no less vital and important than the constructive one for, though it does not remove any of our disabilities, at least it saves us from a world of mischief and trouble. The whole of the Indian world feel exceedingly grateful to Lord Morley for his having knocked on the head such a reactionary scheme as the formation of an Imperial Advisory Council, a Council of Notables and Provincial Advisory Councils,—a scheme upon which much store was set by the white bureaucracy and the brown aristocracy of India. Nor does Lord Morley stop there. He successfully demolishes, as a stalwart advocate of Mill's doctrines, all theroies about "class-representation," "social status" and "natural leaders and stable elements of society." What an edifying sight to see all the

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innocents born at Simla slaughtered by the murderous knife of Lord Morley at Whitehall. Lord Morley does not go so far as to kill the proposal of an Imperial Council of Ruling Chiefs but he does worse,—he does not entertain it seriously and is inclined to ridicule it away.

There is another matter which we must mention before we pass on to Lord Morley's constructive scheme. In the memorable despatch of the Government of India, dated August 1907, a case was sought to be made out against the disproportionately large representation of the educated classes, particularly of the lawyer classes, in the Councils of the Empire. Sir Harold Stuart and Sir Herbert Risley (then Mr. Risley) had used a large array of statistics and spent a good deal of rhetoric in proving how demoralising and unjust was this legal preponderance in the various Councils in India. Lord Morley quietly ignores this attitude of the Government of India towards informed public opinion and not even so much as care to mention it in his despatch. For this indirect moral support of their position, the educated classes in India must feel deeply thankful to Lord Morley.

Now it is time to turn to Lord Morley's constructive scheme. In this matter our thanks are not less due to Lord Minto than to Lord Morley. The Government of India's despatch of October 1 last contains a scheme of Council reform which is as wide as it is generous. "The enlargement of the Legislative Councils," justly observes Lord Minto's Government, "and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions are the widest, most deep-reaching, and most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward." Lord Morley also seems to be of opinion, and the whole of educated India will endorse his view, that the scheme "really opens a very important chapter in the history of the relations between Great Britain and India."

The constructive scheme of the Government of India, as modified by the Secretary of State, can also be conveniently divided into two main heads : (a) the participation of the people in occasional legislation and in the framing of the budgets and (b) the association of the people in the actual every-day administration of the country.

In connection with the first part of this scheme we note the following points and concessions :

(1) A general numerical increase of the number of members in the various Legislative Councils of India.

(2) An withdrawal of official majority in all the Councils of the Empire excepting the Imperial Legislative Council.

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(3) The establishment of electoral colleges for the due and proper representation of the landholders and Mahomedans in the Councils.

(4) The increase in the number of members in the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay, one at least of whom is to be an Indian.

(5) The establishment of Executive Councils in some of the larger provinces of India, besides Madras and Bombay.

(6) The right of interpellation is affirmed and supplementary questions, according to the usage in the British Houses of Parliament, will be allowed.

(7) The removal of some vexatious restrictions on debates.

Regarding the first of these we must confess that the increase in the numerical strength of the Councils is a long step in advance. Numbers may not be every thing, but they are a very important factor in the progress of popular government. When the Indian Councils Act was first passed in 1861, the government of the time was not only afraid to think of any election but was also afraid to have the number of nominated members above half a dozen. In 1892, when this Act came to be revised by Lord Cross at the instance of Lord Lansdowne, the principle of election was first recognised and a very limited electorate was arranged for. From that stage to Lord Morley's new scheme is a great leap. Once you concede on the point of number you lay yourself open to the pressure and volume of public opinion and this will soon convert our existing administration into a responsible Government. The one follows the other as the night follows the day.

On the question of withdrawing an official majority in the Councils also, Lord Morley has taken an epoch-making step. The abandonment of an official majority paves the way for the establishment of a parliamentary government in India, though Lord Morley disclaims any aspiration to reach that goal. A non-official majority, in the present conditions of Indian life, may be as bad as an official majority, and may also occasionally lead to wild-cat legislation for a generation or two, but there can be no doubt that upon the recognition of this principle alone can any popular government be built up in any country. Mistakes and blunders there will be and are bound to occur in the beginning of things, but a good schooling for a number of years will ultimately train our cultured classes to appreciate the difficulties of responsible Government. A non-official majority is a stepping-stone to responsible Government, and we hope the day is not far distant when the representatives of Indian public

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opinion will justify the important responsibility entrusted to them by Lord Morley.

The knotty problem of the representation of special interests and minorities is likely to be very satisfactorily solved by the establishment of electoral colleges designed for the purpose. In almost every European country, where such a question has ever troubled politicians and statesmen, electoral colleges have proved a happy solution and the best way out of the difficulty.

"No doubt," observes Lord Morley, such an arrangement "removes the primary voter by more than one stage from the ultimate choice; and it does not profess to be simple. I can only say that it is quite as simple as any scheme for representation of minorities can ever be. The system of a single vote, which is an essential part of it, is said to work satisfactorily in places where it is already in existence, and it is easy of apprehension by the electors. It would have several great advantages. It would bring the classes specially concerned within the popular electorate, and so meet the criticism of the Hindus, to which you refer in paragraph 30; second, it establishes a principle that would be an answer to further claims for representation by special classes or associations; third, it would ensure the persons chosen being actually drawn from the locality that the electoral college represents: fourth, it would provide a healthy stimulus to interest in local self-government by linking up local bodies (Rural and Municipal Boards) more closely with the Provincial Legislative Councils."

The intention of Lord Morley to widen the constitution of the Executive Councils of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay with a view to include an Indian member is in pursuance of, and in keeping with, the pronouncement in King Edward VII's latest message to the Princes and People of India. We had it from the King himself on the occasion of the Jubilee of Victoria's Proclamation that "steps are being continuously taken towards the obliteration of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure. As education spreads and experience ripens, the lessons of responsibility will be learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India." We have now the fulfilment of the King's promise in Lord Morley's proposal to appoint an Indian member in each of the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The presence of an Indian leaven is not likely to improve matters much,

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but we welcome it as the tardy recognition of a great principle and as the redress of a just grievance.

But why a concession granted to Bombay and Madras is not extended to Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab is more than we can comprehend. Bengal at least is ahead of all the provinces in India in education, culture, enlightenment and public spirit and she has equal, if not greater, claim to the privilege in question. As the *Statesman* very appropriately observes, it is not easy to see why, while a Governor of Madras or Bombay should have the help of an executive council, Bengal and the other larger provinces under the rule of a Lieutenant-Governor should be subjected to the arbitrary will of a civilian autocrat. But reading between the lines of his memorable despatch, it appears to us that Lord Morley finds the partition of Bengal a stupendous difficulty in the way of granting to the two Bengals the privilege which Madras and Bombay have enjoyed for such a long time. But why not do away with the partition itself—a measure which has so unsparingly been condemned by two such high authorities on Indian affairs as Lord Ripon and Lord Macdonnell? “The greatest blunder ever made in India” is how Lord Macdonnell describes the Bengal Partition. In view of such a statement, what should we think of the King’s declaration that “if errors have occurred, the agents of my government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them, and if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy?” Shall the remedy come and come in good time?—that is what all Bengal is asking to-day.

We now come to the question of interpellations. This right was already hedged in by numerous limitations and restrictions by the Indian Councils Act of 1892 and was further crippled by careful official evasions and diplomatic manipulation of facts and statistics. Lord Morley has found out that the way in which official replies are prepared to question in Councils often defeat the very object for which such a privilege was ever granted to members of Councils, and he is now anxious to make it an important vehicle for the elucidation of official and administrative questions. With that view, it has been proposed to allow members of Councils to follow up their original interpellations with supplementary questions. If cleverly and tactfully heckled, members of the Executive Councils will have now to unburden many secrets and expose many plague spots of administration, including the vagaries of the Criminal Intelligence Department. This so far as its direct result will go. Indirectly, it will prove somewhat of a

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curb on official high-handedness and a corrective of official optimism.

On the removal of the vexatious restrictions on debates in the Councils, it is difficult to make any criticism before the rules of business are actually drawn up and put into operation. But the power of moving Resolutions, which is to take the form of recommendations to Government on subjects laid down by Statute and which may include, "isolated incidents of administration or personal questions," is calculated to offer greater facilities to members of Councils to discuss a wide range of subjects of public and general importance as well as opportunities to the Government "to be acquainted with the drift of public opinion and of explaining their own actions."

As regards the participation in the framing of the financial statements, members of the Imperial and the Provincial Councils will be allowed to

(a) discuss in Committee the proposals of the finance member and move Resolutions thereon before the budgets are finally drawn up, and

(b) move Resolutions in the Councils in the form of recommendations and to signify by vote their opinion of the various proposals made by the Finance member.

Towards granting to the people a control over their own financial arrangements and taxation, these concessions may be taken as the first step and as such will meet with the reasoned support of Indian opinion. We hope the time is not far off when English statesmen will see to the justice of allowing representatives of the Indian people an effective control over certain classes of taxation and over certain heads of expenditure. To ask for this qualified control over our own finance is certainly not crying for the moon.

Last of all we come to the most important part of Lord Morley's despatch—the portion in which he sets forth his ideas on the reform of local self-government. This portion of his reform scheme appeals to us as the most remarkable and valuable in the whole despatch and commends itself to our warm appreciation. The scheme of local self-government propounded by Lord Ripon was conceived in a most generous spirit but was frustrated by Anglo-Indian ingenuity. It is now Lord Morley's anxiety to free local self-government in India from all official restraints and vexatious restrictions. If he succeeds in removing the official supervision which has so long cramped and deadened public interest in local affairs and in restoring some of the democratic institutions of ancient India, if Lord Morley

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can effectively introduce a scheme of local autonomy in our rural administration,—surely, surely he will not only have amply vindicated British rule in India but also will have fulfilled to a considerable extent the glorious mission of England.

Would that Lord Morley's reforms had come in 1900 instead of 1908 ! In that case the history of India during the last eight years would have taken a different turn.

Our old friend, the Regulation III of 1818, has transferred its field of activity from the Punjab to Bengal and is responsible for the deportation of not one, nor two, but of so many as nine persons in these provinces. It is rather late in the day to decry or insist upon the repeal of a Regulation which even a Liberal statesman like Lord Morley considers absolutely necessary in circumstances "so uncommon, obscure, and impenetrable as surround the British Government in India." With that proposition we are not anxious to fight at present, but what seems to us to be so monstrous is that it should be applied so indiscriminately and in such a haphazard way as has been done so recently in Bengal. Any man who knows anything of these provinces and has watched the contemporary activities of Bengalee life will consider Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitter as absolutely incapable of doing any wrong thing themselves or lending their support to any immoral or any unrighteous cause.圣ly in character, devout in spirit, and considerate in every action, Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitter are examples unto their hesitating countrymen for faithful, devoted and sincere service. They had both vehemently declaimed against violence and terrorism and had in consequence incurred a good deal of the hostility and displeasure of their younger generation. Though nominally belonging to the extreme school of Indian politics, Aswini Babu had so far refused to get his College (the Brojo Mohan Institution of Barisal) affiliated to the Bengal National Council of Education and, what is more surprising still, he had attended the Magistrate's meeting held for the celebration of the King's Birthday on the 9th November last. It is not probably generally known to the public, much less to the Government, that the secret of Aswini Babu's vast influence in his district is derived from the piety and simplicity of his life, his anxiety to serve his poor and helpless countrymen and the religious enthusiasm of his nature. A man of great culture and light and one of the most well-read and in-

The Bengal Deportations

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tellectual Bengalees of the older generation, Aswini Babu has spent the best part of his life in spreading the gospel of sweet reasonableness throughout Eastern Bengal. No wonder that, under circumstances such as these, Aswini Babu should have come to be regarded as a great moral rather than a political force in our day. Babu Krishna Kumar is almost a man of blameless personality and has scrupulously kept apart from all sorts of sinister and shady movements. That two such men should be spotted by the police for deportation as forces of disorder proves how inefficient and careless the Department is and how recklessly the old Regulation of 1818 is used. Is there no one in authority here or in England who can appoint a commission of enquiry to sift this matter to the bottom? If these men are guilty of any offence against the State or are proved to have exercised their influence against law and public tranquillity, let the commission condemn them to deportation for as long a period as may be deemed necessary. But if these men are proved to be innocent and are mere victims of a police intrigue, well, the table should be turned and the parties concerned in the affair should be deported and publicly branded. Oh! the wretched partition, what else shall it lead us to?

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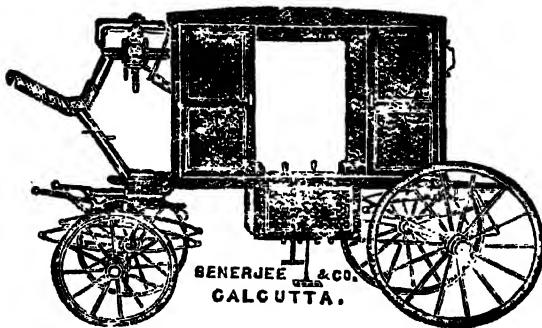
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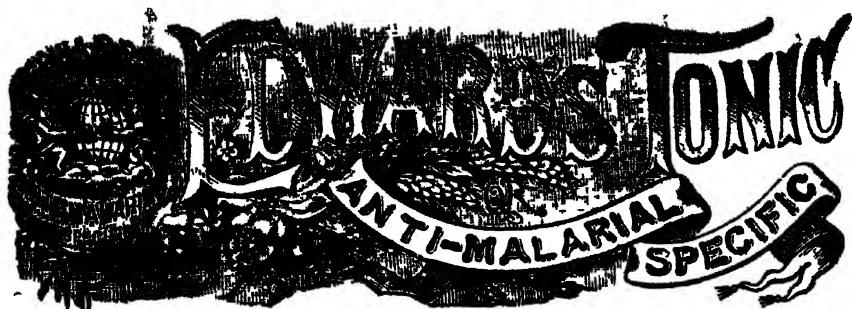
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